

The Contents.

The first Booke.



OF the Ancient Gauls, their Original, Lawes, Customs, and Ceremonies. The Disciplines of their Druides or Priestles, to the younger people.

Also of their Bards, Poets, Sarronides, Enbages, & profession of Languages, with other manneres used amongst them, as well in warre as in peace, and how they have continued and changed since.

The second Booke.

OF the New Gauls, now called the French, their manhood, valor, and successful fortunes from their beginning. The greatnesse of their Kings, their many battels, and famous victories.

Of the names of Kings and Emperour: as also of the Originall of Royalty.

The Battell of Rannenna.

Of the learned women, called the Sybils.

The seven wonders of the World.

Famous military Orations both of Romaines and Iewes.

The Battell of Nouara, &c.

The third Booke.

THe originall of the Switzers.

The manner of Government observed in all their severall Cantons.

What Confederates they have, both in generall and particular.

Likewise of their warres and Battailles.

The fourth Booke.

OF the Kingdom and Court of Spaine, with the Lawes, Customs, and manners of the Nation. Also the division and situation of the said country.

Concerning the kingdom of Portugall, the beginning, continuance, and present estate thereof, with the Lawes, Customs, and administration of Justice therein observed.

Of the Kingdom of Naples, the Antiquities, Lawes, and Customs thereof.

The Originall of the Salique Law, the first Authors and inventors thereof.

The Originall of the Normans.

The first planting of the Vine, and prohibition of wine among the ancient Romaines.

Examples by Birds, Flies, and other Creatures, for the leading of a veritious life.

The Originall of Triumphs: why they were first granted, and what a Triumph is.

Of the Crowns and other recompences given by the Romaines to noble deserving Soldiers, &c.

The fifth Booke.

OF the Nobility of England, Politicall and Civil.

The Rites and Ceremonies used in the Creation of Barons by Charter.

The Kings Charter for the creating of a Viscount.

The Charter Royall for the creation of an Earl, a Marquesse, Archbionesse, as also of a Duke, and the manner of creating them: being all truly represented in their severall habites, by Figures cut in brasle.

The Kings Charter for creating the Prince of Wales.

The Crowning of the King, as well in former times, as now.

The order of the Parliament pompe.

The manner of wearing blood or tinctured.

The Order of the Knights of the Garter, by who instituted, when, and how.

The Collegiate Society of Heralds.

The sixth Booke.

OF the Commonwealth of the Gennes or Genewaycs, with the Government and administration of Justice there used.

An excellent Relation, concerning the estate, Religion, and Commonwealth, which was observed among the Iewes.

Of their three Sects, (viz:) the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and Essenes: their Originall & manner of life.

Of their three Families: The first being the posterity of Ielus: The second, the Almonians: & the third, Antipater the Idumæan of Ascalon: with a clearing of doubts in divers Authors.

Of Ceremonies used by the Romaines, before they moved any warre, &c.

The seventh Booke.

THe Commonwealth of Luca, with their Lawes and Constitutions.

Of divers accidents, serving as divining Anguries in elder times, whereby to iudge of things to happen.

Against

1754. 26

Not bound

1754.

Library of the University of Oxford
March 6. 1754

The Contents.

Against the permission of Duells, or single Combats.

A true modall of Government in any Common-wealth, derived from the communistic of Bees.

The three Conquests of England by the Saxons, Danes, and Normans.

The three famous battailes of Gaza, Grand Cayer, and at Nylus.

The first invention of wearing Rings, with the virtues and properties remaining in precious stones.

Of the Septuagint, or 70. Translators of the Olde Testament, out of Hebrew into Greeke.

The admirable virtues and properties of the Ant.

A briefe survey concerning the Netherlands, divided into 17. Provinces, with a breuiate of the Earles and Princes there reigning, from Thierry the first Earle of Holland and Zeland, to this present time.

The eight Booke.

Of the Venetians, and the manner of their pollicie.

The foundation of Venice.

The lines and memorable acts of their Dukes and Princes.

Of Gun-shot, and other fiery Engines.

Of Physicke and Physicians.

Of the seven Sages of Greece.

The first foundation of Ierusalem, what fortunes befell it from time to time, and what Kings reigned there.

Of the twelve Months in the yeare, as also of ancient and moderne figures represented by them, with diuers other miseries beside.

The ninth Booke.

Concerning the Countrey of Moscouia or Russia, and of the severall commodities which the land yeeldeth.

The Linage and descent of the Russian Emperours.

perour, his Enshalment and Inauguration.

His manner of Government, Parliaments, Laws, Customs, Warres, &c.

His power for warre and Military Discipline.

What Orders, Rites, Sacraments and Ceremonies are observed in the Moscouian Church.

Of poysons given to kill at a certaine day, whether they can doe it, or no.

Of erroneous and vaine opinions, yet beloved for found truths.

What language they shall speak, that never heard any speech.

That a man or woman borne deafe, is necessary he dumbe also; and he that is borne among dumbe people.

What the reason is of a childes being so tardie in knowing how to speake.

The tenth Booke.

The Kingdome of Ireland, the Originall of it, and how.

By whom it hath bene inhabited and Governed from the beginning.

How those parts and Countreies, commonly called The New World, were first found.

The excellencie and dignitie of Marriage.

Of the Doctors of Sorbonne, and their first Originall.

The reason why some princes and Common-wealths have prospered in the time of Warre, and runne to ruine in peacefull dayes.

Of those qualities and behaviours necessarily required to be in a Prince.

That the eldest sonne ought alwaies to be advanced and preferred before the younger.

Concerning the great Monarchie of the Cæsars or Romanes.

Of the Bezars stone.

A learned Tract, concerning the generation of Pearles.

With many other excellents and memorable discourses.

FINIS.

ΑΡΧΑΙΟ-ΠΛΟΥΤΟΣ.

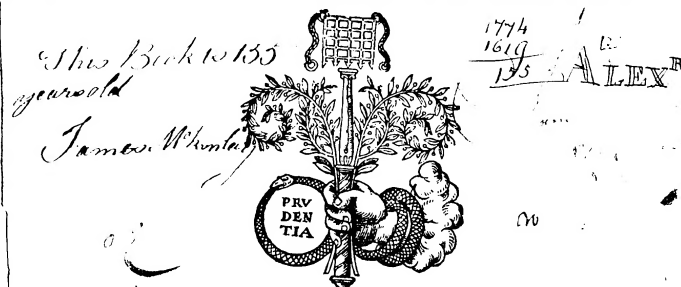
CONTAINING,

Ten following Bookes to the former

TREASVRIE OF AVNCIENT AND MODERNE TIMES.

Being the Learned Collections, Iudicious Readings,
and Memorable Observations: Not onely Divine, Morall, and
Philosophicall; But also Poeticall, Martiall, Politicall,
Historicall, Astrological, &c.

Translated out of that Worthy Spanish Gentleman, PEDRO MEXIA, And
M. FRANCESCO SANSOVINO, that Famous Italian: As also, of
those Honourable Frenchmen, Anthony du Verdier, Lord of Vauprimaz:
Loy Guyon, Sieur de la Nauche, Counsellour vnto the King:
Clawdis Gruet, Parisian, &c.



LONDON
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to be had of the



To the most Noble and Twin-like paire;
of truly Honourable and compleat perfection, Sir PHILLIP
 HERBERT, Knight of the Bath to our dread Soueraigne
 King IAMES, at his Royall Coronation; Lord Baron of
 Sherland, Earle of Mountgomery, and Companion in the
 vnpareld and famous Fellowship, of the
 Order of the Garter.

As also, To the truly vertuous and Noble Countesse his Wife,
the Lady Susan, Daughter to the right Honourable Edward Vere, Earle of Oxen-
ford, Viscount Bulbec, Lord Sandford and of Badeflemere:
and Lord High Chamberlaine of
England, &c.



The first Vo-
 lume of this
 Treatise,
 published a-
 bout 5. yeares
 since.

Orthily might I bee con-
 demned of arrogancie,
 (most Noble Lord & La-
 dy) because, hauing past
 the Pikes in a peece of the
 selfe-same seruice (follow-
 ed with fauour and kinde
 acceptation) I should
 therefore presume vpon
 the like succeffe: know-
 ing the inconstant nature
 of Times, that as they al-
 ter, so do mens humours
 & dispositions with them.
 For, that which carrieth

liking and allowance to day, falles into loathing and contempt to-
 morrow; Opinions being more varius in the case of Bookes, then
 are the Arguments whereon they discourse, because carping curio-
 sity will haue his censure. But, as the Last for Hercules, was not fa-
 shioned to fit euerie foote, nor his Lyons skinne to be worne by any
 base Lout; euen so the sublimitie of true iudgement (in matters of
 such industrious and painfull labor) should be left to the Learned;

Ignorance will
 alwayes be
 bold vpon the
 learned; la-
 bour.

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

not to euery course and mechanike conceite, capeable of nothing, but of such occasions as are suteable to his owne condition.

I haue read of the great Riuer * *Euphrates*, which ebbeth and floweth seuen times a day, and with such violence; that it carrieth Ships vpon it with full sayle, directly against the winde. Seuen times in an houre ebbeth and floweth rath Opinion, in the torrent of indiscreet and troublefome apprehension: carrying Criticke calummie, and squint-eyed detraction, mainly against the winde of Wisedome and Iudgement; because their braines are no better ballast, nor their capacity of further reach or extendure.

And yet, if the saying of *Hesiod* be true; *That nothing can bee more pleasing, then variety, which is the soules cheefest solace*: Then (not fearing folly, but speaking to peerelesse Noble nature) giue mee leaue to tell you, that there can hardly bee any especiall subiect imagined, but one Argument or other heere meeteth with it. From Sacred Diuinity (the most solide and supream of all other) through all other Artes and Sciences whatsoever, euen to any lowly, and the meanest (worthy) profession; here is some notable marke or Monument thereof (if it be either Ancient or Moderne) stored vp in this Treasure, for future Ages to delight in, and to receiue no meane benefite thereby.

Then (Honourable Lord and Ladie) all these blessings beeing Yours (as also my selfe, in endlesse dutie and seruice) when any subiect of great, graue, and serious consideration (as of Nations, Monarchies, Kingdomes, and People, in their Originall, Rising or Declining, by Warres, Dissentions, Combuitions, or otherwise in the like occurrences) shall seeme troublesome or tedious to you: walke on but a little further, & then you may enter into a spacious Forrest, affording all choise of pleasing Game, either for Hawking, Hunting, Fishing, Fowling, or any other Noble exercise beside.

When those Forrest pleasures shall faint you (as all delights dull, by too much continuance) an Orchard standes wide open to welcome you, richly abounding in the fairest Frutages: not to feed the Eye onely, but likewise to refresh the Heart, inuiting you to plucke where, and while you please, and to bestow how, and when you list: because they are all yours, and whosoever else shall taste of them, do enioy such freedom but by your fauor.

There is one especiall recreation more (Gracious Madam) which remaineth soly to your selfe, and such as may enter by your admittance; in a goodly large Garden, abounding with all kind of the fairest Flowers, that open with the cheerefull mornings Sun, and shut againe at his sad departure, all sweet, and all soueraigne. And, because Ladies of elder times (as many haue had the like delight in our more Moderne daies) were singularly skilfull in Physick and Chirurgery: there is not a vacant place in the whole Garden, but it is fitly furnished

*A narrow sea betweene the Hauen Aulis of Boeotia, and Euboea.

Comparing all the Volumes together.

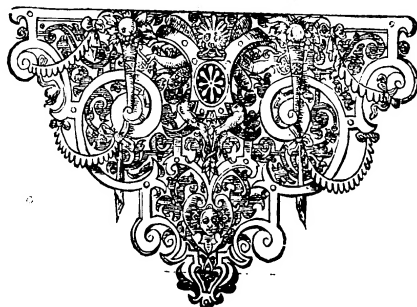
Hesiod, in Lib. 3, cap. 7.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

shed euerie where; the verie common walkes (euen as if they were Bride-like strewed by hand) are covered with the choicest Simples, purest distillatorie Plants, and wholesome Herbes of euerie Vertue: for which, the Garden was purposely founded, and not for fruitlesse idle vanity.

And were you all alone, without companie, and by your selfe, yet can you not so continue there: For, you may meete with a faire Beuey of Queenes and Ladies, at diuers turnings as you walke, and euerie one will tell you the Historie of her life and fortune (rare examples of Vertue and Honor) as themselves can best, truly & plainly discourse vnto you. Some other also you shall see, sadly sitting vnder Eughe & Cipresse trees, with Garlands of those leaues wreathed about their heads, sighing out their diuers disasters: whom your Noble nature cannot choose but commiserate; as greeuing to see a scratch in a cleare skin, and a bodie beautified by Nature, to be blemished by vnkinde Destiny.

From manie remote Kingdomes and Countries (where naturally they spake those seuerall Languages) are all these variable pleasures come hither, onely to kisse your Noble hands. It was no mean infelicitee for them, to find no fitter a Tutor, that might haue taught them to speake more eloquent English; which (indeede) also was my fault, seeing none else would tie themselves to so hard a Taske. But howsoever it may prouoe, your rich iudgements, and all-sufficient ability in the Languages, as also my weakenesse, will (I hope) bury all defects in your fauor, & beare out from scandall my willing endeouour, that I may finish the other (yet remaining) eleuen Bookes behinde, to perfect so rich and rare a Treasure.





The Printer to the Reader.

SOME few yeares past, I intended the whole Worke of *Pedro Mexia*, with some other Authours on the like Arguments of variety. I then published nine Bookes, with intention to haue made them vp fifteen, for the first Volume: but being preuented by sicknesse, I finished but the first nine Bookes; and finding the good acceptance of them, I haue aduentured now on ten Bookes more, of the like Ancient and Moderne Times: sauing only some particular Heads but lightly touched, are now (by the same Authors) more at large illustrated. And may this finde equall fauour vnto the former (without any harsh censure, or vnkinde discouragement:) the other eleuen Bookes shall follow with all conuenient speede, to finish vp so faire a Treasury.

Farewell.

A Table of the Authours Names, that alledge and approoue the seuerall Arguments, contained in this Booke.

<p>S. <i>Morfe</i> <i>Augustine.</i> <i>Anselme</i> <i>Anselmus</i> <i>Adon. Epif.</i> <i>Vienna</i> <i>Aristotle</i> <i>Ammianus Marcellinus</i> <i>Ammonius</i> <i>Agathias</i> <i>Alatius</i> <i>Annius</i> <i>Arrianus</i> <i>Albertus Strasbourg</i> <i>Auicenne</i> <i>Auerroes</i> <i>Albanus</i> <i>Antonius Sabellius</i> <i>Archeus Tarentinus</i> <i>Antonius</i> <i>Annius de Viterbo</i> <i>Annales Constantinop.</i> <i>Annales Treuicenis</i> <i>Anor de Bel. Affric.</i> <i>Arnoldus Liscus</i> <i>Adrianus Imperat.</i> <i>Aymonius</i> <i>Aleuinus</i> <i>Agapetus</i> <i>Aulus Gellius</i> <i>Agrippus</i> <i>Elianus</i> <i>Aeneas Syluius</i> <i>Elchylus</i> <i>Elchines</i> <i>Emilius Victor</i> <i>Etius</i> <i>Elius Lampridius</i> <i>Emilius Macer</i> <i>Elterarius</i> <i>Athenius</i> <i>Afinius Pollio</i> <i>Apuleius Pansis</i> <i>Alexander Alexandrinus</i> <i>Alexand. Aphrodisem</i> <i>Apolonius Thyaneus</i> <i>Alphraganus</i> <i>Anthony du Lebric</i> <i>Aristander</i> <i>Antonius Nebricenis</i> <i>Albertus Magnus</i> <i>Aristomachus</i> <i>Achilles Statius</i> <i>Auer. Duke</i></p>	<p><i>Aristophanes</i> <i>Andronicus Athenensis.</i> <i>Antonius Lombardus</i> <i>Aretine</i> <i>Acamathius</i> <i>Antoninus Syl.</i> <i>Alphonius Rex Hisp.</i> <i>Attalus</i> <i>Accurtius</i> <i>Azzo</i> <i>Alexand. Trallianus</i> <i>Atena Capito</i> <i>Aconius Padianus</i> <i>Appianus Alexandrinus</i> <i>Archilochus</i> <i>Arnoldus Ferronius</i> <i>Amatus</i> <i>Aristarchus</i> <i>Antoninus Arch. Floren.</i> <i>Antiphones</i> <i>Anaximander</i> <i>Albertus Crantzius</i> <i>Alexand. Guaguinus</i> <i>Anaximenes</i> <i>Abbas Siculus</i> <i>Almadalus Arab.</i> <i>Augurellus</i> <i>Anthenor</i> <i>Annales I. Stow</i> <i>Altharius</i> <i>Aurea Historia</i> <i>Alferius Meneuensis</i> <i>Alfidus Benerlacenfs</i> <i>Adam Merimont b</i> <i>Alliances genealogiques des</i> <i>Rois & Princes de France</i> <i>Annales de Aquitaine</i> <i>Annales de Bourgogne</i> <i>Annales du France.</i> <i>Annales rerum Flandricarum.</i> B <i>Biblia Sacra</i> <i>S. Basile</i> <i>S. Bernard</i> <i>Boterus Bonetus</i> <i>Baldus Abbat</i> <i>Baldus Doc. Ciuil.</i> <i>Berosus</i> <i>Buchanan</i> <i>Baronius</i> <i>Budens</i> <i>Bandello</i></p>	<p><i>Belforrest</i> <i>Baptista Fulgotius</i> <i>Blondus</i> <i>Bartholomeus</i> <i>Boetius</i> <i>Boccace</i> <i>Bonfinus</i> <i>Barthol. Picenus</i> <i>Bartholus</i> <i>Berenus</i> <i>Barthol. Dardanus</i> <i>Beroaldus</i> <i>Baptista Ignatius</i> <i>Bellonius</i> <i>Bodinus</i> <i>Bozins</i> <i>Bachi Archifus</i> <i>Eucholcerus</i> <i>Balthazar Castellanois.</i> <i>Barthol. Scuerius</i> <i>B. Westmerus</i> C <i>S. Cerill.</i> <i>S. Chrysostom</i> <i>Colmella</i> <i>Cedrenus</i> <i>Claudianus</i> <i>Crescentius</i> <i>Clemens Alexand.</i> <i>Cocil. Tolet</i> <i>Capitolinus</i> <i>Cornelius Tacitus</i> <i>Cicero</i> <i>Ciacenus</i> <i>Chrysippus</i> <i>Cardanus</i> <i>Cleomedes</i> <i>Collennius</i> <i>Conradus Episc.</i> <i>Cnaus Epidius</i> <i>Cornelius Agrippa</i> <i>Caelius</i> <i>Confortinus</i> <i>Celsus</i> <i>Cleantes</i> <i>Chalcidius</i> <i>Caelius Rhodiginus.</i> <i>Claudianus Victor</i> <i>Charles de Molin</i> <i>Comment. Cesar</i> <i>Calmatiens.</i></p>	<p><i>Cheremonius</i> <i>Choromus Pol.</i> <i>Cassiodorus</i> <i>Cornelius Mess.</i> <i>Cratinus</i> <i>Cressippus Alexand.</i> <i>Crantzius</i> <i>Colophonius</i> <i>Comus Balthazar</i> <i>Celius Celsignus.</i> <i>Cyprianus</i> D <i>Dion</i> <i>Dicarchus</i> <i>Diodorus Siculus</i> <i>Dionis. Halicarn.</i> <i>Dionys. Areopag.</i> <i>Diogenes Laertius</i> <i>Dioscorides</i> <i>Demosthenes</i> <i>Demetrius</i> <i>Dioeles</i> <i>Diogenes Cynic.</i> <i>Damascone</i> <i>D. Pedro Epif. Leon</i> <i>Demetrius Alexand</i> <i>En Baris</i> <i>Dittis Cretense</i> <i>Dares Phrygius</i> <i>Damasce. Sygierus</i> <i>Dionis. Lycinus</i> <i>Donatus</i> <i>Dionis. Cassianus.</i> E <i>Eumenius</i> <i>Ephorus</i> <i>Ecdatius</i> <i>Eusebius.</i> <i>Eucherius</i> <i>Eumenides</i> <i>Epiphanius</i> <i>Estuan de Garibay</i> <i>Eggenhard</i> <i>Ennodius</i> <i>Chalcidius</i> <i>Caelius Rhodiginus.</i> <i>Claudianus Victor</i> <i>Charles de Molin</i> <i>Comment. Cesar</i> <i>Calmatiens.</i></p>
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The Authors Names.

<i>Ebulus</i> <i>Euclides</i> <i>Elpacus</i> <i>Enantes</i> <i>Epicurus</i> <i>Empedocles</i> <i>Erasmus Rot.</i> <i>Effatus</i> <i>Eginus</i> <i>Empelomus</i> <i>Elpagorus</i> <i>Enpolis</i> <i>Epifc. Tyrienfis</i> <i>P. Evod. de Rep. Ind.</i> <i>Egnatius</i> <i>Enagrus</i> <i>Enani</i> <i>Elphen Paquier</i> <i>Epitertus</i> <i>Euchrid. Erasf.</i> <i>Epicharmus</i>	<i>Calen</i> <i>Galotus de Nangis.</i> <i>Geor. Trabecan</i> <i>Guliel. Budens</i> <i>Galerus</i> <i>Geydonius</i> <i>Caydo Bonatus</i> <i>Genebrardus</i> <i>Geor. Leoninus</i> <i>Gregor. Giraldus</i> <i>Gregor. Reuch.</i> <i>Guen. ita.</i>	<i>H</i> <i>S. Hierom.</i> <i>Hift. Af. Cellan.</i> <i>Homer</i> <i>Herodotus</i> <i>Hortius</i> <i>Hermanus</i> <i>Hippodam</i> <i>Heracles Ponticus</i> <i>Hermolaus Barbar.</i> <i>Hugo de S. Vitor</i> <i>Hierocles</i> <i>Heliconenfis</i> <i>Hippocrates</i> <i>Harpocratian</i> <i>Hift. Di. Villamont.</i> <i>Horodanus</i> <i>Hmace</i> <i>Hermes Trismegift.</i> <i>Hermocrates</i> <i>Helysus Tattus</i> <i>Heracitus</i> <i>Heracles</i> <i>Her. Hunsington</i> <i>Hift. Poland</i> <i>Halitan. Chron.</i> <i>Hall</i> <i>Holinshed</i> <i>Hofienfis</i> <i>Hermippus</i> <i>Herophilus</i> <i>Hincmarus</i> <i>Hier. Oforius</i> <i>Hiribaldus</i> <i>Houlier</i> <i>Hephelition Grec.</i> <i>Hicadorus</i> <i>Hily ben Razel.</i> <i>Hier. Conftantio</i>	<i>Joan. Ferraldus</i> <i>Joan. de Imola</i> <i>Julius Capitolinus</i> <i>Jo. de Sacrobosco</i> <i>Jo. Lincolnienfis</i> <i>Jo. Africanus</i> <i>Jo. Bale</i> <i>Julius Frontinus</i> <i>Idorius</i> <i>Jamblichus</i> <i>Jungulphus</i> <i>Julius Pelagius</i> <i>Julianus</i> <i>Juac Rab.</i> <i>Jo. Ronge</i> <i>Julian Imperat.</i> <i>Juftin. Martyr</i> <i>Jo. Scetus</i> <i>Jo. Alexandrinus</i> <i>Julius Firmicus</i> <i>Jo. de Mons Royalis</i> <i>Jo. Dradonius</i> <i>Jesu</i> <i>Jo. Math. Tierinus</i> <i>Jo. Ulfanus</i> <i>Jo. Saxonus</i> <i>Jo. Maginus Arch. Hiftor.</i> <i>Jocrates</i> <i>Jrenens</i> <i>Jo. Capraue</i> <i>Jordanus</i> <i>Jo. Alonachus</i> <i>Jacques Bogius</i> <i>Jo. Damascenus</i> <i>Jo. Baptift. Egnatius</i> <i>Jo. de Aluimont</i> <i>Jacques de Magnunia</i> <i>Jo. Boccace</i> <i>Joachimus Julianus</i> <i>Joel. Med. Alexand.</i> <i>Joubert. Med. Gal.</i> <i>Jo. Camertes</i> <i>Jo. Carion</i> <i>Jo. Cantacuzenus</i> <i>Jo. Fernelius</i> <i>Jfaac. Indacius</i> <i>Jonismus Pontanus</i> <i>Jo. Lajleu</i> <i>Jacobus Faler</i> <i>Jo. Annus.</i>	<i>Luftantius Grammatic.</i> <i>Leonardus Camillus</i> <i>Leoncius Catebodus</i> <i>Licinius Maser.</i> <i>Lucius Tulienus</i> <i>Lazarus Soranus</i> <i>Lucretius</i> <i>Leo Hebraico</i> <i>Lotharius Calius</i> <i>Leo Sophift.</i> <i>Labro Antistius</i> <i>Linus</i> <i>Lactantius</i> <i>Lucius Florus</i> <i>Lucretius Sarius</i> <i>Lopex de Cythajens</i> <i>Lucas Marinus Sic.</i> <i>Lampadius</i> <i>Lazarus de Baf.</i> <i>Lodov. Valentinius</i> <i>Lso Papa</i> <i>Lucius de Thy</i> <i>Lertus</i> <i>Lofius</i>	<i>M</i> <i>Marcus Apor</i> <i>Marcellus</i> <i>Marcus Varro</i> <i>Melina H. p.</i> <i>Martinius Sicut</i> <i>Martinius Capellus</i> <i>Martius de Bellay</i> <i>Macrobius</i> <i>Martinius Scotus</i> <i>Martius</i> <i>Mantius</i> <i>Mantius</i> <i>Meffia Angarius</i> <i>Metrodorus</i> <i>Marcus Aurelius</i> <i>Mofchimus</i> <i>Marbadetus</i> <i>Meffia Cornutus</i> <i>Macchateell</i> <i>Mofes Bar. Cepha</i> <i>Martinius Phocion</i> <i>Martinius Palmerius</i> <i>Martinius</i> <i>Martius Mandius</i> <i>Marcus Paulus</i> <i>Metaphisites</i> <i>Matthew Pariz</i> <i>Mattheus</i> <i>Miffius</i> <i>Mattheus Weftminft</i> <i>Mattheus</i> <i>Marcus Valerius</i> <i>Matthias</i> <i>Moufieur de Villamont</i> <i>Marcus Damascenus</i> <i>Moufieur</i> <i>Moufieur de la Noue</i> <i>Meffius</i>
<i>F</i> <i>Froftard</i> <i>Fortunatus</i> <i>Fanchet</i> <i>Fenebellus</i> <i>Frontinus</i> <i>Fabius Pictor.</i> <i>Flavinus Epifc.</i> <i>Fajcinus Temp.</i> <i>Fernelius</i> <i>Flori. Poetar</i> <i>Fron. Georgius</i> <i>Fabianus Prætor</i> <i>Fron. Philophilus</i> <i>Facilius</i> <i>Festus Pompeius</i>	<i>G</i> <i>S. Gregory</i> <i>S. Greg. Nazianzen</i> <i>Guliel. Tyrienf.</i> <i>Gedonius</i> <i>Guliel. de Nangis</i> <i>Gennadius</i> <i>Greg. Floren.</i> <i>Greg. Thorenens.</i> <i>Gregor. Papa</i> <i>Cefar</i> <i>Guicciardine</i> <i>Gaudenius Mervla</i> <i>Gober</i> <i>Glebanus</i> <i>Gonarius</i> <i>Gualt. Monach.</i> <i>Garcias d'Orta</i> <i>Gaulfrid Monimet.</i> <i>Gyraldus</i> <i>Gyrald. Cambrenfis</i> <i>Guliel. Alamaf.</i> <i>Gemma Frifius</i>	<i>I</i> <i>Julius Pollux</i> <i>Jul. Caf. Comment.</i> <i>Innocentius Papa.</i> <i>Iofephus</i> <i>Junenall</i> <i>Julius Florus</i> <i>Julius Secundus</i> <i>Iufine</i>	<i>Lucius</i> <i>Lucius Fritinus</i> <i>Leo Imperat.</i> <i>Lucius Plotius</i> <i>Latinius Pacatus</i> <i>L. ius</i> <i>Lactant. Firmianus</i> <i>Lupus Epifc. Troi</i> <i>Liberidus</i> <i>Lodovicus Vines</i> <i>Leo Africanus</i>	<i>Lucius</i> <i>Marcus Apor</i> <i>Marcellus</i> <i>Marcus Varro</i> <i>Melina H. p.</i> <i>Martinius Sicut</i> <i>Martinius Capellus</i> <i>Martius de Bellay</i> <i>Macrobius</i> <i>Martinius Scotus</i> <i>Martius</i> <i>Mantius</i> <i>Mantius</i> <i>Meffia Angarius</i> <i>Metrodorus</i> <i>Marcus Aurelius</i> <i>Mofchimus</i> <i>Marbadetus</i> <i>Meffia Cornutus</i> <i>Macchateell</i> <i>Mofes Bar. Cepha</i> <i>Martinius Phocion</i> <i>Martinius Palmerius</i> <i>Martinius</i> <i>Martius Mandius</i> <i>Marcus Paulus</i> <i>Metaphisites</i> <i>Matthew Pariz</i> <i>Mattheus</i> <i>Miffius</i> <i>Mattheus Weftminft</i> <i>Mattheus</i> <i>Marcus Valerius</i> <i>Matthias</i> <i>Moufieur de Villamont</i> <i>Marcus Damascenus</i> <i>Moufieur</i> <i>Moufieur de la Noue</i> <i>Meffius</i>	

Nes.

The Authors Names.

<p> <i>Def. Angelo Catbo.</i> <i>Marullus</i> <i>Mer, Gal, Bel.</i> N <i>Nodgerius</i> <i>Nazarus</i> <i>Neunus</i> <i>Nauclerus</i> <i>Nico. Boyerius</i> <i>Niceph. Gregorius</i> <i>Nico. de Lyra</i> <i>Nigidius</i> <i>Nico Secundinus</i> <i>Nicauder</i> <i>Nico. Monardus</i> <i>Nico. Ralfemus</i> <i>Nicetas Coniates</i> <i>Nimmius Pythag.</i> <i>Nico. de Cusa</i> <i>Nico. Chyrespic.</i> O <i>Ozorius</i> <i>Oppius</i> <i>Optatus</i> <i>Ouid</i> <i>Onuphrius</i> <i>Orosius</i> <i>Oronius Phineus</i> <i>Orpheus</i> <i>Ozbo Aethiopic.</i> <i>Oltradius</i> <i>Olus Magnus</i> <i>Olus Arc. Uspal.</i> P <i>Paulianus</i> <i>Pracopus</i> <i>Paulus Polonius</i> <i>Paulus Diaconus</i> <i>Pelomenus</i> <i>Pontius Paulinus</i> <i>Phaedrius</i> <i>Proffer</i> <i>Pub. Ter. Varro</i> <i>Pharomius</i> <i>Petrarche</i> <i>Polybius</i> <i>Plato</i> <i>Plutarch</i> <i>Pliny</i> <i>Pomponius Mela</i> <i>Phadrius</i> <i>Possidonius</i> <i>Petrus Lombardus</i> <i>Petrus Abaelard.</i> <i>Philoftratus</i> <i>Petrus Bellingus</i> <i>Petrus Jacob.</i> <i>Paul. de Anefridius</i> </p>	<p> <i>Paul. Ionius</i> <i>Thib. Commires</i> <i>Pilonius</i> <i>Paul. Orosius</i> <i>Platinus</i> <i>Pet. Martyr</i> <i>Pedro Mexia</i> <i>Paul. de Amilius</i> <i>Phlegonius Grec.</i> <i>Paul. de Castro</i> <i>Politianus</i> <i>Pindarus</i> <i>Paul. de Agemius</i> <i>Pet. Gellius</i> <i>P. C. Radarius</i> <i>Plinius Secundus</i> <i>Putacius</i> <i>Parmentides</i> <i>Polydor Virgil</i> <i>Petrifry</i> <i>Peairo de Albano</i> <i>Tachymerus</i> <i>Phib. Melanibone</i> <i>Pepidius</i> <i>Praxagoras</i> <i>Proculus</i> <i>Pibilemon</i> <i>Thilo Indai</i> <i>Pet. Olinarius</i> <i>Pet. Comestor</i> <i>Pet. Crinitus</i> <i>Porphyrius</i> <i>Philippides</i> <i>Pythagoras</i> <i>Properius</i> <i>Pausanias</i> <i>Pius 2. Papa</i> <i>Pomponius Latin</i> <i>Perleus</i> <i>Pontanus</i> <i>Pet. de Alincus</i> <i>Policrates</i> <i>Pegafius</i> <i>Pontin. Perkinus</i> <i>Platearius</i> <i>Probus</i> <i>Palemon</i> <i>Paul. de Nola</i> <i>Pomp. Lerna Libert</i> <i>Plautus</i> <i>Pidaxius</i> <i>Pogonius</i> <i>Popinertus</i> </p>	<p> <i>Rufic</i> <i>Rutil. Numatius</i> <i>Ritius</i> <i>Roder Ximenes</i> <i>Rabanus</i> <i>Rog. Hueden</i> <i>Rabbi Isaac</i> <i>Rogerus</i> <i>Rupertus</i> <i>Ruffinus</i> <i>Ripb Saluteran.</i> <i>Agno Chron.</i> <i>Rabbi Helie</i> <i>Roder. Toletan.</i> <i>Rondeletius</i> <i>Rencin</i> <i>Rablaus</i> S <i>Suetonius Tranquil.</i> <i>Solinus Polybist.</i> <i>Suriarius</i> <i>Salust</i> <i>Salutianus</i> <i>Sernius</i> <i>Symmachus</i> <i>Scaliger</i> <i>Sigonius</i> <i>Stephanus</i> <i>Singerius</i> <i>Strabo</i> <i>Socrates</i> <i>Sidonius Apollonar</i> <i>Sieur de Louille</i> <i>Seneca</i> <i>Snydas</i> <i>Syllus Italicus</i> <i>Seleius Bassius</i> <i>Solon</i> <i>Sophocles</i> <i>Sebast. Munster.</i> <i>Scopas</i> <i>Sim. Simonens</i> <i>Stofernus</i> <i>Sannazar</i> <i>Simondez Melli.</i> <i>Sabellicus</i> <i>Spartianus</i> <i>Scrius</i> <i>Seibius</i> <i>Serapion</i> <i>Sextus Aurelius</i> <i>Saxo. Grammat.</i> <i>Sieur de Pybrac.</i> <i>Sext. Pompeius</i> <i>Stobens</i> <i>Schoenertus</i> <i>Serenus</i> <i>Sigis de Herbess.</i> <i>Stoeflerus</i> <i>Suefius</i> <i>Sammonicus</i> T <i>Trebellius Pollio</i> </p>	<p> <i>Theophrastus</i> <i>Tregus Pompeius</i> <i>Titus Livius</i> <i>Timgenes</i> <i>Thom. Aquinas</i> <i>Theodolius</i> <i>Tertullian</i> <i>Themistocles</i> <i>Theopompus</i> <i>Thubitus</i> <i>Tetellus</i> <i>Toninus</i> <i>Tibullus</i> <i>Thales Milefius</i> <i>Theod. Gaza</i> <i>Timocrates</i> <i>Tithalmus</i> <i>Tranquillus</i> <i>Theuerus</i> <i>Theodoros</i> <i>Theophrastus</i> <i>Thridanus</i> <i>Theod. Blander</i> <i>Thucydides</i> <i>Tinnemus</i> <i>Titius</i> <i>Theophrastes</i> <i>Terecius</i> <i>Theodotus</i> <i>Themistius</i> <i>Thomas Dore</i> <i>Turrog. Hist. Antiqu.</i> V <i>Virgill</i> <i>Vitrinius</i> <i>Vopiscus</i> <i>Varro</i> <i>Valerius Max.</i> <i>Velleius Paternul.</i> <i>Vincencius Lyransf.</i> <i>Vallurius</i> <i>Venerab. Beda</i> <i>Vegesius</i> <i>Valer. Flacens</i> <i>Volaterranus</i> <i>Viparianus</i> <i>Valentius Barrucinus.</i> Z <i>Zenophon</i> <i>Zenocrates</i> <i>Zonarus</i> <i>Zozimus</i> <i>Zeno</i> <i>Zuricinus</i> <i>Zarnasobegus.</i> </p>
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THE TREASVRIE of Ancient and Moderne TIMES.

THE FIRST BOOKE.

Of the ancient Countrey of Gaule, now called France; what Lawes, Customs, Ceremonies, and other manners were used among the people of that Nation in their first Original: and how (since then) they have continued.

An Introduction to the whole Discourse.



IN ancient times, the Countrey of Gaule was enclosed within the limits of the Rhein, of the Alpes, of the Mediterranean sea, of the Pyrenean Mountains, and of the Ocean sea. But after that the Gaules had passed the Alpes; all the Countrey which was from the Mountains, so farre as the river * *Rubicon*, along by the coast of the *Apennines*, and so vp into the high Sea (which at this day is called the Gulfe of *Venice*) took the name of Gaule: as *Galatia* did the like, after that wee had subdued some people of *Asia*. That Gaule then which is in *Europe*, being halfe parted by the Alpes, is diuided into two parts; the one on the higher side of the Mountaines, and the other beyond. That which is on the further side, yet concerning vs, w^s called by the Romanes * *Togata*: as *Romane*, in regard of

the habit of the Romanes, being commonly called a Gowne, and which they then did vsually weare. That on the hither side, was (by themselves) named properly *Braccata* (by a certain fashion of garment then worne by them, termed *Beeches*) and partly * *Comata*, in regard that the haire on their heads was verie bushy. *Braccata* in the time of *Julius Caesar*, had his extendure from the Alpes, so farre as *Rhone* or * *Rhodanus* bending towards the Pyrenean Mountaines, where were comprized the *Volca*, *Armoricanes*, *Rhutheni* or *Rhynteni*, and *Heluctians*, as it is to be seen in the seuenth Book of *Cæsars* Commentaries. This country was one while called *Prouence*, and then againe *Narbonne*, after the name of *Narbon*, then the chiefe and capitall Citie of the country. In *Comata* dwelt the Aquitans, which are they of *Cuene*, even from the Pyrenean Mountaines, so farre as the river * *Garon*: on the hither side whereof are the Celts, inhabiting so farre as the Rivers of *Sena* and *Marna*. All the rest of the country extending toward the North, is possessed by the Belgians.

Now the search would bee very great, and hard to be performed by any m^a, that

B would

The first limits of Gaule

*A River in Italy, rising out of *Apennin*, & running betweene *Apenninum* and *Romane* into the *Adriaticque* Sea.

The 3. diuisions of Gaul.

**Togata*, called also *Citerior*, & new *Lombardy*.

**Braccata*, containing *Narbo*, *Prouence*, or *Dauphine*.

**Comata*, comprehending *Belgica*, *Belgica*, and *Aquaine*. *A River rising out of the Alpes.

Jul. Cæs. in Comment. lib. 7.

Prouence called *Narbon*.

*A river passing *Celica* from *Aquitania*.

The Authors speakes in his owne defence concerning his purpose in this History.

would (with a certaine history of all the times) set downe the fashions, manners, and customes which the ancient *Gaules* had held and observed, vntill the daies of *Iulius Caesar* and their nouell qualities from those dayes to ours. But such as can content themselves with that diligence, which generally may be deliuered by the proofes of good and sufficient Authours, worthy of faith and sound credit; perhaps shall finde their expectation well fitted, both with honest pleasure and profite in their reading. And with this intention am I determined to make (namely) a collection out of many writers, that haue carefully employed their penes, concerning the manners and behaviour of the *Gaules*, according as matters might be remembered, in such diversity of distant places. And first, we will select out the most Ancient: first, ward (since can bring our purpose to full effect, and as our endeavour shall nothing be wanting) we will as diligently seeke for the more customes.

Caesar hath comprehended a certaine forme and semblance of *Gaul* in her ancient dayes; especially in the first booke of his Commentaries, of the warre in *Gaul*: albeith he hath sown many other things throughout his Bookes: which I haueing collected here and there, and from infinite places in other Authours, so that the whole may serue to encrease and fully illustrate the course of our purpose; wee may the more reasonably accomplish that which shall serue to make knowne our full aime and scope. Neuerthelesse, I am not to learne, that the *Greekes* which haue followed *Caesar*, were it that they understood not the Latine tongue, or were it through carelesnesse and negligence; haue declared in many places, that they scarcely vnderstoode the matters contained in his Commentaries. Wherefore we will first of all imitate *Caesar*, as the most great and singular Author and master of our history: and then pursue others, according as they haue borrowed any thing of him, or as they serue to make the whole subiect vnderstood.

But in regard that the principall parts of *Great Britaine*, as also of Germany, haue bene seized by the *Gaules*, as that appear in due time and place; and forasmuch as there hath bene great resemblance of the Britaines and Germanes with the Gaules,

as will bee declared by that which *Caesar* hath written; I imagined with my selfe, that it would very conueniently suite with our purpose, to compare such fashions as carried any coherence in these Nations. Considering that *Caesar* thought it fit, to compare the customes of *Gaul*, with them of Germany. And *Strabo*, perceiving the Germanes to be called to by the Romanes, as true brethren to the *Gaules*, by resemblance of their manner of liuing, when he wrote the fashions and customes of the ancient *Gaules*, he reproued them, and began with the Germanes. But although that *Tacitus* hath sayd, That they were named Germanes, by an appellation proper to their Nation, and such as they pleased to stile themselves; yet notwithstanding, howeouer at first they receiued that name, there may be discerned, in the great Germany, or (for our better vnderstanding) a Fraternity, both in behaviour and customes, answerable one vnto another.

For our better beginning then, we will conclude on certaine kindes of manners, to the end, that each thing may be carried as may be most conuenient. *Plato* sayeth, There are three principall parts in the body of Man, wherein are lodged the three principall powers of the soule; Concupiscence in the Liuer, Anger in the Heart, and Reason in the Head, as in a Citadell. In like manner, there are three severall kindes of vertues that do command & gouerne them: Sobriety or Temperance, ouerway Concupiscence in the Liuer; Courage, against Anger in the Heart; and Wisdome, in thinking and iudging with Reason. The common consent & agreement of all which, is the faithfull dutie of each one, euen as it were with diuers voices, & worthily may be called Iustice. *Caesar* and *Diodorus*, *Titus Livius*, *Strabo*, and others, who are as interpreters of *Caesar*, do declare many things of the *Gaules*; & if I would haue set down at large in my Discourse, according as they are written by them: I should rehearse one and the same matter too many times. Wherefore I will rather imitate their intention in each place, then bee constrained to alledge their multiplicity of words.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

Of the Temperance in eating and drinking used among the Gaules: as also of their Marriages and single condition of life.



Enter then on the behalfe of Temperance, wee might speake of their abstinence in eating and drinking, reſort to women, their manner of speech, their modesty in Garments and lodging; their sportes, delights and alſiſtance, which they afford to one another in ſuch things as they haue. Concerning the eating and drinking of the ancient Gaules, the *Plurid* for the moſt part (according to *Diodorus* and *Strabo*) on white meats, and diuers kindes of fleſh, & principally on Porke freſh and ſalted. They vſed to haue ſtanding by their fires, pottes full of boyled fleſh, and ſpits well loaden with roaſted fleſh; the better part whereof they would giue to men of worth, to doe them honor: as *Homer* writes, That the Grecian Captains did to *Aux*, when he had won the victory againſt *Hector* body to body. *Caesar* granteth the ſiſſe-fame manner of life to the Britaines, and to the Germanes. The Britaines (ſaith he) which dwell furtheſt vp into the Countrey, the moſt part of them do not ſowe any corne but liue onely vpon milke and fleſh. Neuertheleſſe, they hold in deteſtation (by what religious opinion I know not) to taſte of an Hare, of an Hen or Chicken, and of a Goole. Hee ſaith alſo the very ſame in his ſeuenth booke, ſpeaking of the Germanes; That they do not addit them ſelues to any kinde of labour, and that their very greateſt nourishment is vpon white meats, cheefe and fleſh. But *Tacitus* hath written much more amply concerning the manner of life amongſt the Germanes. Each mother (ſaith hee) doth nurſe her child with her owne beſt, and neuer truſteth it in the hands of their ſeruants, or other Nurſes. Thou canſt not know the Maſter from the Varlet, by any kinde of more delicate feeding. They liue nakedly and ſlovenly, euen amongſt their Heards or droues of Cattle; & lying vpon the ground, vntill ſuch time as age

doth ſet apart ſuch as are Matters, & vertue doeth enouch and make them to bee knowne. Their viands are ſimply dreſſed or prepared, being of wilde fruits, ſometimes of freſh Veniſon, or curded milke, without any dainty cooking or dreſſing. So much for their manner of eating.

As for their drinke, that amongſt the Gaules, and termed *Zythum*: This (ſaith *Diodorus*) was made of barley and water, haueing paſſed thorow diuers honycombs. *Tacitus* writeth almoſt the very ſame of the Germanes. They make a drinke (ſaith he) of water, mingled both with barley & wheate, diſguiſed into ſome reſemblance of wine. They which dwell on the Sea-coaſts, do buy wine. The moſt part of the Gaules (as *Diodorus* & *Strabo* doe both write) vſed to ſitte on the ground and to eate their food, ſitting on the ſkinnes of Dogges or of volutes: being ſerued with earthen veſſelles, which were ſtrong and muſſue, and wrought about with branches of flowers; and they were alwayes attended and ſerued by their young children. In like manner *Tacitus* recordeth, That the Germans ſo ſoone as they were awake and riſen (which they vſed not to do till it was day) they laued and waſhed themſelues, with warme water, becauſe winter continued in their region for the moſt part of the yeare; and at coming forth of the bathe, they went vnto their fooode, each one haueing his table and ſeat alone by himſelfe. Thus then was their ancient and rude ſimplicity, which cauſed the Germanes to be ſo big membered and corpulent, wherewith *Tacitus* ſeemeth to maruell greatly. And thence likewiſe enſued the ſiſſe-fame greatneſſe of bodye which was among the Gaules, who for their huge corpulency, and regarding onely their owne bigneſſe of ſtature, held the ſmaller conſtitution of the Romanes in contempt, as may be ſcene in the 2. booke of the wars in *Gaul*.

But *Plato* reprehendeth the Gaules for their intemperance and drunkenneſſe with wine; and *Diodorus* writeth the very ſame. They affected vnto exceſſively, that when the Merchants brought it to them, they dranke it wholly new as it was; and then becomming drunk, by haueing taken ouermuch, they lay downe to ſleepe, or behaued themſelues like mad men. And this was the reaſon that many of the Italian

Tul. Caſ. in com. lib. 6.

Diſtinct other good Authours compared with *Caesar*.

Errors in *Greece* Authors that followed *Caesar*.

Caesar followed as Father of the history.

The cheefeſt place is in *Great Britaine* and Germany poſſeſſed by the Gaules.

Tul. Caſ. in com. lib. 6. Strabo in lib. 3.

Cornel. Tacitus lib. 4. cap. 3.

Reſemblance in cuſtomes and manners, betwix the Gaules and Germanes.

Plato in lib. 2. de legib.

Three cheefe parts in mans bodye.

Three eſpeciall ſimilitudes of our weate gouerne the powers of the ſoule.

Diodorus, *Plato*, *Titus Livius*, *Strabo*, and ſince in reſpect to *Caesar*.

The Authour beginneth with Temperance.

The eating & diſting of the Ancient Gaules *Diodorus* in lib. 4 *Strabo* in lib. 2

Homer lib. 4

Titus Caſar in comment. lib. 6 Of the Germanes.

Cornel. Tacitus in lib. 3. cap. 1.

Of Mothers Nurſing their owne childre

The drinke vſed by the ancient Gaules *Diodorus* in lib. 4 *Cornel. Tacitus* in lib. 4. cap. 3.

Diodorus in lib. 4 *Strabo* in lib. 3.

Their manner of eating their meate.

Cornel. Tacitus lib. 4. cap. 3. Of waſhing their body in warme water.

The reaſon of corpulency & big ſtature of the Germanes and Gaules.

Intemperance and drunkenneſſe amongſt the Gaules.

Italian Mar-
chants brought
wine to the
Gaules.

lian Merchants for the gaine which they got both by sea and land; brought wine in great plenty thither, and for a small vessel of wine, receiued (in exchange) foure times the value. And the same Authour not onely blameth their drunkenness, but also the quarrells which accompanied this excess. They obserued (saith he) as a custome, at their feeding, for the least debate of words, to rise presently from the Table, and defie one another to the combat, hazarding their liues without any discretion. Thus you see how the Greeks haue reprooued the ancient Gaules; and *Tacitus* calleth the Germanes their Brethren in the same vice, accusing them equally to bee drunkards and quarrellers. They vsed not (saith he) any such temperance against thirst. For they held it no dishonor, to spend the whole day and night in drinking, so they might bee suffered to drinke their fill. furnishing them with so much as they would haue: you shold find them no lesse easie to bee conquered by their vices, then by armes. The quarrells which rose very often among them, as among people subiect to Wine, was no sooner mingled with injuries of the mouth; but (for the most part) did end with blowes by the sword, to the expence of their blood, yea of their liues. Such was the blame which the Germanes receiued by making no more account of so bad a custome; euen as if this vice had bene no vice among them, or did any way shame them.

An Order amongst
the Gaules against
this badde cus-
tome.

But the Gaules vsed themselves in better manner: for by a publicke ordinance this vice behaviour (in particular persons) was verie greuously and rigorously punished. Let vs heare then from *Caesar* the cause of the magnanimity of the Gaules; which was, by knowing how to keep themselves from this disorderly kinde of life. The most magnanimous of all (saith he in his first Booke, speaking of the Belgians, Celts, and Aquitanes) are the Belgians, because they are furthest off in the country, which is carefully husbanded, and strangers doe but seldome trafficke with them, to bring them that which serueth to no other end but to effeminate their courages.

Most valiant
& fierce peo-
ple about 700
y.

In the same book speaking of the Neruians, as of the most courageous of all the Belgians, he saith; *Caesar* making enquiry

of them, what might be their naturall disposition and manners, hee found, That Merchants did not trafficke with them, & that they would not suffer (by any means) that wine should be brought among them, or any thing that serueth for delicacy. For they held (as an infallible opinion) that such things were the cause of abasing their courage, & that their native vertue would thereby be much weakened. Whereby we may perceiue, that the intemperance of some particular men, was condemned by a generall and publicke decree; and that sobriety & temperate carriage was greatly respected and honored in those parts. *Strabo* sayeth, That by the perswasion of *Cennus*, a graue and wise man, the Getes rent and pluckt vp all the Vines in their country, yet vsed some wine in the time of their childrens nursing. But our Ancestors did much better, because they would neuer permit or suffer, that any Vine should be planted among them, or wine to be brought them from any other place. Wherefore *Diodorus* had good reason to say, that in his time there came no wine at all into *Gaulle Comata*.

Caesar in his fourth Booke, maketh the *Suenes*, a people of Germany, equal in temperance to the *Neruians* that were in Gaulle. For they would not suffer that any wine should be brought into their countrey, because they were perswaded, that it made men lazie, effeminate, and vnapt to endure any labor. Thus we may obserue then, what was their sobriety in eating and drinking, wherein their greater part of vertue is commended; for abstinence from lewd and wanton women. And albeit that *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, & *Barde- sanes*, according as *Eusebius* reporteth; being all of them Grecian Authors, haue reproued this vice as frequent and common among the Gaules, and which is as innated (if credite may be giuen to *Aristotle*) in warlike actions; whereby the fable was fained, of conioyning *Venus* with *God Mars*: yet notwithstanding, *Caesar* speaketh nothing thereof, but giueth great commendation to the Germanes for their temperance, contrary to them that haue written otherwise of them.

Such as haue continued in virgin estate the longest while among them, and without the knowledge of any other but their owne body, receiued the very greatest re-

Wine & wanton
meats the
hinderers of
manly courage

Strabo in lib. 3
Of the Getes

No vines plant-
ed amongst
the Gaules.

Di dar in lib. 4

Jul. Caesar in
comment. lib. 4
Suenes, border-
ing on Bar-
baria, Mallana
the most
abstinent, & the
Alpes.

An Historio-
grapher of
Babylon
saith in his
lib. 1. c. 4. & 8

Arist. in lib. 4.
de Anim. cap. 9

Of such as
continued longest
in virgin estate
of life.

H. rot. in Temp.
Of the nature
of Children.

The younger
men amongst
the Germanes.

Young men
children e-
quall'd their
fathers strength

Julius Caesar in
comment. lib. 6
Orders obser-
ued in mar-
riages amongst
the Gaules.

Of suspicion
concerning
the husbands
death.

The doctrine
of the Philo-
sophers concern-
ing the hus-
bands power.

spect and praise. For they held it as a most villanous thing to haue knowledge of a woman, before the age of twenty yeeres. In all which time they did not hide themselves, but bathed daily together in the ri- uers. And this is the reason rendered by *Herodotus*, speaking of the nature of children, wherefore haire commeth much sooner to some then it doth to others: be- cause the use of *Venus* maketh the flesh more loose and flabby, and openeth the skinn, which affordeth the easier passage to the haire; contrarywise, such Children as are gelded, haue neuer any haire at all. *Tacitus* hath not omitted the selfesame at- tribution of praise to the Germanes. Young men are long time before they haue any knowledge of women: and that is an especial reason why they lose no part of their youthfull strength, and therefore make no hast at all of parting with their virgin condition. Young Laddes, and such (of like stature) as are gelded, do make triall of their agility together, and their children do (commonly) partake of their Parents strength.

Marriages do appertaine to the rule of the same vertue: but *Caesar* hath not written carefully how the Gaules obserued it. The husband (saith hee) laide downe the valew of so much goodes, as his wife brought with her, and a iust account being taken thereof, the whole stocke was put together. The party that furnished, enioyed the others portion, with the reuenues of all that had past. The husbands are masters and commanders of their wiues liues, and also of their Childrens. When any Father of a Family (of note) dyeth, the nearest of the kindred do assemble together, and if any suspicion be conceyued concerning his death: the Wife is committed to tortures, as they doe their slaues, and if she prouoe to be conuinc'd; after they haue tormented her with fire, and all other kinds of paines, they put her to death. This law may seeme hard, that giueth the husband such like power over the wife and children, as he hath over his slaues. For, according as the Philosophers haue taught vs: the father of the family giueth command to his wife & children, as vnto free persons. Yet this is not all as one kinde of command: for hee giueth command to his wife as to one of the same Commonwealth, & to his chil-

dren as a King. The Law truly may appeare to be hard, and yet it is *Roman*, euen the like as *Romans* made, Ordayning; That the sonne should bee in his fathers power all his life; and that the father may chastise, beate, put him to any business in the field, sell, or kill him. The same King also appointed, That a man might punish his wife, if she had drunke any wine. *Caesar* speaketh all this in his first booke: and in his fit hee declareth diuers other fashions of behaviour in marriages, speaking of the Brittaines.

Ten or twelue together (saith he) do hold their wiues in common, and principally brethren with their brethren, and fathers with their daughters. Any such as are born of them, are auouched for children of them that haue espoused their mothers, being yet maids. So much also he relateth of the English. But *Tacitus* writing of the Germanes, giueth them most noble commendation in this point. The wife (saith hee) neuer offereth anie dowry to the husband, but the husband to the wife. The parents, cousins, & kindred are present therat, and allow of all presents passing between them. And they are no presents deuised for delicacie or delight of women, nor to repaire a new intended marriage: but they are a gift of Oxen yoked, a horse bridled and furnished, & a Buckler or Target, with a sword and Iaueline. For these presents the husband taketh his wife; who likewise (on her owne behalfe) presenteth him with some weapons of warre. This is the great marriage bond, these are accounted sacred mysteries, & these are the coniugall gods that they hold in reuerence.

And to the end that the wife may not thinke her selfe exempted from vtterous desseignes, nor the hazards of warre: from the very beginning of her marriage she is continually aduertised, that she is thus receiued and taken to be her husbands companion in all paines and dangers, and that (be it either peace or warre) she must of necessity runne the same fortune. And these are plainly signified vnto her by the coupled Oxen, the furnished horse, and warlike weapons. She receiueeth what she is to bestow on her children after that she hath worthily and holily nursed them vp: & such as are of most forward disposition the Father hath care of, that they may re-

Arrian Lawe
of power in
fathers.

Of confusion
of marriage
amongst the
Brittaines.

Conuelius Tacitus,
vbi supra,
In praise of
the Germans.

Presents giue
into the new
married Hus-
band.

Aduertise-
ments to the
wife from the
day of her mar-
riage.

Mysteri-
ous
significations
to the Wife.

Education of
their children

semble (in good quality) others of their
linage. And then they live, keeping their
chastity well defended; nor being cor-
rupted by any occasions, nor the light of
wanton pastimes, or being present at
Feasts or banquets.

Women puni-
shed by their
husbands for
adultery

There are very few adulteries commi-
tted in so great a Nation; for the punish-
ment thereof is very speedy, and the hus-
band may lawfully do it. After hee hath
shaven and stript her naked, the husband
bringeth her forth of his house, in the pre-
sence of all his and her neerest Kindred,
and beatech her with a bastinado thorow
all the streets; for there is no allowance
of any pardon after that a wife hath blem-
ished her honor; and neither her beau-
ty, youth, or riches can afterward winne
her another husband. Vices ferue not
there to be laughed and jested at: & one
may well say, That (there) is such a world,
as neither permiteth the doing or indur-
ing of any dissoluteness. Those Com-
monweales are the best ordered, wherein
is such permission, that the Maides on-
ly finde themselves husbands, and mar-
riage consisteth in mutuall accord (for a
long while) in good hope, and that the
Bride may have her hearts desire. For in
this case the taked her husband as one &
the selfsame body, and one life is allow-
ed by them both: because they can have
no contrary thoughts; neither they de-
sires any way wandering, but their affec-
tions doe so sympathize, as not in either
to husband or wife, but to the sanctity of
marriage. It is helde as a very great of-
fence, to procure the death of any of their
children, or of their kindred: And there
good customes do beare more sway, then
good Lawes and Ordinances doe else-
where. Hitherto haue wee continued the
writing of *Tacitus*, concerning the Ger-
manes marriages.

No pardon
granted for a
adultery.Vices notie-
fied at.Commenda-
tion of mar-
riage making.Against mur-
thering of
Children or
kindred.Diodor in lib. 4
The manner
of speaking a-
mongst the
Gaules.

Diodorus reprehendeth the Gaules for
a certain kinde of disordered behaviour
in their speaking, saying: They vse a short
kinde of speech, somewhat hard to be vn-
derstood, and without any deliberation;
speaking great store of doubtfull things,
yet deliuering many bragging and van-
taging words; much to commend themselves
and in the contempt of others. They are
threatners and bad speakers, and full of o-
uerweening. This vanity of theirs hath
likewise beene reprooued by *Strabo* in lib.

5. And *Cæsar* speaketh thereof in his
fourteenth Booke, and is also to be proued by
diuers examples in his other bookes. Such
is that whereof hee speaketh in his first
booke, of *Dumetius* the Heluetian, who
highly extolled and vaunted the vertue of
the Heluetians, and reproached the dif-
comfiture of the Romanes, admonishing
Cæsar by menaces to beware of any fur-
ther attempting; for feare, least the place
where the Romanes miscarried, by a fur-
ther losse of their people, after the spoiling
of their whole Army, should take name
thereby, and so remaine as a memorie of
their disgrace.

Such also was *Arminius*, King of the
Germanes, who answering little or nothing
to matters which *Cæsar* demanded of him;
spake wonders of his owne valour,
and that he neuer buckled with any man,
but he was ruined. And *Cæsar* might com-
to fight whensoever he pleased, but he
should learne of the Germanes, that they
were a people neuer vanquished, and
skilfull enough in actions of armes. *Ter-
tullian* also wanted in his oration, that
hee would make a League with all the
Gaules, and then all the world durst not
make head against them. This is sufficient
concerning this matter; I come now to
speake of the care which they had of their
owne persons.

CHAP. II.

*How the Gaules used to wear their Haire;
and what kinde of garments they used,
with the painting of their bodies, their
Coines, &c.*



Diodorus, speaking of the
Gaules, sayeth: Albeit, that
naturally they haue good-
ly lockes of hayre, yet doe
they helpe the naturall
colour thereof, by an in-
strument properly deuised for that pur-
pose. They twine and twist their busbie
lockes together, and tuffe them to hang
dangling downe, even from the forehead
to the necke: so that they resemble Sa-
tyres, and young vnthorne boyes. They
haue practised by Art, to make their haire
thicke

Jul. Cæsar in lib. 7.

Diodorus the
Heluetian
braggart.Arminius K.
of the Ger-
manes.

Jul. Cæsar in lib. 1.

Diodorus lib. 4
How the
Gaules used
to wear their
haire.Cornel. Tacitus
de moribus
Sæuæ did
wear their
haire.Of the Lords
amongst the
SæuæDiodor in lib. 5
How the
Gaules wore
their beards,
and some of
their apparel.The reason of
calling Gaule
Braccata.

Strabo in lib. 4

Titus Liv. lib. 4.
3. lib. 2. cap. 1.
Diodor in lib. 5.
Jul. Cæsar in lib. 7.
Of the an-
cient Britones.

thicke and hard, that little difference ap-
peareth betwene theirs and the haire of
a horte. *Tacitus* speaketh (wel-neede) the
fame of the *Sæuæ*, a people of Germany.
But the especiall note of that Nation is,
that they turne their haire crosse or ouer-
thwart, and then binde or tuffe it vp in a
knot. In this manner are the *Sæuæ* known
among all the other Germanes, and
free-men of the Countrey from slaues.
Some of the *Sæuæ* do wear their hayre
long, and bristling backward with a ben-
ding downe, and so they go till they bee
hoary or white; and then (oftentimes)
they binde it together on the crowne of
the head. The Lords are no more respec-
tue of their own persons, and yet with-
out any proud or bad intention: For it is
not done in regard that they affect or co-
uet to be affected, but they doe onely fo-
decke themselves, to appeare the more
fierce and terrible vnto their enemies,
when occasion calleth them forth to warre.

Diodorus proceedeth on in this maner,
concerning the behaviour of the Gaules.
Some of them (saith he) doe vse to shau
their beards, but others do wear them of
some length. The Gentlemen do cutte
short the haire on their cheekes, & suffer
their beards to grow to such length, as it
will couer all their bodie. They wear al-
so a kinde of garment, which is all hairie,
to seeme the more dreadful and terrible,
consisting of diuers colours, and teamed
by them *Braccates*. They haue long skir-
ted iackets or Cassockes, rewed or stre-
aked, beeing of the very courest Cloath,
which they vse for winter, and the most
simple or slenderest for summer. *Diodorus*
speaketh thus of the *Braccates*, as the rea-
son whereby the Romanes called that part
of Gaule *Braccata*, and by which garment
the same Authour affirmeth, That the
Gaules were more terrible to beholde.

Strabo likewise writeth in his fourth book
concerning their haire, their Cassockes,
their rude and hairy garments, their long
high breeches, & their short open cloaks
which hardly couered halfe theyr But-
tocks. As these Authours do agree to-
gether, touching the haire of the Gaules
and Germanes, and to be of a redde co-
lour, according as *Titus Livius*, and *Dio-
dorus* haue written. *Cæsar* speaking of the
of ancient Britany, writeth thus. They do

all paint themselves with an herb, called
by them *Gastum*, which causeth a blewish
or azure colour: and this made them ve-
ry dreadfull to looke on, when they went
to any fight. Moreouer, they wore their
locks of haire very long; shauing off all
their other haire except that on the head,
and on the vpper lip.

Diodorus pursuing his purpose concern-
ing the Gaules, figureth them forth (as it
were with golde) in this manner. The
whole Countrey of Gaule is without the
mettall called Siluer: but nature hath gi-
uen it gold, without any labor or cunning
endeavour. For, in regard that the most
part of the riuers haue their courses verie
troublesome, vneacie in pasing, & whee-
ling or circling in wide compasse: the
waters which descend from the hilles and
mountaines, by dispersing themselves a-
broad in the valles, do scatter a sand on
the fields, which is mingled with golde.

Afterwardes, kneading or tweaking the
clods together, wherein they discerne the
golde to shine, and permitting them to
become hard: they then breake them in
peeces, and when they haue washed it in
water, and the earth is quite taken away,
they hurle the rest into a furnace, and so
melt it in that manner. When they haue
thus moulten and drawne out the golde
pure and cleane, the women and men do
adorn themselves therewith: for they
wear it in rings on their fingers, and in
bracelets about their armes, and in Car-
canets on their breasts, & in chaines about
their neckes, and about their middles as
golden girdles. *Polybius* also maketh men-
tion in his second booke, of their Chaines
and Bracelets. And *Strabo* in his 4. booke
speaketh of their Mines of golde, whereof
the cheefest are in the Countrey of *Tar-
bellors*; and hee attributeth this Ornament
only vnto such as were in honor and dig-
nities.

But *Cæsar* and *Tacitus* do speake of an-
other manner of want or poeerty (of this
magnificence) amongst the Germanes.
They vse (saith *Cæsar*) skinner in their
garments, and short cloakes made of fur-
red skins, hauing the greater part of their
body naked. But *Tacitus* speaketh more
amply, concerning the whole manner of
the Germanes, writing thus. I doubt whe-
ther the gods were fauourable to them or
quite contrary; because they denied them-
the

The Hearbe
Gastum, vied
by Dyet.Diodor in lib. 5
No Siluer in all
the countrey
of Gaule, but
gold naturallyHow they ga-
ther their
gold amongst
the Gaules, &
adorn them-
selves there-
with

Polybius in lib. 2

Strabo in lib. 4

The countrey
of Galatigne,
neere to the
Pyrenean
Mountaines.Jul. Cæsar in
Com. lib. 7Corn. Tacit.
in lib. 6. c. 3.No Golde
or Siluer among
the Germanes.

Vessels of Sil-
uer held in no
more account
then the like
made of earth

The *Serrati* &
Bigati were
natives among
the ancient
Romans.

The common
wearing habit
of the Ger-
mans.

They were
skins of wild
beasts, and of
fishes.

What gar-
ments the wo-
men did wear.

the mettals of gold and silver. Notwith-
standing, I will not set it downe assured-
ly, but that there may bee some veine of
gold or silver in Germany: yet who (at
any time) hath made search for it? They
have no such affection thereto, as to ap-
ply it to any seruise. Some vessels of silver
have bene found amongst them (which
have bene giuen to their Ambassadors, or
to their Princes) and yet to be held in no
more esteeme or reckoning, then those
that are made of earth. Neuertheles, they
that dwell much neerer to vs, in regard
that they haue trafficked with our people:
do make more esteeme of gold and sil-
uer, allowing and commending some
peeeces of our monies. They that liue fur-
ther off in the Countrey, doe deale more
simply, and (according to the most an-
cient manner) make their traffike by ex-
change. They receive the old money, and
such as they haue had longest knowledge
of, as the *Serrati* and *Bigati*. They loue
the coin of silver better then that of gold;
not that they beare therto any particular
affection, but because the silver money is
easier for them in buying things com-
mon, and of smallest price. The viall ha-
bit or garment to them all, is a long skir-
ted iacket or Calfocke which they fasten
together with a buckle, but (for want
therof) with a great pin. The rest of the
body is not covered with any thing, and
they sit the most part of the day upon the
hearth, somewhat neerer to the fire. Such
as are of greatest wealth, doe differ from
the other in their garments, which are not
so ample or large as those of the *Sarma-
tes*, or of the Parthians: but iustly fitted
to the body, and such as maketh apparant
shew of euery member. They wear the skins
of wild beasts, and such as dwell neerer
to the riuers, are most curious of their ha-
bit: but they of more remote abiding, vse
no great curiosity, as being least carefull
what they weare, because they liue so far
from strangers. When they haue made
choise of their beasts skines, they do the
like of fishes, taking such as are the great-
test, or as the Ocean and most vnknowne
Seas do yeeld, and fullest of spots, and so
they fowe them together. The Women
are no otherwise habited then the men:
but that the women are oftner covered
with a garment of linnen, inter-woven
with a scarlet colour. They care for no

sleeues on the height of their armes, but
are naked downe from the very shoulders
and part of the breast (nereest adioyning)
is as nakedly discovered. Thus you see the
gayest brauery of the Gaules; & how sim-
ple the Germans are in their garments: it
remaineth now that we say somewhat of
their houses and dwellings.

CHAP. III.

Of the houses and dwellings of the Gaules;
their Townes and villages, and of what
manner they were.



The habitations of the Gaules
(according as *Strabo* sayth)
are wide and spacious, made
of earth and planchers of
wood, & couered with strong
reeds arched on the top together in form
of a vault: for so *Cæsar* in the first booke of
the Gaules warres saith. That the Lod-
gings of *Q. Cicero* in the fields, were cou-
ered with straw and reeds, according to
the manner of the Gaules. And in his sixth
booke he sheweth, that the more part of
the Manner houses appertaining to the
gentlemen Gaules, were in the woods, or
on the riuers. Speaking of the house of
Ambiorix, which was altogether enight
with woods, *as were wel nere all* (sayth he)
*the houses of the Gaules are, who to sun the
heate, do dwell in woods, and neere to riuers.*
Cæsar deliuereth plainly, that the A-
quitaines, Celts and first Belgians, had their
Cities and Townes enclosed both with
walles and ditches: but it may be doubted
whether the like prouision was vsed a-
mong the Gaules further off, and such as
were neerer to the North; as the *Morini*,
Adumates, *Menapians*, and *Belgones*.

Cæsar declareth, That the most part of
these Belgians, are descended of the Ger-
mans, and saith, that the Germans had
not their Townes and Villages made af-
ter our manner: as may bee obserued by
that which *Tacitus* hath written accord-
ing to the custome which they had in
his time. It is sufficiently known (sayth he)
that the German people dwell nor in any
Towne.

Of their hou-
ses, lodgings,
& dwellings
in Lib. 4.

In *Cæsar* com.
Lib. 5.

Lib. 6.

Of their first
Cities and
Townes.

People a-
bout Turin
both sides of
Belon's, want
not a Towne.

Of *Narbonne*
in France.

In *Lib. 4* sayth
both sides of
Belon's, want
not a Towne.

Of the coun-
ty of *Lozère*
Lib. 4, sayth
both sides of
Belon's, want
not a Towne.
Com. Tien.
in Lib. 5.

The manner of
their build-
ing among the
Germans.

Their Causes
and storehou-
ses of Corne
vnder ground

In *Cæsar* in
Com. Lib. 6.

Of towns be-
longing to the
Belgians

Of the *Morini*,
that made
war, contrary
to all the o-
ther Gaules.

Townes, neither that they could endure
to haue their houses neere vnto one ano-
ther. They dwell distant or apart, scatter-
ingly, where either riuers, fieldes, or
woods do best content them. Their Vil-
lages are not after our fashion: for their
houses do not touch or ioyne neere each
other. Euery one leaueth a great wide di-
stance or compasse about his dwelling;
either to auoid the disastrous fortunes of
fire, or else because they know not how to
build better. They vse neither Morter nor
Tiles: but the matter which doeth them
seruise, is very rude, and is not prepared
either for beauty or pleasure. They plai-
ster some places much more respectiue-
ly, with a kinde of earth so cleane & shining,
as it seemeth to contend with painting, &
portraictures of colours. They were wont
to make causes vnder the ground, and co-
uered them with thicke clods of dung, to
withdraw themselves thither in the win-
ter time, and therein also to hide their
Corne, because in such places, the colde
weather had not so great power, & when
the enemy came, hee could make pillage
of nothing, but what hee found readily
discovered. As for that which was thus
hidden or buried, Theeues not knowing
thereof, would bestow the lesse paines &
search, in further enquiry after it. *Cæsar*
speareth (almost) as much of the Britains.
They rearm'd it a Towne (saith he) when
they had enclosed some tuffie wood with
ditches and pales; whereinto they were
wont to retire themselves, to shunne the
courses of their enemies. And whereas
Cæsar speareth sometimes of certaine
Townes of the *Suenes*: in mine opinion,
hee is so to be vnderstood.

Returpe we now to the townes of the
Belgians, which are vp higher in the co-
stie, and heere my question is: Whether
they had any such Townes as the Britains
or no? We will first of all speake of the
Morini, who (according as *Cæsar* writeth)
beganne to make war, but in a quite con-
trary manner then the other Gaules. For
they hauing heard, that the very greatest
Nations which had hazarded battel, were
quite defeated and conquered: withdrew
themselves & their goods into the stron-
gest places, which were great and long
forrests, encompassed with fenny or mar-
thy grounds. *Cæsar* being come vnto the
entrance of some such forrest, and hauing

concluded there to tortoise his campe: as
the *Menapians* were seriously employed a-
bout their busines; the enemy (of whom
they had no doubt at all) sallied forth vp-
on them vnprovided, at most places of
the wood, and charged the *Romans* very
sharply. Heereupon, they betooke them
to their Armes, and repulsed them backe
into the wood, and hauing slaine a great
number of them, pursued them thorough
many vnease places, yet with very little
losse of their people. The next day follow-
ing, *Cæsar* determined to fell down the
Forrest, and suspecting least some harme
might be done by the Flankers to Soldi-
ers warned: he cauted all the trees which
were heuue downe, to be made as rampiers
against the enemy, and to serue as
defences on either side.

Hauing made a great spacious coun-
treij (in few dayes) by incredible dili-
gence, after that the *Romans* had made
themselves Maisters of the cattle & bag-
gage which was in the reteward; they
withdrew themselves into the thickest of
the Forrest. *Cæsar* speareth this of the
wood of the *Morini*, which serued them
as a Towne or Village. And the yeare af-
ter, in regard of the drought which had
dried vp all the Marishes (as it was to be seene
in his fourth booke) they hauing no more
refuges to flye vnto as they had the yeare
before, were (almost all of them) subdued
by *Labienus*. In these two warres, hee maketh
no mention of any other Townes,
then of woods and marishes.

The like is affirmed of the *Menapians*,
in those Countreies where the Romaine
Legions were brought, vnder the conduct
of *Fabius* and *Cotta*, as it is set downe also
in his fourth booke. They made spoyle in
the fields, destroyed the Corne, set the
houses on fire; and all this happened, be-
cause the *Menapians* had hid themselves
in the thickest Forrests. Afterward *Cæsar*
himselfe came to them with five legions.
But they (as *Cæsar* saith) not hauing ga-
thered any forces together, trusting only
in the security of the place, withdrew
themselves into the woods and marishes,
and carried thither their goods also. *Cæsar*
hauing diuided his powers with *C. Fabius*,
who was his Lieutenant, and *M. Crassus*
Treasurer of his wars, and hauing also
foadainely provided bridges for pas-
sage, gaue them assault three several
wayes.

The *Morini*
set vpon the
Romans and
were repulsed

Cæsar & his
men pursue
the *Morini* in
the Forrest

In *Cæsar* in
Com. Lib. 4.

Of the *Menapians*.
In *Cæsar* in
Com. Lib. 4.

The stratagem
of *Cæsar* a-
gainst the *Me-
napians*, tho-
rough their
owne negli-
gence.

ways, and burning their houses and villages, made himself Master of a great number of men and cattle. The *Menapians* seeing themselves in this distress were constrained to send Ambassadors, humbly to entreat peace. In this place also there is no name of any village, or pregnant appearance that there were any, but such as we have already spoken of.

Of the *Neruians*.
1st. Caesar in Com. Lib. 2.

By due observation of this discourse, perhaps the villages of the *Neruians* will appear to be even the like. The *Neruians* (this speaketh *Caesar* in his second booke) from all antiquity, not having any power of horsemen (for even to this day they do not add to their minds thereto, but all the strength which they have, consisteth only in footmen) to the end they may impeach and withstand the horsemen of their neighbours, if they make any inroad upon them, to rob and spoil them, cutting downe young trees that had shot forth strong branches, they twined them together, and interweaving briars and thorns among them, they wrought them so artificially, that these hedges or fences served them as a wall; wherein not only a man could not enter, but also he was unable to see or discern any thing.

The *Neruians* had no walled townes or villages of distance.

In the same warre of the *Neruians*, the women, & such as (in regard of their age) were not serviceable for bearing armes, had never any Village or Town for their safety, which was engirt with wals; but in such a place where there was no coming or entrance for an Army, because of the marshy grounds, which were the only hinderance.

1st. Caesar in Com. Lib. 6.

The 2. war of *Caesar* against the *Neruians*.

Now, in this first warre against the *Neruians*, we may plainly perceive that they had not any Towne enclosed with wals: and we may well credit it by that which is in the sixth booke. For *Caesar* having assembled foure Legions with all possible diligence, entered (in wares) into the Country of the *Neruians*, and before they could either draw their strength together, or tell how to save themselves: after hee had surprized a great number of men, and herds of Cattle, and dispersed the booty to his Soldiers; he layde waste their fields, and compelled them to yeeld and deliver him hostages. This passage likewise of the *Neruians*, yeeldeth great coniecture, that they had no other towns

or villages in those times, but like them of the *Britaines*.

It may appear also, that the *Adriatices* (by that which *Caesar* writeth in his second booke) have had the like townes. Having forsaken (saith he) all their townes and Castles, they brought all their goods into a village, which was wonderfully strong by natural situation. For, having (on all sides about it) huge rocks & down-falles of exceeding height, it had but one onely comming to it, which was hanging or descending downward, yet in a swift and gentle manner, being in breadth no more than two hundred foote. This way or passage they had fortified with a double wall, of very great height, & the same was strengthened in many places with mighty huge stones, and sharpe-pointed beames or pyles. Heere *Caesar* describeth nothing but a wall onely, and on one side of the Towne. And the like may be easily proved in the Nation of the *Eburones*: who are also called *Germanes* by *Caesar* in his second booke. These men, under the conduct of King *Ambiorix*, had overcome *Sabinus* and *Cotta*, with fiftene Companies, neere to *Alisquas*, as it is set downe in the fifth booke. *Caesar* who had never received a greater iniurie, determined to be reuenged for this losse, and vnto to abolish and ruinate the nation of the *Eburones*, as we may reade in the 6. booke. Therefore he sent *Basilius* on before with the whole band of horse, and leaving a legion for guard of the baggage, he divided the other nine into three Regiments, to overtake and make spoile of the whole Country. He caused *Labienus* to march with three Legions along by the Ocean, toward that part which joyneth vnto the *Menapians*. He sent *Trebianus* with the same number of Legions, to sacke that Country which was neere to the *Adriatices*. Himselfe, accompanied with the three other Legions, stayed to go toward the river *Sabis*, and the vnto the parts of the Forrest of *Ardene*.

The *Eburones* not having any certaine Army, neither garrison, or any Towne wherein they might defend themselves by Armes, and the whole popularity being scattered every where abroad, retired themselves to such places as were obscure valleys, or wilde and savage, or where the moorish Fennes made a troublesome

Of the *Adriatices*.
1st. Caesar in Com. Lib. 2.

A strong fortification of the *Adriatices*.

Of the *Eburones*.
1st. Caesar in Com. Lib. 2.

Caesar's determination for reuenge upon the *Eburones*.

The several Legions committed to *Labienus* and *Trebianus*.

A wood, goodly length, reaching from the river *Rhine*, to the City of *Tourmay*.

ac-

The great desire of *Caesar* to be reuenged on the *Eburones* for the losse and damage that he sustained.

1st. Caesar in Com. Lib. 8.

Of the *Bellovaci* or *Bellovaci*.

* Thought now to be the Towne *Tullisburgum* in low Germany.

Of sports and recreations amongst the *Germanes*.

access to them; that presented them with some imaginary hope, that thus they might defend and save themselves. *Caesar* in this fiery heat of reuenge, perceiving the great danger which might ensue, by having thus separated his Legions; called all the neere-neighbouring Cities (in hope of booty) to come and make pillage of the *Eburones*, to the end, that the race and name of them might be utterly confounded. And because he could not (as yet) appease his thirsting soule by such spoile as he had made, which indeed was very great, he put himselfe once more on his way, to give further vexation to his enemies, assembling in faine troopes of people from all the Townes & neere adjoining parts, and so sent them outward by sundry wayes. They burned all the villages, and every house that they could finde standing. The selfe desire of vengeance (as is to be seen in his eighth booke) enflamed him the third time, and the less waste he made: neuertheless, he speaketh not of any rampier, or of any ditch belonging vnto Towne or Village. Whereby may justly be observed, that the *Belgians* as they were defended of the *Germanes*, so in like manner they had the same order of dwelling.

The *Bellovaci*, or *Bellovaci* in like sort, albeit that they were the very principal of the *Belgians*, as well in regard of their vertue and authority, as for the great number of men amongst them: yet it appeareth, that they were no strangers to this custom: for in the first warre, he speaketh not but of one Towne or Village, named * *Bratupactum*; in the other warres, he maketh no mention of any one. This may seeme to be spoken sufficiently enough, concerning the habitations of the *Belgians*.

CHAP. III.

Of the *Humanity, Liberty, Hospitality & Courtesy* of the *Gaules* to strangers, and care for benefiting each other equally.

Finde nothing written in *Caesar* of the plays, sports, & pastimes of the youth among the *Gaules*. As for the *Germanes*,

Tacitus writeth thus. They had but one onely kind of spectacle in every assembly young boies that conceived delight in this sport, would run or leape forth violently (and stark naked) before swords & lances directed against them. This exercise grew to be an art, and Art made it vertue graceful in them: yet what they did, was not for any lucre, gaine, or wages, but the onely recompence of this their audacious gallantry, was, to be pleasing in their eyes that beheld them. They would play (being in very stayed and settled judgement) at such desperate games of hazard and dangerous adventure, as would make a man blith to stand and looke on, and they performed their intentions in such earnest manner, as if they were at strife for some matter of great moment: yea, such was their affection to the game or lisse, as after they had nothing els to contend for: they would strive about the very last hazard, laying downe their own liberty and person in payne. Whosoever lost himselfe, would yeelde to the others servitude, with his owne kinde consent: And albeit hee were neuer so young and strong, yet (in regard of his losse) he would suffer himselfe to be bound and sold. For such was their wilfull obstinacy, that they would lay down faith upon the very least occasion.

But whosoever would take note of the great humanity, liberality, and courtesy as well in the *Gaules* as in the *Germanes*, let him read what followeth. They would invite strangers (this speaketh *Diodorus* of the *Gaules*) to feast with them. And after nature was sufficed; they would enquire what people they were, and what occasion drew them thither. But *Caesar* and *Tacitus* giue this commendation vnto the *Germanes*, by writing much more amply. They make it a matter of great Conscience (saith *Caesar*) to offer any outrage to strangers, who, be it for what cause soever they come amongst them, yet they will defend them from all injuries, and thinke them to be sacred people, each one allowing them part of his house, & whatsoever he had to lie on. *Tacitus* writeth in this manner. There is not any Nation more addicted to make good cheer together, and feast strangers. They doe make great conscience in denying house-room to any commer; for each man will Feast him

Desperate & dangerous games among the younger sort, & pastimes of the very earnest sort.

Humanity, liberality, and courtesy both in the *Gaules* and *Germanes*.

1st. Caesar in Com. Tacitus in Lib. 7.

The love and hospitality of the *Germanes*, which they afford to strangers.

him according to his power : And when he hath no further means, he that is the Hoste, enstrueth him to another mans dwelling ; and thereinto (without any further bidding) they enter both together, euen the neerer houle they come vnto ; where their entertainment is voyde of all difficulty, and vſed with extraordinary courtesie. As concerning the rites of hospitality, they make no difference between him that is knowne, and another that is vnknown. At his departure, if he desireth any thing, it is their order and custome to grant it : as they will doe the like when it falleth to their turne. They take great delight in giuing gifts : but will receiue no recompence for whatsoever they giue, or thinke themselves indebted or beholding for any thing that they receiue. This is a testimony of their worthy hospitality, & I am of the minde, that so great an honor deferueth not to be forgotten, as Germany iustly deserueth in regard of this Vertue.

Phalaris the Chaldeonion, did first publish in the Commonwealth (as *Arystotele* affirmeth) that goods might bee equally diuided ; to the end, that the two principall plagues to mankind (which are riches and pouerty) might be banished from the City. And this is that which *Plato* (most of all other) wished for the grounded estate of a happy Commonwealth. But the Germanes neuer fixed their imaginations on ſuch a most fortunate Commonwealth, by disputes and discourses onely, but accomplished and brought it to effect by their owne good customs and honest examples. For some of them (as *Cæſar* auoucheth in his sixth booke, speaking of the Germanes) had not any certain measure of land, or any particular limitation : but the Princes and Magistrates assigned euery eye (both to kindreds and parentages, who were acknowledged and placed together) so much ground or land, and such a site or situation, as vnto them seemed best and conuenient ; & the yeare following, they were constrained to seeke elsewhere. In his fourth booke, hee faies as much of the *Sarues*, another people of Germany. They had no land which they held in particular, or diuided among themselves ; neither were they permitted to tarry longer then a yeare in a place, to Till or make it husbandable. This is the equality of

goods, which then was among the Germanes.

And they rendered great store of reasons for this equality, as the same Author witnesseth in his sixth booke, viz. Fearing least being retained by an accustomed continuance in one quarter, they should forsake the profession of warre, & follow the other more beneficial kind of life. Fearing, least they should withdraw their minds from the enlarging and exteinding of their bounds or limits : and growing to be too potent in strength, they should ouerawe and expell the weaker from their goods : fearing also, least they should be over curious in building, to defend themselves against cold and heat, and to proue to be starke Cowards. Fearing besides, lest a wicked covetous desire should arise among them, of scraping and gathering goods together : whereon (customarily) inseth threatenings, diffentions, & blood. Also, to the end that the popular sort might bee contained within a reasonable contentment of mind, when the meanest perceived his goods to be equal with the most powerfull. This is (in effect) the words of *Cæſar*, touching the qualitie of goods vſed then among the Germanes : and when the Greekes come to compare with him, in commending this manner of behaviour either in the Cretanes or Lacedæmonians ; all that they could auouch or say, was ; to terme this worthy and extraordinary vertue, to be no more then neerer barbarousnesse.

Seruitude or bondage was in vſe aſwell among the Germanes and Gaules, as in other Nations. Many men (so speaketh *Cæſar* in his sixth booke, discoursing on the Gaules (finding themselves to be charged either with debts, or taxations, or iniuries of the mightier sort) did yield themselves into seruitude or slavery of Gentlemen, who had the selfsame right over them, as Masters had over their slaves. It should seeme, that this Masterie or command was cruell, as well as that whereof *Titus Livius* recounteth in his 2. booke, to be vſed in Rome, after that the Kings were expelled thence, when the commotion of the bondmen was on foot. For they were then controlled and handled by their Masters, as the bodies of debtors were by their creditors, who were parted (as *Quintilian* writeth in the sixth chapter

Equality of goods among the Germanes.

The reasons of the Germanes, for their equality in good.

The second.

The third.

The fourth.

The fifth.

Comparison of the Greekes with Cæſars words.

Bondage or seruitude life among the Germanes and Gaules.

Titus Livius Lib. 2. c. 7.

CHAP. V.

How the Gaules vſed to educate and bring up their children. Of their courage, manhood, and valour in Armes and martial exercises.



Here then were the manners and temperance of the ancient Gaules, which serued very sufficiently to maintain their disposition & strength of body, and (doubtlesse) was the cause of their admirable stature : whereat *Cæſar* was much amazed, when he beheld the Gaules which were slaine in the warres of *Africa* : you haue also heard some part of their liberality, in the administration of their goods, for the releefe of others necessities. But there remaineth much more to say, if we would enter into discourse, concerning all the parts of their manhood and valancy : were it in considering the exercise of their youth, or their earnest & violent desire in following armes, and the Nations which haue bene conquered by them, and the Colonies established throughout the world, onely in the name of the Gaules. The Gaules (thus saith *Cæſar* in his sixth booke) helde this as a difference from others, in their manner of behaviour, to wit ; That they would neuer permit their children to come openly before them, vntill they were of able yeares to beare Armes. And they held him to be a villain, whose sonne (being vnder limitted yeares) should be found in publike before his fathers face. *Cæſar* speaketh this neuertheless hee giueth not sufficiently to be vnderstood, at what time or season they were to beare Armes, neither in what exercise their infancy was imployed, vntill this date of expectation, therefore we must make search into other Authors.

Tacitus, speaking of the Germanes, would haue vs to know, at what time they came vnto the seruice of the Commonwealth. They obserued as a custome (saith he) that no one should vnder take the profession of Armes, vntill the Commonwealth had approued and allowed his suffi-

The disposition & strength of body among the Gaules.

The manhood & valour of the ancient Gaules.

Cæſar in comment lib. 6.

Somewhat omitted or forgotten by *Cæſar*.

Corn. Tacit. m. lib. 5. c. 7.

At what time they came to seruice the Commonwealth in martiall maner.

of his third booke) or diuided betwene the creditors, according to the law of the twelve Tables. And that Law (as himselfe saith) which naturally was not to be allowed, and yet (notwithstanding) permitted as in right, was reprehended by publike custome, and oftentimes (to remedy the same in mere pitty) the Commonwealth granted Letters of respite, abolishing extorting interrests, and making a new obligation for the principall.

But the Gaules vſed much greater humanity and liberality then the Romanes did ; because the Masters kept in honourable place, and about their persons, such as thus stood obliged to them, and they vſed their seruice also in their warres. Wherefore it appeareth, that that which *Diodorus* wrote, differed not from this purpose, where he saith ; They employed as guards and defenders of their bodies, such as (among freemen) were poore and needy, and they serued them as Esquires and Armor-bearers in the warre. *Tacitus* reporteth almost the very same custome as was vſed by the Gaules, when he speaketh of the slaves among the Germanes. They do not vſe their slaves (saith hee) as we do ours, appointing them certain offices in our houses : for euery one serueth himselfe, and governeth his household affaires. The Master chargeth his slave with certain measures of Corn, or with some Cattle, or with some kinde of clothe : euen as we do our Farmers or Husbandmen, and the seruant obeyeth him not but in such businesse. If he would haue any matter done in his house, his wife and Children performeth it. It seldome or neuer happneth, that a master doth beat his slave or binde him, or enforce him and constraineth him to any businesse. They had a custome to kill them, yet not by any manner of rigorous or severe chastisement ; but in choller, as an enemy, and done in the case of some reuenge. Freemen had no more advantages then seruants. Seldom or rarely were they advanced in the house, and neuer vnto the managing of Commonwealth affaires : except among such Nations, as were in obedience to a king, and there they mounted higher then Freemen, or then Gentlemen. Among other Nations, libertines, being not receiued into the like dignities as the free, made distinction of their liberty.

The Roman Law of the 12. Tables.

The humanity and liberality of the Gaules, beyond that of the Romanes.

Diodorus in L. 6. cap. 10.

Corn. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 15.

Of the slaves amongst the Germanes.

Of seruices done in the house.

Freemen had no more advantage then seruants.

Titus Livius Lib. 2. c. 7.

No difference between a known friend & a stranger.

Arystoteli in 4. de Ar. m. cap. 6. Riches & pouerty the two principall plagues vnto mankind.

Plato in Lib. d. Leg. cap. 9.

1st. Cæſar in Lib. 6.

The order of the German holding of their Landes.

In lib. Cæſar in Com. lib. 4.

iciency. Then, in the martiall Confistorie, either some one of the Pri. ces, or his Father, or els his neereft Kinfinan, armed the yong man with a shield and a Laucin. This was the * *Toga* or Gown which they tooke, and this was the first degree of honor, wherunto their yong men mounted. Before, and till this dignity was done to them, they were but as a member of the house onely: but afterward, they appertained to the Commonwealt. *Aristotle*, who wrote long time before *Cæsar*, declarerth vnto vs this manner of education of children (for it seemeth in the 8. Booke of his Politicks) that hee learned this instruction of vs. It is necessary (saith he) to accustom and vie the yongest children to endure cold weather: for it profiteth marvellously, as well for the disposition of the body, as for manly cariage in war. And this was the reason, why some barbarous people (as the Celts) offered it as a custome, to plunge their yong Infants (so soon as they were borne) in the coldest water of the river, or els to cloath them in light garments. For, to whatsoever thing youth ought to apply it self, this is the best course, to accustom them thereto (by little and little) from their yongest houre, and when they are tender becaufe of the heate which is naturally in them, & therefore the first thing to be done, is to be careful in this one point.

Aristotle in this place calleth the Celts barbarous, and yet hee accounteth not their customes barbarous; in regard that hee appointeth the Greeks to fashion themselves after their manner. I know that *Galen* sharply reproverth this behaviour, when in the first booke of his Governement of health, and instructing how to order health, he saith, I am not of the minde, that Children should onely be nurshed among the Germanes. Also, that which we write of, is neither for the Germanes, or for any other such savage and barbarous men; no more then for Beares, wilde Boares, Lions, or such other beasts. I knowe (I say) that *Galen* reprehendeth this custome feuerly; but I know likewise, that the yong nice delicates of the Greekes, whom *Galen* striueth to please, in preferring them an order for their health: haue beene quite denoured by these Lyons (as he tearmeth them) and that the Gauls and Germanes, if they be

compared with the Greeks, may in good right be called Lyons.

And truly, *Lacedæmon*, which was the most noble of all the Grecian Cities, was principally renowned for being studious in hardning it selfe to traualle, after the true manner of the Celts. For the youths of *Sparta*, did dayly inbolden themselves against all manner of paines and exercises: neuer entering into the especiall assembly, before the age of twenty yeares, as *Plutarch* recordeth in the life of *Lycargus*. Wherefore, not onely the power of this vertue, which was in the Gauls and Germanes, but (ouer and beside) the authority of *Aristotle*, as also of *Lacedæmon* (if any man be regardfull thereof) may well serue to answer the reasons of *Galen*. We may also inferre (to this purpose) that which *Strabo* hath written, when he saith, The Gauls held this as proper and peculiar to them, to refuse no taking of pains, as fearing to become fat and swoln belied by ease: therefore they punished and condemned vnto some pecuniary fine, such yong men as grew grosse through sloath and excess. Whereunto that ordinance of the Romanes was conformable; that deprived any fat or corpulent Knight, of the Horse graunted him by publique allowance.

Now it is further to be considered, that this exercise was not onely proper or peculiar vnto the Gauls; but it was in like common use with the Germanes they brethren, as *Galen* himselfe hath elsewhere declared. Let vs listen then to *Cæsar*, who herein giueth them sufficient commendation. From their infancy (this hee writeth in his sixth booke) they addicted themselves to paines taking, and employed (almost) their whole life time, either in hunting, or feate of warre. They had diuers kinds of wilde beasts, in the Forrest called * *Hercynia*: as wilde Bulles, * *Aces*, but especially Buffles, which they rooke with great labour in their dens or ditches, and there slew them. The yong men hardened themselves to this trauell, and euermore exercised this manner of hunting; & they which had slaine most of them, bringing their hornes to publique view, as a testimony of their diligence, receiued both reward and great praife. This yeeldeth sufficient demonstration, how the yong men prepared their spirits, to endure all

Lacedæmon shaped it selfe to endure the hard custome of the Celts.

Plutarch in Lib. 1. c. 10.

Strabo in Lib. 4.

The Gauls were laborious & painful.

Knightes had publique Horses allowed them.

The Germanes brethren to the Gauls.

In Cæsar in Lib. 6.

A great wood in Germany, in bucktonne dayes journey, and in length forty.

A willitt salt in fashion and slun like a salt low Deer.

paine and labour, and fell not off for any danger: as hauing learned, though not of great and skillfull Doctors, which were beft able to giue them instructions; yet (at least) of their owne selues, and so put it in effectfull execution.

Let vs now obserue what they were in actions of warre, and as the Poet sayeth; The braue workmanhippe of Mars becaufe the Gauls were personally in war. For, before *Cæsar* came thither (as hee hath written in his sixth booke) it happened euery yeare, that either they assailed others, or elle were glad to defend themselves; and it was easily knowne, that by a custome among the Gauls, age was no excuse to any man, as appeareth by diuers passages in the eighth booke. *Vercingetorix*, a chiefe Commander of the * *belli*, albeit he could very hardly keepe himselfe on horsebacke, because he was so farre gone in yeares: yet notwithstanding, according to the manner of the Gauls, hee would pleade no excuse, by his age, in vndergoing such charges as were imposed on him; and he was very vnwilling, that any fight should bee performed without him. Likewise, in the warre of the *Parthians*, the whole charge (as is to be seene in the seventh booke) was giuen vnto *Cannibacenus*, an especiall man of re * *Auleris*, who was well-neere wholly spent with age: and yet for all that, the great experience which he had in martiall affaires, aduanced him to the highest degree of Honor. Answerable to this, *Strabo* saith, The Gauls were rather men of warre, then any way addicted vnto Tillage or husbandry.

Aristotle writeth, that the Celts helde the vertue of warlike actions in most singular respect and commendation. And it was well noted, as *Cæsar* affirmeth, that the cause of valour (both in the *Belgians* and *Heluetians*) grew through their continuall exercise of armes, for he saith: The most valiant people of all the Gauls, were the *Belgians*.

Now, as Temperance was the first and formost in ranke, as being the Mother, or the Nurse (at least) of true valiancy: so the second cause which *Cæsar* rendereth, was; That they were neighbours to the Germanes, which dwelt on the further side of the Rheine, with whom they were continually at warre. This (I say) was ano-

ther cause of their valor, that continually they exercised armes and by the same reason, the *Heluetians* surpassed (in this vertue) all the other Celts: As it might daily be discerned, in regard, that ordinarily they fought with the Germanes, either in repelling them from their frontiers, or making war on them in their owne country. In this place also might be alledged, their often and frequent skirmishes, to deliuer true faithfullnesse of their valour. Moreover, the Gauls for want of warre, to the end that they might still be in exercise of armes: gaue themselves to thefts and robberies, as *Diodorus* saith, purloyning the goods of others, without any prouision of their owne. What were the Germanes saith he. What participation had they in this vertue? All their life, as hath bene already declared, was no way employed, but in deeds of armes. And as he hath further written in his sixth Booke, the very greatest honour that any City could haue, was, to haue a great Desert spacious Country round about it. They esteemed it to be proper and natural to vertue, to compell their expelled neighbours, to forsake their Lands and Territories, to what so none durst dwell nere unto them. And by this means, they imagined themselves to be in the greatest security, in being deliuered from all dread of courses, which suddenly might bee made into their Country.

Tacitus speaketh of the same exercise of armes. You could not so readily put into their heads, any order for husbandry in their grounds, or carefulnes for gathering their fruites, and come, as to go assaile the enemy; and to returne back with wounds and maimes. Moreover it appeared to them, that it was meere sloth and carelesnesse, to winne that by sweat and labour, which a man might purchase with the price of his blood. *Cæsar* saith likewise of the Germanes, the same that *Diodorus* doth of the Gauls, that they were addicted to rapine and thefts. Robberies (thus speaketh *Cæsar* in his sixth booke) did not make men any io: the worse esteemed: so that they were done out of those limits, which appertained to each City. And it is said that they vsed these courses; onely to exercise their youthes, and for the auoyding of ydleness. And when some one of the Lords would deliuer his

The *Heluetians* excelled all the other Celts in armes.

The Gauls were addicted to thefts & robberies. *Diodorus* in Lib. 6.

The greatest honor of a City among the Germanes.

Few or no neighbours durst dwell nere unto the Gauls.

Corn. Tacitus in Lib. 1. c. 10.

No care of husbandry, or gathering the fruites, the earth, was to assaile the enemy.

In Cæsar in Lib. 6.

Thefts & robberies thought not dishonourable, out all, well followed with no meane affect.

The Gauls were always in actions of arms. In Cæsar in Lib. 6.

* People of *Belgia*, next to the *Leui* and *Mosellanus* tract.

* People of *Reuenn* in *Belgia*.

Strabo in Lib. 5.

Aristotle in Politic. 1. c. 2.

In Cæsar in Lib. 6.

Temperance the Mother or Nurse of valiancy.

A Garment which the Romanes did always wear in peace.

Aristotle in Politic. 1. c. 2.

Aristotle in 1. 2. c. 2. of the Politic.

Aristotle commendeth the Celts customes to the Greeks.

Galen in Gal. San. lib. 1. c. 2.

Galen reprehendeth the German education of their children.

minde in an open assembly, that he would be their guide, and that such as would follow him, should shew instantly themselves. Such as gave consent to his opinion, and (allowing him for their Leader) presently arose, and promised him their uttermost assistance; the people present would both commend them and their enterprise. As for such among them, as neither followed, nor gave allowance to the attempt: they were reputed as traitours, and neuer afterward durst any man repeat any credite in them.

Tacitus addeth yet moreouer, that the Germanes made war among strange people. If the City (saith he) wherein they were borne, grew flossfull and vyle, thorough long peace and repose; the moir

part of the yongest Gentlemen went (upon their owne motion and good will) to finde out such Nations as had any warre. For rest and ease was no way pleasing to this people; and the dangers which they essayed and made proofe of, made them also the more famous; and they could not maintaine any great matter of worth, but by power and warre, for thus they compassed meanes to be bountifull and liberal, onely by warre, thefts and pillages.

Thus we may perceiue, how the auncient Gaules made continual exercise of armes, and well deserved those commendations, wherewith the first and chiefeft of all the Romaine Poets shewed himselfe willing to honour Italy.

The meanes
for a main-
ning their
bounty and
liberality.

*Corn. Tacit.
m. lib. 6. cap. 2*
The Germanes
warred with
strange nations.

Concerning
the birth, breed,
disposition and
education of the
Gaules of
gaulish antiquity.

*We are hardy bred, Babes are no sooner borne,
But we to Ruers beare them, furle them in;
To harden them against both wees and collicie.
Heere, our young people giue themselves to hunting,
in the haunt the Forrests: The pastimes they affect,
Is taming wildest Horses draw the Bowe.
Sometimes our youth emboldened to labour
Make small account of husbanding the ground:
But to besiedge strong holdes, Each age we passe,
Mangling sturdy yron, turning our Statues
To pierce the hides of Bulles, Slowe, sturdy age,
Cannot abate our vertue, daunt our hearts.
With snow-white heads we enter Armes, and still
Seeke for fresh pillage, living on the boot.*

Oh, would it had pleased God, that *Cæsar*, discoursing on the fashions and customs of the Gaules, had bene as willing in describing much more amply, what vie they made of Armes; what reasons they followed in their preparation for warre; what diligence they vied, beeing in the fieldes; what their strength and valor was in fights & combates: it would haue caused an extraordinary pleasure, to remember continually, the ancient custome of our auncestour in their warlike actions. But *Cæsar* (principally) sheweth nothing of all this: neuertheless, we will pursue each matter, in as much as possibly we may, and diligently collect somewhat out of diuers passages of his, (as we can follow any traces, though greatly obscured) in such things as are agreeable to our purpose, not forgetting (in meane while) the iudgement of other Authors.

Especially ob-
servations
concerning
the auncient
Gaules, omi-
ted by *Cæsar* in
his writing of
their warres.

CHAP. VI.

How the Gaules made choice of their Generals and Commanders for their warres, with a true description of their Military services and discipline.



HE was which *Cæsar* made each yeare, deliuereth some testimony, how they elected their Generalles, and other chiefe Leaders in their martiall employments, whereof wee are able to speake somewhat more largely. But the troupe or heape of particular Soldiours, was alwayes made in a publike assembly, & was euery man should behaue himselfe in armes. *Inductio maris*, Prince of *Treues*, pub-

What election
on they made
of their Ge-
nerals for war

*In Cæsar in
comment. lib. 1.*

A Gaule car-
stone among
the Gaules.

*In Cæsar in
com. lib. 1.*

* The City
Aulisma in
Gaul.

The Gaules
contrary in-
opinion to
the Romans,
and upon good
reasons.

The Gaules
studious in
martiall af-
faires.

* Sometime
people of that
country which
is now called
Bourguindy.

*Polyb. in lib. 4.
Diodor. in lib. 3.
Strabo in lib. 4.
Tit. Liv. in lib. 5.
De 2.*

published an assembly in armes against the Romanes; as is to be seene in the fifth booke of the warres in Gaul. The Gaules began their warre in this manner, & followed one common Law among them. All their younger men vied to meete together in armes: but he that came latest, in the presence of the whole assembly (after hee had bene tormented with all the tortures could be deuised) hee was afterward put to death. The felix same custome is declared in the seventh booke, when *Vercingetorix*, being elected General for the warre of the Gaules; was besiedged in * *Alesia*. For he tooke counsell, to discharge all the troupes of horse which he had with him, and at parting, he gave the charge to returne each man to the City; whereof he was a member, and there to assemble or muster for the warre, all such as were of age to carry armes. Neuertheless, the Gaules hauing published the assembly of their Princes, did not thinke it meete to draw all the together, that were of age to beare armes, according as *Vercingetorix* had ordained; but rather appointed, that each City should be furnished with a certaine number of men; it could not otherwise chuse but breed confusion by being unable to command them, or knowing one from another, or any possible meanes of prouision for them. By this manner of ordering men for their warres, we may well perceiue, that the Gaules were studious in military affayres, considering, that all such as were aboute fourteene yeares of age, did carry armes.

The Gaules armed themselves quite contrary to the Romanes, as is to be obserued in the seventh booke, where hee speaketh of the * *Hédus*, that came to the seruice of *Cæsar*, who very greatly astonished the Romanes, by vying their armes after the Gaulish manner. And yet I cannot perceiue (throughout *Cæsars* discourses) what those kinde of armes were: therefore we will collect that which *Polybius*, *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, and *Titus Livius* haue noted to vs. The sword which they vied, was long, and the man wore it (hanging in a chaine of brasse) on his right side: and it serued not onely to smite or slashewithall, but also to thrust or foine, so saith *Diodorus*; notwithstanding, *Polybius* and *Titus Livius* doe deny their thrusting or foyning with the point.

Their Target or Shielde was large, and answerable vnto each mans stature or constitution: and, according to their funerall delight or pleasure, so was it enriched with Imagerie of brazen Beasts, mounted vp into bosses. Their Laurel had a head of yron or Steele, containing a cubite in length, and two fingers breadth. *Cæsar* in his third booke saith, that they likewise carried a staffe, which he termeth *Gefer*, & another, called by him *Aleris*, which was a certaine kind of small iaulin. Their heads were couered with a Sallice or head-peece of brasse, a little exalted or raised vp, whereon was figured Images of Birds, Beasts, and antique shapes. Their vsual Coriulet was of yron.

Many of the Gaules were wont to fight naked, so farre as the naul: as *Titus Livius* saith, in the battaile at *Cannas*, and *Polybius* speaketh as much of the same fight in this manner. It was a very dreadful fight, to obserue the behavior of naked men, who marched on stoutly, shewing an excellent beauty, and vndauntable strength. In like manner, *Titus Livius* saith, that in * *Gallogræcia*, the Gaules fought naked, and that was the reason, why they were overcome by the Romanes, who finote them atfarr off with their Piles, which were a kinde of small iaulins, and darted at them very strongly. The Gaules likewise vied Bowes and Slings, according as *Strabo* saith; for he writeth, that they hadde a kinde of Staffe, which being throwne by the hand onely, without any string or other holde, would smite further off then an Arrow, and with this they did (most commonly) shoote at Birds. It is also very certaine (as the same Author affirmeth) that they hadde a Tree in Gaul, somewhat resembling the Figge-Tree, which carried a fruite, that had some likeness to the chapter of a Corinthian pillar. This Tree being cutte, did yeeld a deadly iuyce or liquor, wherewith they vied to imploy on the heads of their Arrowes. That it was so, and that the Gaules were great Archers, *Cæsar* prooueth verie pregnantly in his seauenth booke, where hee speaketh of *Vercingetorix*. Hee commanded (saith he) that all the Archers (which were a very great number throughout Gaul) should be leuied, and sent vnto him, as it will

Of their
swords shields
& iaulins.

*In Cæsar in
com. lib. 3.*

Of their Sal-
lides, Head-
pieces and
Coriulet.

Some of the
Gaules fought
naked to tarr
as the naul.
Polyb. in lib. 4.

* A Countie
in the lesser
Asie, hoyning
to *Perga* and
Ephra.

Strabo in lib. 5.
of their bowes
and slings.

Of a strange
Tree growing
in Gaul, that
possessed their
Arrow heads.

That the
Gaules were
great Archers
*In Cæsar in com.
m. lib. 7.*

The Armes & de fence weapons of the Germanes.

A short Glaue or two edged sword.

Of the horse and foote. S. d. iers habites.

No brauerie on their garment.

What vs they employed most in their warre.

A League made by the Gauls against Caesar.

a Betweene Belgia, & the truer Mosela.
b People of that place, now call'd Xantion in Aquitaine.

The horsemen had the highest honour of the warres.

appeare much more fully hereafter in better place.

This was the Armor and Munition of the Gaules, whereunto that of the Germanes, which *Tacitus* describeth, was not altogether agreeable. They seldom defended themselves with swords or long staves: for they carried Iavelines, or (to vse their owne proper word) *Framées*, the blades whereof were straight and short, but yet so keene, and so apt for their seruice, that they could vse them with or against a staffe, according as they had occasion to fight, either before they came neere to one another, or when they were at handy grips. The Horseman contented himselfe with his shield and Iaveline: but foot soldiers had many darts each man, which they hurled or darted infinitely, being naked, or lightly clothed with a simple Cassocke or Mandilion. They had no brauery on their accoutrements: onely, they would decke their shields with some curious choise colours. Very few of them did weare any shirts of Maile, or scaled coats: some one or two might haue (perhaps) a Caske or Morrion. These are the Armes which the ancient Gauls are credibly said to weare.

It remaineth now to speake, how they employed their men of warre, as well on foote as horsebacke. The horsemen were in most estimation among the Gauls, and had the principall managing of all affairs for warre, as *Caesar* hath saide in his sixte Booke. And in the League which all the Gauls made against *Caesar*, one while hee speaketh of the number of eight thousand horse, then againe in fiftene thousand, which was that part of the army, whereby the Gauls made themselves strongest, as plainly appeareth in the fauenth Booke. Neuertheless, no assurance can be collected hereby, concerning all the cities in their feuerall forces. The people of *Truets*, or the *Treueri*, were the very strongest of all the Gauls in horsemen, as is to be seene in the fift booke. The *Santones*, according as wee readen in the third booke, had likewise very great store of horsemen: but the *Nervians* (in the verie same place) are said to haue the most foot soldiers. Notwithstanding, if you regard them generally, you shall finde, that the *Canallery* had the cheefest honour of all the warres among the Gauls. And these

were the horsemen, where with *Caesar* was most assisted in his ciuill warre. For to himselfe testifieth in the first booke of his *Ciuiill Warre*, that when *Affricanus* came with great forces to allie the *Cariacians* who were but a few in number: suddenly the horsemen of the Gauls were diligent in making head against them; and (so long as they could) they maintained fight, albeit they consisted of so few, and endured against a great multitude of the enemy. But so soone as the Ensignes of the Legions began to approach; with verie little losse of their men they retired vnto the neighbouring Mountaines. The time of the fights continuance serued sufficiently for the *Cariacians* safety: for, in that while, they had leysure to gaine the highest parts of the hills, & there sheltered themselves securely.

Likewise, in the warre of *Africa*, when the enemy (with powerful forces) came to deale with the host of *Caesar*, and to attache them in the reeresuddenly the Legionaries stayed them, and the horsemen (although they were but few in number) made very stout resistance, yea, and with vnconquerable hardiment, against that great troope of the enemy. And a matter almost incredible happened. That lesse than thirty horse of the Gauls, repelled two thousand horse of the Moores, and put them into rout. Such was the strength of the Gaulish horse. Hence ensued that exclamation of *Cicero*, in his 5. *Philippick*. *Opinion was conceined* (saith he) *that some appointed, that there should be giue to Mark Anthony, the government of that latter part of Gaule, which Plancius holdeth at this instant: Is there any other wiselone in so doing, but to lend our owne weapons to an enemy, to make a ciuill warre upon vs? For first of all, the merues or sinewes of warre, which is countless summes of money, and whereof hee standeth now in neede, and next, the power of horse, which valeneth as much; what can be desired more then both these? Behold, in what account and estimation, the horsemen of the Gauls were.*

Sometimes it was thought convenient, to entermingle amongst the horse some of the foot soldiers, which were worst armed, and the Archers. And this was (as appeareth in the fteenth Booke) when *Vercingetorix* went with the Horse, and certaine foote (least charged with Armes)

1st. Caesar in lib. 1.

The coming of Arianus against the Carians with his Ensignes of the Legion.

The enemies setting on Caesars host in Africa.

20 horse of the Gauls, overthrew 2000 horse of the Moores.

Cicero in Philipp. 5. Against Antony. Against Antony's government in Gaule.

The foot soldiers in an Army amongst the horsemen.

1st. Caesar in lib. 7.

* A Towne of Guyenne, siting on a hie hill.

The footmen accompanied with the Archers fought amongst the horse.

* Soldiers in old time, that marched in Waggon, but fought on foot. *Diodorus* lib. 6.

The manner of fighting with the enemy.

Of the Germanes & Brittaines. 1st. in *Caesar* in comment. lib. 1.

The succour giuen to each other.

The swiftness of the Germanes.

Armes) to prepare an ambuscado, where he imagined that the Romanes intended to come and forrage. At another time, (in the same booke) speaking of himselfe, when they were nere to *Gergonia*, *Caesar* saith: It was not fully breake of day, when in the skirmishes, the footemen being mingled among the horse, we were forced to approue how hardy and vertuous our owne men were. Sometimes, the Footemen, being lightly armed, accompanied with the Archers, fought amongst the Horsemen, as was obserued in the encounter nere to *Alcxia*. The Gauls (among some few of their horse) flanked their Archers and light armed foote; to the end that they should succour the horsemen, and sustaine the violent assault of the Romanes Canallery.

Ancient Gaule had * *Effedariet*, who were warriours that rode in Waggon, or Waggon, called *Effedariet* and *Diodorus* giueth vs assurance hereof in these words. Palsing thorow the Countrey in time of warre, they vied Carres or Waggon, which two Horses drew by a fit prepared furniture; the Waggoner, or he that had the charge thereof, being the only guide. If they met with the enemy in warre; first of all, and while they were vpon the waggon, they would let fly their darts at him. Afterward, alighting from the waggon, and being on foote, then they fought together with their swords. These two manners of fighting, are much more at large described by *Caesar*, when hee speaketh of the Germanes and the Brittaines. Of the Germanes in the first booke, where hee reckoneth vp the forces which *Arianus* had. They were (saith hee) fixe thousand Horsemen, and as many foot, of the very strongest and best disposed, which each man had made choise of particularly, as for his owne succour and safety. If they were to set on to the warre, they mingled one among another, and the Horsemen also retired when they did. If any great occasion happened, the foote soldiers fought with the horsemen. And if any one being wounded, hapned to fall from his horse, the other gaule present succour. If they were to march on further, or to recreate vpon expedition; exercise had constructed them in such celerity, that onely by fastning hold on their horses Maines, they would mount vp, and run as swiftly

as they did. In another passage of the 4. Booke, speaking of the *Sueues*, hee saith. In those skirmishes which they made on horsebacke, they would oftentimes dismount and fight on foote: hauing taught and inured their horses in such manner, that they neuer stirred from the place where they left them, returning to their horses againe, when occasion required. According to their custome, they esteemed nothing more base and idle, then to ride on Saddles. And this was the reason, that although they were but few in number, yet they durst boldly assault any troopes whatsoever, if they were Horsemen, and rode on saddles.

This is that which *Caesar* hath written; whereby we may gather, that heerein the Gauls were contrary to the Germanes order: considering, that the Germanes placed their strength in their men on foot; which *Tacitus* relateth more apparently. Whosoever (saith he) wil consider them in general, shall finde, that their cheefest power consisteth in their footemen: and therefore (in fighting) they ranke them among the troopes of horse. For the footemen which they choose among all their youth, to put to the point of any danger, are men of wonderfull swiftnesse, apt and fit to fight among the horse. They are an hundred, chosen out of euery Towne or Village, and thereon were teamed Centeniers, or Centurions: for that which serued (before) but to signifye the number, was now giuen as an especiall name, and was honourable to them. Thus serued the Horsemen of the Germanes, and were mingled in this manner among the foote soldiers.

Now, as concerning the behaviour of the Brittaines, *Caesar* in his fourth booke, describeth it in this manner. They haue a manner of fighting on Chariots or waggon, which is thus. First, they skirmish on all sides, and hurle their Darts, and oftentimes chappent, that by the terror of their horses trampling, & by the noise of their Waggon wheels, they trouble the ranks extraordinarily. But after that they are mingled amongst the troopes of horsemen, they descend from their waggon, and fight on foote. During which while, the Waggoners withdraw themselves somewhat out of the fight, and arrange their waggon in such fort, that if

1st. Caesar in com. lib. 4. Of the Sueues their manner of fighting.

They hated to ride on Saddles.

The Gauls contrary vnto the Germanes nor their footmen.

Caes. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 2.

Vpon what occasion they were called Centeniers or Centurions.

1st. Caesar in com. lib. 4. Of the Brittaines, & what manner of fighting they vied.

Of the Waggoners & Waggoners.

The notable managing of their horses in their swift running.

Waggons in use among the Gaules. *Id. Caesar in comment. lib. 7*

The whole families of the Gaules went to the warres.

Their enduring fastidie of food.

Of the Helueticans.

Pertinax his advice given vnto the Gaules.

their masters bee pressed with any great number of enemies they can make an ease and speedily returne to them. The adresse and direction of their horses, the order obteined among their footmen for fight, and their aptnesse thereto, by dayly use and exercise was such: that when they lifted, they could suddenly stay their horses, even in the midst of his swiftest course, although it were in defending downe a high hill. There could they readily mannage and turne them, running mainly by the bridle among the horse; & thence againe returne lightly vnto their Chariots. This manner then of fighting, whereof the Eshedaries made use, was somewhat also mingled among the horse and foote.

Moreover (as is to be seene in the seauenth booke) a great number of Waggons attended on the Gaules, especially such as were vnarmed. Next, of the Archers of the *Atheni*, and the horsemen of Gaule, which had followed *Caesar*; there came into Spaine, with a great number of waggons, all filled with baggage, according to the custome among the Gaules. Beside, there were of men and women, about six thousand, with their seruants and children: and because they took delight, in hauing beasts for portage and cariage, they were glad to pay deely for them, as *Caesar* hath recorded in his seauenth booke. Heereby we vnderstand, that not one y the men, but their children also, yea, the whole Families in Gaule, went to the war when occasion required. *Tacitus* writeth also, That the women followed the Germanes, and accompanied them to their warres. But this is sufficient, concerning such leuies and preparations for warre, as was used among the Gaules.

Now it would be knowne, with what ease they could endure the scarcity of victuals, by the temperature of their nouriture, hauing formerly aoided the delicacy of wine: and *Caesar* giueth vs to vnderstand (in many places) how they were provided of victuals. The Helueticans departing from their houses, caried meale (that was formerly ground with them) to serue for 3. months. And *Pertinax*, to take away from the Romans all means of recouering fooode, perswaded the Gaules to burne the Towns and Villages on all parts where the Romans might make any inua-

sion. Whereupon more then 20. Townes (belonging to the *Bituriges*) were burnt in one day: and the like they did vnto the Cities in the neighboring countries. But, at the instant intreaty of the *Biturigeans*, who required, that *Auruncum* (which was the very goodliest City in all Gaule) might not be burned: it was granted by *Pertinax*, who first had debated for the contrary, yet after yeelded, as well in regard of their earnest motion, as also in meere pitty and commiseration. But the pitty afforded to this one Towne, caused most cruel ruine of all the other cities and Townes in Gaule. For *Caesar*'s army, that had bin very mightily tormented with famine, and had endured diuers daies with our power of recouering any thing to make bread of: after the surprizing of *Auruncum*, was now not onely stored with plenty of food, but being stethed as it wer with hope of like following successe, it made them to deuoure vp all Gaule.

At another time, *Pertinax* (by vertue of the same counsell and aduice) constrained *Caesar* to forsake *Gergontia*, and hauing taken all the victuals which the Romans had then in *Nousadunum*, brought him into such distresse, that had it not bin for thame, rediounes of the way and absence of the 4. Legions, *Caesar* was setting forward to go into Prouence, *Pertinax* being elected capitaine. General thorowhout Gaule, vied (at a third time) the selfsame aduice; when in a publike assembly of the Gaules he said, that he wold not tempt his fortune, & giue his enemy batrel, because he was strongly delenced with horsemen, whereby he could easily hinder the *Romans* from food and forraging. And it behooued every man (of his own good will) to destroy his Corne, and burne his houses, considering, that by this little losse, which each man might well endure in his own particular, he should perceiue, that their empire and liberty, would (for euer) be the furer maintained. And vnderstanding, *Caesar* being moued by these occasions, purposed to withdraw himselfe into Prouence, thorow the country of the *Sequan*, when *Pertinax* (too inconsiderately) condemned the good counsell giuen him, & wold not tempt fortune, by hazarding the batrel, & turned all his intentions til to the worthe whereby may be obserued, what care the ancient Gaules had for prouision of food.

*People of old Aquitaine

*The City Vindogium, Brest in France.

The pitting of one towne, was the destruction of many other

Pertinax his aduice against *Caesar*

*The Towne Nouion of Belgia in France.

Pertinax his third aduice against *Caesar*

Caesar purposed to depart into Prouence. A people in France, which are now called Brengianians.

Now

The order of martial discipline in the field.

Of the Helueticans.

The Gaules bridges made of Boates.

Their fortifications in the field.

Int. Caesar in Com. lib. 8. & in lib. 1.

The Romans planned their campe in the highest places

The Campe of the Belgians, and their best rampiers of Chariots & Waggons.

Int. Caesar in Com. Lib. 5. Of the Neruians.

Now if we desire to know, what order was used among them in the field, either for marching, lodging their armies, or obseruation of military discipline; it seems curious that they were not therein any iote curious. The *Helueticans* essaying to passe a river, some tied diuers boates together; others would leape into such places, where the Rhone was most easie for passage, oftentimes in the day, and more often in the night, but *Caesar* euer more gaue them the repulse. The Gaules not hauing (as yet) learned the manner of making bridges, could not (in the space of twenty daies) passe the third part of their army, by such boates as they had fastened together: and this was their want of knowledge, in the arte of making Bridges. If we look vpon the seating of their armies, and their fortifications in the field, they were as slenderly skilfull therein. They would make choise of a valley, that had no other Rampier or Ditch, but Heaven and Earth to succour and defend it. For the custome among the Gaules, was (as we may reade in the eight booke) to refuse and forsake high places, and to order their Campe neere vnto Rivers. So it appeareth in the first booke, that the Helueticans encamped at the foote of some hill, euen as the Germans did the like: but the Romanes euer more elected the highest places. In seating then of the Gaules Campe was in this manner, without any kinde of fortification. The Campe of the Belgians (as is to be seene in the second booke) according as might be iudged by their fires and smoke, consisted of more then eight miles in largenesse. And when they declared most care & warinesse; they would onely plant their Chariots and Waggons formeist, which serued them as their cheefest Rampier. In like manner, the Germans would engirt their whole army, with their Waggons and Chariots. At length the Gaules began to imitate the Romanes, in such matters as they perceived to be best behoouing for the, or whatsoever they did for the best advantage.

The Neruians (as we reade in the first booke) enclosed that place, where *Cituro* bestowed his winter abiding, with a rampier of eleuen foote in height, and a ditch of fifteene foote deepe. They had learned this, by their practise of warre against

the Romanes, and by the helpe of such prisoners as they had taken. But wanting such tooles and instruments, as were necessarily required in this businesse: they were constrained to cut the greene turfs or sods with their Swords, and to carry both them & the earth, in the long skirts of their ladders. Afterward, they began to raise Towers on the tops of their rampiers, and to make mounted roofes and Tarrases, according as their prisoners had instructed them: in so much, that *Caesar* (at length) wondered, to see what Towers, Tarrases, and Fortifications they enterprised and performed. These passages of *Caesar*, do sufficiently declare, that the Gaules were not wanting, eyther in naturall disposition, or in care, to performe what was necessary, but only came short of orderly discipline.

In the seauenth yeare of the Gaules warre, after great store of losses had happened; *Pertinax* comforting the Gaules, declared vnto them, that it was reasonable & expedient (for common safety of each one) to begin to fortifie their campe: to the end that they might the more easily endure the sudden assaults of their enemies. For in those times (saith *Caesar*) was it, that the Gaules began first of all to fortifie their Campe. And therefore *Caesar* did especially make and nominate it in that place. And the first fortification which they used, was at *Gorgontia*, when they made a wal about their campe, which was sixe foote high, of great thick stones. Afterward, neere to *Alexis*, where they made a ditch and a wall, containing sixe foote in height. The Latine word *Maceria*, which significth a wall of stones, heaped together without mortar or lime, & whereof *Caesar* maketh use in the second place: declareth what manner of walles they had, which were rudely constructed, and without any cunning. The Gaules then (aunciently) had so little knowledge or discipline.

But what valour or manhood did they vfe in fight? Was there any such matter of worth in them? Vndoubtedly they reposed a very great assurance in their owne strength. The Gaules, as was noted in the warres of Africa, were naked or vncovered, and vsing no kinde of surprizing: had a custome to fight onely by vanity, and not by any sleight or cunning.

And

The Neruians learned their fortifying of the Romanes

Mounting of Towers and Tarrases.

Caesar admitted to behold the Gaules fortifications.

The comfort giuen by *Pertinax* to the Gaules.

Int. Caesar in Com. lib. 3.

The first making of walls and ditchies.

* Made instead of a Mound.

And this was the reason, why *Dionotus* the Heluetian, spake so to *Cæsar*, who had surprized the *Tigurines* at vnawares, saying. That they had learned of their Fathers and Auncesors, to fight more for manhood then arte, but he made him selfe strong, onely by surprizes. And for prooffe of this military vertue, there are very singular examples, in many places of *Cæsar*. In the battaile of the Heluetians, albeit that from the seventh hoire (as is to be seen in the first booke) they had fought till darke night; yet no man could euer see the enemy to turne his backe. The Belgians in like manner (as it is written in the first booke) neuer being daunted or terrified with the slaughter of so many of their owne fellows, cruelly slaine before their faces: in resolute assurance, essayed boldly to march vpon their dead bodies. The Neruians likewise (as appeareth in the same place) euē in the latest hope of their safety, declared an extraordinary signe of their vertue. For, albeit such as were the very chiefeest amongst them, lay butchered on the earth before them: yet they kept neere full to them, and fought standing vpon their bodies. Yea, and that in such manner as they which remained alive, making hilles of dead mens coarffes, threw their Darts against the Romanes, as from the top of a Butte, and cast also their lesser Lauchins at them, so long as they were able to reach them. This agreeeth with that which he speaketh of the Gaules, who were in *Cæsar*'s seruice, when *Ambin* in *paine*, was round about engirt with the bodies of enemies, that had bene slaine, and lay there in their armes. In stead of turtles of earth (saith *Plinius*) they piled and layed dead bodies one vpon another, and for the seruice of a Palliade, they couered them with their Shields and lauchins, and their swords, with the heads of men, were all placed & turned towards the Towne of their enemy: To the ende, that they should apparently behold the true Ensignes of their valiancy, only to affright them, while thus they were circled in, as in a rampier. Thus the Gaules hauing made a round wall of their enemies bodies, and mounted thereon; they began to assaile the Towne with violent deliuey of their Arrowes and Darts.

They had learned this manner of ma-

king a rampier of dead mens bodies, fō a custome vsed in their owne Country, and heerehence (in mine opinion) grew the coniecture made of the Gaules, whereof *Aristotle* writeth in his Ethicks to *Nicomachus*: That they feared not any thing in the world, neither scorches, burnings or any torments whatsoeuer. And to this effect, was that which *Strabo* writeth of the Gaules, concerning their answer to *Alexander*, who demanded of them, what it was that they feared most? Nothing (saide they) if the Heauens tumble not downe vpon vs. I perceiue also, that they were euē as neglect and careless, in chusing the aduantage of place for fight, as they were in the leasing of their Campe, which may euidently bee discerned in all the Commentaries of the *Gaules* warres. When the Heluetians and Neruians assailed *Cæsar*, it was in a place very disadvantageous: but if they lighted on any other, that might declare them to bee any way better aduised; it was by some former pattern of the Romanes, and obseruation of their discipline. And the first time that they entred into any good order was, when the army which they had was rallied out of diuers Countries, and the Souldiours then were generally distributed, according to the Countries whereof they were, and so placed (separately) the forces of each City in his due ranke or degree. So in the battaile of the *Neruians*, the *Strikerians* were ordered on the left side, the *Neruians* on the right, & the *Veromandians* in the middle of the battaile. Likewise in the seventh booke, where hee maketh mention of the forces of *Verugetoris*. The *Gaules* after they had broken the bridges, kept themselves firmly on a little Hill, confiding in the situation of the place, and being generally diuided, according vnto the Cities whereof they were, and placing Guards at euery Ford & Thicket of the Marsh; they impeached them to their no meane disadvantage. In the same place againe, *Verugetoris* hauing planted his Campe on a Hill neere to the Towne, lodged separately also the forces of each City; yet leauing some wide and spacious roome about all their lodgings, and being possessed of all the smaller hilles that neighboured the greater, whence any aduantage might be had for looking downeward; he made

* A people of the Heluetians by the Ruer Ligatus, whose City is called Zurbis.

1st. Cæsar in com. lib. 1. & 2. lib. 6.

The resolute assurance of the Heluetians.

The mainly vertue of the Neruians against the Romanes.

* A Towne of the Gaules in Syria.

The words of *Plinius* concerning the turtles of earth made by the Gaules.

Aristotle in his Ethicks to *Nicomachus*.

Strabo in his Geographie lib. 12.

Aduantage of place for fight.

The Heluetians and Neruians assailed *Cæsar*.

* People of the Gaules in Syria.

* People of the Gaules in Syria.

Plinius in his Geographie lib. 6.

The military discipline of *Verugetoris*.

made a thewverye dreadfull to behold. And euery day, euen from the point or breake of day, he caused the chiefe Commanders of such Cities (as he had chosen to be of his counsell) to come before him, whether it were to confesse about some matters to be done, or execute any thing that depended on their charge: so that no one day might escape him, but some effay or other was made of his courage, & of the vertue that liued in his followers; making out many fallies of horse, mingled with the best and choycest of his Archers.

In the first booke likewise, the people called *Tigurines*, which were vnder the city of the *Heluetians*, all the other three companies hauing passed the Ruer *Araura*, were surprized and enuironed aside by themselves. And they of the Burrough *Verbigena*, because they fled away with the other; being afterward brought before *Cæsar*, they were receiued as open enemies. The *Germanes* obserued the same order, as *Tacitus* deliuereth more plainly, where he saith. And that which principally did encourage them, was; that not hazard, or an assenbly made at aduerture, or a troupe, or a Squadron; but the families and alliances laboured together. One example hereof in the *Germanes*, is noted by the that followed *Ariouistus*, who in the end (as we reade in the first booke) were compelled to send their forces out of the field: and made a generall ordination (by equall interualles) of the *Marcomani*, *Triboci*, *Vangiones*, *Nomentani*, *Segusians* and *Sueues*. Wherefore I conclude, by the words of this passage, that in regard the Army of the *Gaules* consisted of many Cities; the Souldiours (generally) did diuide themselves, according to the number of the Cities.

The Gaules vsed the *Phalanx* in their battailes, as the Romanes did their Legions. The *Phalanx*, subtilly explicated by *Aelianus*, both in parts and parcels, to bee of an equall number, eight times diuided into equal parts; the summary whereof, I thus comprehend. The *Phalanx*, armed with weighty armours, consisted of foure thousand, ninety fixe men, each ranke whereof, contained in length fixteene *Phalangearies*, and was teamed *Decuria* in which bands, the formost man was na-

med *Decuria*, and the last *Verduclitor*, that is to say, hee which conducteth the Rereguard or hinderpart. These formost men were also called *Præsites* of the seconds, by reason of their marching before, and so the third men of the fourth. Contrariwise, the second men were teamed *Subsistes* to the former: as being vnder them, like as the fourth vnder the third. Thus the *Decuria* was composed of *Præsites* & *Subsistes*, the one following the other. The second *Decuria*, was called *Condecuria*, that is to say, conioyned to the *Decuria*, in such manner, that they all answered both in place and number: *Decuria* to *Decuria*, *Præsites* to *Præsites*, *Subsistes* to *Subsistes*, and they which accompanied, or went along by, were teamed *Assites*. The ordinary space or distace of the *Phalangearies*, was foure cubites, but when they closed, two, & when they went in croud, one onely. This was the manner of the *Phalanx*, obserued by the ancient *Gaules*.

The battaile of the Heluetians (as is to be seen in the first booke) kept it selfe strongly locked against *Cæsar*'s horsemen, and when the horsemen were repulsed, the *Phalanx*, which was prepared vnder the first battaillon, advanced it selfe, and set forward. But the Romanes (by the power of their Lauchins) brake the *Phalanx* of the Heluetians, by reason that they were too strongly locked together: And then, to defend themselves against their Lauchins, they began to disioyn their vniting, & to combine their Targets and Shields, the one with the other, which were in the forme and shape of the shelles of Tortuisses, to receiue and resist the Lauchins dashed at them. In the same booke also, the *Germanes* hauing suddenly (according to their custome) prepared a *Phalanx*; withstood the strength of all their Swords. And I perceiue, that this *Phalanx* was ordered in such manner, not to serue as a defence for their heads; but rather as a Rampier for their breasts. But on the Heluetians day, the *Boii*, or *Boians*, and the *Tugi*, or *Tulingians*, who came thither for their succour; enclosed the battaile round about with Chariots and baggage, and guarded the rereward. And as the Heluetians (who had the worst, & of whom the greater number were fore wounded) retired, and withdrew themselves into the nearest neighbouring

The Capitane or Leader. This Guide of the Rereguard.

Vnder-Subsistes.

Comitatus or Adiuncts.

Assistants or helpers.

1st. Cæsar in com. lib. 1.

The *Phalanx* of the Heluetians, broken by the Romanes.

The *Phalanx* of the *Germanes*.

In People of that part of France, now called *Lions*. An Auncient people among the *Heluetians*, not farre from *Lugdunum*.

A notable care & prouidence in a General.

1st. Cæsar in com. lib. 1.

* The Ruer *Araura* in France.

Diuidion by nation, obserued among the *Germanes*, *Comitatus*, *Tacitus* in lib. 2. cap. 5.

A People of Bohemia. b Of Hallatia. c Or the City of Wormes in Germany, now called *Vormacia*. d Nere to Rome. e The City *Sion* in the Alpes.

This place is thus expounded by the author.

f Bands of Souldiours.

The retire & re-aisuit of the Heluctians.

The words of Heluctius concerning the Gauls firing on Faggots.

* Soldiers that were always set in the rearguard and were the strongest met: they taught euer standing and bowing somewhat on their knees, as if they would rather dye, then renoue from their places.

Mountain: they assayed the Romanes at vnawares on the Flanks, and engirt the round about. Which the Heluctians beholding, they returned againe, began to recharge them, and fought valiantly with them.

Thus wee haue heere set downe some forme of that fashion, which the Gaules obserued in preparing their battaile, and that which *Heluctius* hath spoken thereof, is not much differing from the purpose. That the Gaules, being in battaile, had a custome to sit downe vpon Faggots of Vine branches and small twigs, which they placed in the ground. Now, albeit the reporteth, that *Cæsar* hath declared the same in the first booke of his Commentaries, yet notwithstanding, I finde no such matter. But forasmuch, as the Gauls (in their battails) are said to sit downe on Faggots: it was a kinde of discipline obserued among the, like to that of the Romane * *Triarii*, who being ranked in the third battalion, which was the reerward, used to kneele down on their knees, which was termed by the Latines, *Subsidere*, whence ensued the word *Subside* as they named it. This commeth somewhat short of the order obserued among the *Gaules*: but many matters more might be related, concerning the encouragement they gaue to one another for war-service, which principally employed their mindes, and boldly animated them on to vertue.

CHAP. VII.

ingenues denied to comfort and end to affright or dis- of their signes of mercy, their Baris,

Songs and Rithmes.



A small matter obserued in Military discipline, & how it was among the Gaules.

I hath bin a vsuall obseruation in all Military discipline, when they prepared to the fight, and so soone as they began to draw their weapons; to make a cry in the loudest manner that they could, & to enflame the Souldiers mindes with the sounde of Trumpets. But the custome of the Gaules, was, not onely with cry of the voyce, and

sound of Trumpets: but with a Song, a Dance, loud yelling, clattering of their armour, and brandishing their darts, to make a noise so terrible, as nothing could appeare to be more horrible. The *Gaules* (saith *Diodorus*) *had loud, big, and rude voyces, & their Trumpets (according to custom) were barbarous, & made a rude harsh sound.* But *Polybius* (in his second booke) sayeth moreouer. The brauadoes & noises of the *Celts*, were dreadfull to the Romanes: for they had an infinite number of Trumpets and Hobois, with the sound whereof, the whole Army cryed out aloud, making for great a clashing and noyse; that not onely the Clarions & Army echoed the sound, but all the places likewise that did round engirt them. And indeed, the noyse which customarily was made by the Gauls, hath oftentimes bene noted by *Titus Livius*: but yet hatefully and inuiously, as (for the most part) he was wont to speake of the Gaules. The *Gaules* (saith he, in his first booke) by singing saugely, and crying out confusedly; filled the ayre with an horrible found. And in the same place: Immediately there were heard songs and noyses disgreceing, as when the *Gaules* walked (by troopes) about their walles. And afterward in the foure and thirtieth Booke, he saith. The *Gaules* went marching forward, howling or yelling strangely, and singing according to their confused fashion, shaking their Targets ouer their heads, and brandishing their Darts in their hands. Then againe in the foure and fortieth Booke, speaking of the *Gauls* which were in *Asia*, he saith. Beyond all the rest, their singing, when they began the battaile, and their howling, yelling, and dances, couering themselves with their Shields, after the manner of their Country, with the horrible clattering of their armour: all these things were done on deliberate purpose, onely to procure affrightment and terror.

Cæsar toucheth this tumultuous behaviour more lightly, in his first booke, after the ouerthrow of *Sabinus & Cottus*, where the *Gaules* hauing the victory, hee speaketh thus of them. Then, according to their wonted custome; they cryed the victory together, and howled loudly. And at another time, in the seauenth Booke, speaking of the *Gaules* nere vnto *Alexia*. The *Gaules* (saith hee) perswading them-

Diodor. in lib. 1.

Pol. b. in lib. 2.

The noise of the Celts affrighted the Romanes.

Titus Livius in lib. 1.

Titus Livius to friend to die Gaule.

Tit. Liv. in lib. 39.

Tit. Liv. in lib. 44. Of the Gaules in Asia, he saith. Beyond all the rest, they behaued themselves in battaile.

In lib. 7. The women of Gergouiz.

In lib. 7. The women of Gergouiz.

The battaile fought nere to Alexia.

In lib. 7. How they required parlie.

Signes of especial obseruation among the Gaules.

In lib. 7. The signe of quietesse.

The signe of desiring peace in Lib. 7.

In lib. 7. The women of Gergouiz.

The signe of yielding. The *Heduns*

felues to be the stronger part, and perceiving the Romanes, that they were pressed with great numbers on all sides: they that were within the Fort, and they that came in their assistance, with a loude cry and yelling, assured the courage of their people. Moreouer, that which gaue greatest terror to the Romanes, was, the loud cry that they made at their backs, in the time of their fighting. It was likewise a custome among the *Gaules*, to require parlie or conference, by making a loud cry, as by a Trumpet: according as *Cæsar* in his first Booke, speaking of the *Eburons*, saith. Then after their vsuall manner, they made a loud cry together, to the end, that some one of the Romanes might come forth, to admit them parlie or conference.

It may appeare now as conuenient, to speake somewhat of those signes which the *Gaules* used, to signifie, when their hearts were appeased and quieted; when they desired peace; and when they were willing to yeelde themselves. The signe which they used to make, when their hearts were contented and quieted; was, to shew their right shoulders naked. *Cæsar*, speaking of the *Heduns*, in his seauenth Booke, saith thus. When euer their right shoulders were seene to be naked: it was their accustomed signe, thereby to declare, that they were contented. The signe of desiring peace, was, to extend or stretch out their hands: as hee speaketh in the second Booke, discoursing on the *Bellouasians*. The women and children (being on the walles) according to their wonted behauiour; would stretch forth their hands, thereby desiring peace of the *Romanes*. Which he farther relateth in the seauenth Booke, speaking of the women of *Gergouiz*: who baring their breasts, and stretching out their hands vpon the walles, required mercy of the *Romanes*. In the same place also, hee declareth what signe they used, when they were willing to submit themselves. The *Heduns* holding vp their hands; gaue notice thereby, that they would yeelde themselves. And holding downe their armes, they requested thereby, that their liues might be saued.

But perhaps these things may seeme to be of slender account: therefore I will conclude the noyses made by the *Gaules*, and search into the behauiour of

the *Germans*, whether they were of like condition, or no. It should seeme, that it was the Barrit of the *Germans*, whereof *Tacitus* maketh such mention. They had certain pleasant Songs and Rithmes, at the sound whereof; that which they termed Barrit, enflamed their courages; and by the Song, they prefiged the end and fortune of the future battaile. For they were cheered or dismayed, according as the Army made the noyse; and this accord in singing, seemed not to consist so much in the voyce, as in vertue. They did principally respect the rudenes of found, and confused noise of the noyse; by holding their Targets before their mouths, to the end that the voyce (being made thereby the greater and fuller) might resound the louder and stronger. Such then was the noyse of the *Gaules* chiefly when they came to the shock or brunt, and when they would come their Souldiers courages: for they (when *Gaules* (alwaies) had some part) this encouragement. You will haue credit, that mens hearts would be more enflamed, by the exhortations and teares of their dearest wiues; the they could be by the sound of Trumpets and Cornets. The prooffe hereof, is to be seene in the 7. Book, when at *Gorgouiz*, the mothers of the Families began to pray with earnest affection, and to shew their haire disheueled, after the *Gaulish* manner, and to make presents of their young infants. Such was the exhortation at the siege of * *Massyia*, after that all the Ships on the Sea were readily prepared; at the instant entreaties & teares of the old men, of the mothers of the families and their daughters, who desired the to succour the City in extreme necessity: they had no lesse heart and resolution, to mount into those Ships, then they had before in fighting the battaile. Then might easily be discerned, both from the Camp of * *C. Trebonius*, and all the places of highest prospect in the City; how all the youth that remained within it, and all the oldest men, with their wiues and young children, stood as publike guardes, and (vpon the walles) helde vp their hands to heauen, or ran to the Temples of the immortal Gods, where prostrating themselves before their Images, they entreated victory of the Gods.

This hath some resemblance with that which

Obseruations among the *Germans*, & of their Barrit. *Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 2.*

Singing foretold their battels success

Rudenes of found nois regarded.

Of the women among the *Gaules*, and how they encouraged the hearts of their husbands. *In lib. 7. in comment. lib. 7.*

* A Country in Affrica, among the Western Moors.

* One of them that afterward murdered *Cæsar*.

Jul. Cesar in
Com. Lib. 1.
Of the Gauls
main women.

An observation
among the
Germans, viz
they were read-
y to fight.

Quailed bar-
rills, & en-
forced by the
meane of
women.

Cesar do-
ing dealing
with the
Gauls.
(Jul. Cesar in
Comment. Lib. 1.
Ch. in Lib. 8.)

Titus Livius a
reprover of
the Gauls.

In lib. 5. cap. 1.

In lib. to. cap. 7.

which is written of the Germanes, in the first booke. And the women, holding vp their hands to the Souldiers, which were going to the warre, with teares entreated them, that they would not suffer them to fall into the feruitude of the Romanes. Therefore, when the Germanes were ready to fight, such things as were in their deereſt eſteeme (as Tacitus reporteth) they would haue in ſome place neere vnto them: where the out-cries of their wives, and lamentings of their children, might eſtream be heard; theſe ſerued them as moſt ſacred witneſſes, and theſe were their cheefeſt commendations. They would bring the wounded perſons to their mothers and wiues, and they feared not to number and ſtucke their hurts; carrying good to them, and any thing that might partem them againe to the fight. Some ſay, that diuers battels, which began ſuddenly to quail and breake aſunder: were as ſuddenly re-enforced, and purſued by the women, once through the conſtancy of their praier, beating their hands on their naked breſts, & ſetting before their eies, the danger of their neere enſuing captiuitie, which they feared the more impatiently, in regard of their Wiues and Children. Wherefore the wiues of marriall minded men, did declare themſelues alſo no leſſe valiant and reſolute.

But Cesar, in attributing very great courage to the Gaules, doth yet (I know not how) reproch them, with a quite contrary negligence or cowardice. For, like as the hearts of the Gaules (ſaith he in his third Booke) are prompt and deliberate, for the attempting of warre: euen ſo is their courage dull, and weak in reſiſtance, to ſupport any miſchances. In briefe (as we may reade in the eighth Booke) a man cannot well iudge, whether the Gaules are more inſolent, when their affaires do go neuer ſo little ſucceſſfully with them; then they are eaſie to be affrighted, when neuer ſo little harme befalls them. This is that alſo, which Titus Livius reprehendeth with ſuch inſolence, as euery where he ceaſeth not to taxe them with ſomewhat fauouring of the ſame nature. As in the fifth Booke concerning the gowned Gaules. The Gauliſh nation are accuſtomed to colde and raine; but they cannot any way endure eyther duſt or heate. In the tenth Booke. The bodies of the Gaules, which

cannot abide trauaile or heat, do yet melt themſelues with ſweating. They enter fight like more then men; but their illiſſe is leſſe then women. In the 37. Booke. Their big bones that can ſuffer no labor, will toile with weigthy Armour on their backs. In the 40. Booke. Heate and trauaile are yreſome to the Gaules quaggy bodies, becauſe they are not able to endure thiſt. In the 48. Booke, ſpeaking of the Gaules of Italia. If their firſt aſſault be endured, which they ruſh into with boyling courage, and blindfold fury; their lazie members will melt themſelues into ſweate, and the weapons will fall out of their hands. The Sun, duſt, and drought, without imployment of any weapon againſt them, doth dul their foggy bodies, and abate their ſteameſt courage, if they hot rage and fury be once ouer-paſſed.

Tacitus giueth theſe ſame dull diſpoſition to the Germanes. Their great bodies (ſaith he) that haue no other ſtrength, then (at the firſt on-let) to ſlew theſelues forward: are not accuſtomed to ſupport (with any patience) either paines, buſines, thiſt, heate, colde or hunger. How doth this hold together? According to the iudgement which Cesar hath giuen of the Gaules? Are they both moſt valiant, and yet foggy fellows alſo? Vndoubtedly, al the Gaules are reported to be (euen naturally,) martiall and valorous, and being exerciſed in military diſcipline, they are the more hardened againſt any trauel; but wanting exerciſe, they grow the more foggy & ydle. Cuſtome and viſe do teach mento ſupport any toyle, and to hold good defence againſt all danger; in the trauaile of warlike diſcipline, admitteth neyther ſincerie or ſoſtneſſe. If we meeete with ſome old Souldier, who, becauſe he is expert in warre, is feareleſſe of blowes: If likewiſe a new freſh Souldier be brought in, that hath his hart as ſtout and reſolute, & as yet vnexperienced; yet his beſt courage will appeare to be but womanliſh: ſo writeth Cicero in his ſecond Tufculan.

Tenderneſſe and ſoſtneſſe is reprehended in the Gauliſh Souldiers; as namely by Percingetorix, and Critognatus, one of the Aruerni, in the ſeventh Booke. For there he ſaith, that the Gaules deſired to fight, in regard of their ſoft and tender diſpoſition, becauſe they cannot long endure any toyle. The ſame man at the

In lib. 37. c. 29.

In lib. 40. cap. 1.

In lib. 48. cap. 2.

Corn. Tacitus in
lib. 3. cap. 1.
Of the ſlowe
diſpoſition of
the Germanes.

The natural
inclination of
the Gaules.

Viſe and
exerciſe
maeketh
men apt and
valiant.

Cicero in
Tufculan. 5.

People by
the River
Leyſe in
France.
Jul. Cesar in
Comment. lib. 7.

Percingetorix
to the Souldiers
beſieged in
Alexia.

Courage nat-
urall and in-
hereditary to
the Gaules.

Cesar had fix
Legions of
the Gaules, &
but foure of
Romanes.

* A certaine
legion among
the Romanes

Titus Livius
reprober of
the Author, to
offend againſt
his own coun-
try, & the law
of Hiftory.

Concerning
the gowned
Gaules & Affians

councell which was holden among them that were beſieged in Alexia, and ſtood in great ſtreſſe, through want of victualles: againſt ſuch as were of the minde, to hazard all at once ſally, he ſaid. This is indeed more cowardice, weakneſſe, and no ſigne of courage, or any ſort of vertue, to declare your ſelues vnable, to endure death & ſearſity for ſhort a while. Prooue may be produced, of more men that gladly offered themſelues to death, then could patiently ſuſtaine greeſe or annoyance. It is not then to be doubted, but prompt & ſtout courage, eſpecially in warlike enterpriſes, was hereditary (both by nature and race) to the Gaules nation, and that this ſoft or tender complexion, grew through lacke of exerciſe, in military diſcipline. For, if a Gaule had bene once well enſtructed, by a Maſter, ſkillfull in the arte of warre: where was any Souldier to bee found, that could more ably endure all labour? If thou doe inferre any doubt in this caſe, prooue thereof was made by Cesar himſelfe: For Cesar leuied fix Legions of the Gaules, becauſe he could raiſe no more then foure of his owne Common-wealth. Cafars horſe-men were knowne to be Gaules, and thereupon, after he came to the head of all his enterpriſes: hee naturalized all thoſe Legions, which not onely were Gaules by Nation, but they retained (beſide) the name of * Alauda. Wherefore, this ſoſtneſſe in the new or young experienced Souldiers, was as common to the Romanes as Gaules; and was no otherwiſe proper, eyther to the Gaule or Germane Nation.

But Titus Livius, with I know not how many Greekes, is too iniurious and ſuppartable againſt the name of a Gaul, and forgets wiſhall, the kindneſſe which hee ought to his Country, and to the law of hiftory. For, although hee much better affected, to make the Venetes or Venetians, to defend from the traitor Antenor, then from the Nobility of the venetian Gaules, as Strabo hath done, and the Romanes approve the ſame, placing the Venetes or Venetians in Gallia Togata; yet thereby hee maketh himſelfe to be a Gaule. And the law of hiftory doth command, that in the relating of a hiftory, he ſhould ſtand cleare from ſuſpition of being touched with fauour or hatred. But whereas he reprocieth the gowned Gaules and Affians,

with the ydle matter of cold, becauſe they d velt in the hotteſt Countreies, and ſuch as were neerer to the Sunne, then the * Palatinus or Patavinus, among whom Titus Livius was borne; doth he not mocke himſelfe as fooliſhly as can be deuifed? As for the Gaule Souldier which Cesar had, and who was the very braueſt man of all other whatſoeuer: this man belveth him manifeſtly. And it appeareth very probably, that Cesar had to deale with thoſe men onely in that Gaule: but in the other partes of the world, hee fought againſt women, in regard of thoſe men hee found in this Nation.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the difference betweene the Souldiers of Cesar, and of Pompey, being the valiant Gaules, in comparing them with the Romanes: As alſo of the Spaniards and the Gaules, and what cunning they learned of the Romanes.



OW, to ſpeake of Cafars Souldier againſt the Souldier of Pompey, that is to ſay, the valiant Gaul, what was hee againſt the Romanes? In the third Booke

of the ciuill warres, Cesar ſaith: The Army of Pompey was not accuſtomed to ſiues taking. Why then Titus Livius, by the purity of his eloquence, which Quintilian compared to the whitenneſſe of milke, hath drawne the Spaniards and Gaules from the corners of the world, onely to make himſelfe liſtened vnto, according as Saint Hierome writeth. Notwithſtanding, in this delicacy of ſoſtneſſe, of not enduring paine, heate, thiſt, nor duſt, which hee reprehendeth in the Souldiers of Gaules, himſelfe ſheweth the ſoſtneſſe and affection of his owne ſpirit, which cannot any way abide equity, the grauity of hiftory, ſoundneſſe of iudgement, and truerly. For, to be ſoſt, or hardened againſt toyle, is not any thing that proceedeth eyther from Nations or race, but by breeding and diſcipline.

* Men of Padus in Italy.

Apparene
prooue of the
ancient Souldier of Gaule

Comparison
of Souldiers.

Jul. Cesar in
Comment. lib. 3.

Quintil. in lib. 3. cap. 11.

Hier. in Praefat.

Of delicacy
and hardneſſe
againſt labour

Want of discipline in the Gaules.

Strabo in Lib. 4. cap. 7.

The simplicity of minds which remained in the Gaules.

The Spaniards not so loose subdued as the Gaules, & therefore on why.

The Spaniards warlike unto the death.

Strabo in Lib. 7.

Example of the Helvetians.

Example of the Belgians, Armonians, & Aquitains.

All Gaul conquered neere to Alexia.

Strabo in Lib. 3. cap. 1.

Cæsar then did but right, in giving to the men of *Gaul* a great courage, & truly warlike: and yet neuer thelesse, he discouereth in this great minde or spirit, a certaine want of discipline, or much rather hereproueth a kinde of simpleness, and an ill aduised assurance of their strength, which was the fault that was most noted in their warres, according as *Strabo* writeth in his fourth Booke.

The *Gaules* very easily assembled together in great number, because they were simple of spirit, still followed iustice, right and truth, being moued and affected by the losses of their neighbours. Whereupon it happened, that the more easily they were chased out of their Country: because in assembling all their forces, or rather their whole families and friends, they were throwne out by them that proued the stronger. The *Romans* did much more easily subdue them, then they could do the *Spaniards*: for the wars in *Spaine* were begun long time before theirs, and yet notwithstanding, they were brought to end after theirs. And betweene both these times, they conquered all the *Gauls*, that were betweene the *Rheine* and the *Pyrenean Mountaines*: for in coming to the field so many together, they were ouerthrowne by multitudes together. But the *Spaniards* managed their battailes more sparingly, and, euen as if they had a desire to some affected kinde of monies: so did they preserve them from one time to another, and from Country to Country, making their warre still cautiouly, like unto cheques.

And that which *Strabo* hath written, may sufficiently bee perceived by the examples of *Cæsar*. The whole City of the *Helvetians*, there being all the people of twelue Townes, and of forty Villages: did fight all at one instant, and in one instant all were all ouerthrowne. Such was the league of fiftene people of the *Belgians*. Such was the reuolting of the *Armonians* in the warre of the *Ventes*, or *Venicians*. Such was the conspiracy of the *Aquitains* against *Craffus*. In briefe, did not all *Gaul* put it selfe in Armes, and was it not wholly conquered in one warre, neere vnto *Alexia*? The *Gaules* in the eight yeare of their warre, both well feild and knew this fault, as *Hirtius* saith, and that in regard of some great numbers, which still were af-

sembled in one place; it exceeded possibility to retit the *Romans*. But if diuers Cities (at one selfe same time) had made warre in diuers places: the *Romane Army* could neither haue had sufficient succour, leysure or forces, to vndertake all at once.

Neuerthelesse, the *Gaules* were not all-ways of so simple and open spirit: but at some-times they declared more cunning, and holpe themselves by some surprizes. *Cæsar*, (as *Suetonius* saith) neuer suffered any one occasion of warre to bee lost, were it neuer so vniuersal, setting as soone on the allied and leagued, as on enemies: and yet notwithstanding, all the warres which he made, hee still paliated with good & sufficient colours of reason. The *Eburone-Gaules* payed *Cæsar* with his owne vnfairfull dealing. For these *Gaules* aduertising the *Romane* with the conspiracy, which all the *Gaules* had agreed on together: made him beleue, that if hee would come, and leaue the field, they would giue him free passage. Through this deceit, a Legion, and fise Cohorts or Companies (with *Cotta* and *Sabinus*, which ledde them) were all vanquished. And albeit, that the *Romane* was then alike in number and strength to the *Gaules* (as *Cæsar* confesseth) yet was he foyled by the *Gaules* subtilty, who had learned this craft of *Cæsar*, and therewith repayed him.

Hirtius recounteth the like ambuscadoes of the *Belouisi*, or *Belouianes*, who hauing vnderstood the lodging of the *Romane* horsemen: tooke a number of light and nimble spirited footemen, and en-ambushed them in a place thickly couered with wood. On the morrow, they sent certaine horses thither, which might allure the *Romans* out, into the compasse of the ambuscament, and when they were once in it, they presently charged them. And the fortune of this mis-happe fell on the men of *Rheimis*, who were appointed as *Guards* there that day. For they hauing seene (too suddenly) the enemies horse-men, and knowing them-selves to exceede them greatly in number, making no account of so fewe as they seemed to bee: they rushed forth, and ouer-hotly pursued them, euen vntill they were (on all sides) enuironed by the Foote-men

A great error of the Gaules in their fighting.

The Gaules were not all-ways so simple in their martiall affairs.

The Eburones cunning in ouer-throwing Cæsar.

Cæsar repayed with coyn of his own stamp.

Hirtius in lib. 3.

The Belouians circum-vented the Romanes.

The Rheimi foiled through their owne fault, with the losse of their Prince Perisitor.

The Romanes humbled by their owne misthinking.

A cunning stratageme of the Bellouians against the Romanes.

Thenight fastness of many attempts.

Cæsar's respect to the deceit of the Belouians, and therefore could not be so rash.

Suspicion is the hinderer of the brauest actions.

Many harmes done to the Romanes by the Gaules.

Cunning oftentimes deceives in itselfe.

to their no little astonishment, which caused them to retire much sooner, then skirmishes of horsemen were wont to do; hauing lost *Crassus*, Prince of the Citie, and cheefe Commander of the horsemen. This shewed no simpleness in the *Gaules*, but mere cunning, learned of the *Romans*.

In the very same place, *Hirtius* declarereth the like cunning stratageme; as that which *Hannibal* vied, to deceyue *Fabius*. The *Belouians* (saith he) perceiving that the *Romans* were ready to pursue them, and that they could not (without danger) passe the night, or sojourn longer where they were: they deliuered (by Oath) from hand to hand, the *Agons* and *small bushes* whereon they rested to sit, and whereof they had great store in the fildes, all which they placed before their Army: and at the ending of day-light (upon a signe suddenly giuen) they set them all on fire. So the flames, which followed in selfe in great length, immediately burnede, that the enemy could not discover their Forces: and which being done, the *Gaules* very speedily withdrew themselves.

Cæsar, albeit he could not perceiue that the enemy was gone, in regard of the fire so made before them: yet notwithstanding suspecting that they had done this device, to the end that they might flye, caused his Legions to march on, and sent out troupes of horsemen to pursue them. And yet being mistrustful of some surprisall, doubting lest the enemy might still lurke there, with intent to allure the *Romans* to some disadvantage, hee marched on the more aduiscfully. The horsemen, fearing to enter the smoke, and if any one (by ouermuch forwardnes) did enter, hee could not see any thing before or behind him: grew all suspitions of some secret ambush, & so gaue leysure to the *Belouians* to retire thence. Thus the enemy, by means of a figne (full of feare & crast) hauing marched about ten miles of the country, without sustaining the least losse, fastned their campe in a very strong place.

Oftentimes thenceforward, & by many ambushes both of horse & foot, they did great damages to the *Romans*, in their wandering abroad, stealing and foraging: whereby it should appeare, that the attempts fauoured rather of a *Punick* spirit then of a *Gaulish*. And yet neuerthelesse, when all came to al (as we like to say) they were surprized by the hands of their mailers, & by the selfesame deceits & subtil-

ties which they had learned of *Cæsar*. And to the end it might bee noted, that the *Gauls* had no more cunning or craft then what they learned of the *Romans*: the *Helvetians* (as *Orosius* writeth in his first Booke) surprized the Consul *Cassius*, with all his Army, by an ambuscado. But I haue concluded with my selfe, not to omit one manner of ambushing, which was the most marvellous of all those that euer I read of, or heard reported; whereby the Prætor *Posthumus* was ouerthrowne of the *Boian* *Gaules*, as *Titus Livius* reporteth in his 33. booke.

While matters went on in these doubts and vncertainties, tidings came of another losse; according as fortune (in this yeare) still re-charged one vpon another. And these were the Newes, that *Lucius Posthumus*, designed Consul, was ouercome in *Gaul*, both he and his Armie. There was a verie great Forrest, which the *Gauls* called *Litana*, thorough which *Forrest*, he was to passe his Army. The *Gaules*, on both sides of the passage, had cut and hewne the Trees of the Forrest in such sort; that (yet notwithstanding) they parted not from the trunk or bodie, but must endure hard thrusting and enforcement, before they could possibly get the fall.

Posthumus had two *Romane* Legions, and had leauied to many people, allyed vnto the *Romans*, that hee brought into the enemies Countrey, well neere the number of fise and twenty thousand men of Warre. The *Gaules*, who were ambushed in the Forrest, when the Armie was entered within the VVood; threw downe the afore said hewne vnder-growing branches, which were apted so for the present purpose; that falling still thickly one vpon another, without any possible meanes of restraining them, they ouer-turned (pell-mell) both Men and Horses, in such manner, that (very hardly, and with much paines taking) tenne men of them escaped. For the greater part were slaine, by the falling of the huge branches and annes of Trees on them; and the Armed *Gaules*, that held possession of all the VVood, put the rest vnto death, who were not a little affrighted at this so strange misadventure. Verie few (of so great a number) were taken; who in going to the bridge of the riuer,

One's lib. 6. cap. 4.

The Prætor Posthumus vanquished by the Gauls. Tit. Livius in lib. 33. cap. 4.

The manner how Posthumus was ouerthrown by the Boians.

A stratageme effected studiously performed.

A strange conclusion on this sad scene.

were impeached by the enemy, who formerly had gotten the mastery thereof. This is all that *Titus Livius* hath written, concerning this notable accident to the Gaules.

CHAP. IX.

In what manner the Gaules fortified their Cities and Townes; and what Engines they employed for their owne defence.



VT this is enough already spoken, concerning the manner of behaviour among the Gaules, as well in ranged battails, as in ambuscadoes: it remaineth now to speak, how they fortified their Cities and Townes, and contrarywise, how they were besieged. How was it then that the Gaules strengthened and fortified their Townes, and what Engines had they whereby to defend themselves? There need no wonderment be made, at the fortification of the *Asterini*, *Nerviani*, *Comani*, *Aduaticae*, and *Eburones*, because they had no Townes at all. And thence ensued it, that the *Aduaticae* marvelled so strangely, to behold the warlike Engines of the Romanes; whereof it is thus written in the second Booke. Being fortified with a rampier of twelue foote high, which had fifteene thousand Towers and strong Bastils nere to each other; the Romanes kept themselves within that Fort. Afterward, when the trailes and platformes were ready prepared, mounted aloft, and a Tower to be raised some long distance off, at the beginning of these vnwonted works, the Gaules beganne to laugh on their walles, and lowdly to mocke at them, maruelling what they did vnder take so farre off, and with so huge an Engine, or how it should be possible, that the hands and strength of men (especially of so meane stature) could promise any hope to themselves, of coming nere to their walles, with a Tower of so great a composition. But when they (soone after) perceyued, that this mighty frame moued from place to place, and approached nere vnto their

walles: being astonished at a matter of such nouelty, and sight vnaccustomed; they sent their Ambassadors vnto *Cæsar*, to entreate peace; who answered them, That they must thinke, that the Romanes neuer made any warre, without the speciall fauour of the Goddess: seeing they could advance (and in so short a while) an Engine of such height, to fight both farre off, and nere at hand; and therefore they should submit themselves, and all their goods to his mercy. Thus spake *Cæsar*. It would require so much speech (saith *Cicero* in his second Tusculanes) concerning the new fouldier, & the old: that if wee make comparison of one that hath not bene exercised with him which is tried and skillfull; he will appeare no otherwise, then merely as a woman. All which notwithstanding, the very selfsame Gaule, being entrusted in the Discipline of *Cæsar*, seemed as a God to another Gaule, that neuer had knowledge in that Art.

But let vs leave these Belgians which dwell so farre off, and come vnto such as were more ciuillized, as the *Suessones*, and the *Bellouasians*. The *Suessones* (saith *Cæsar* in his second booke) when as the Treilles were prepared against *Nouiodunum*, one of their cheefe Townes, and that the platforme was mounted together vwith the Treilles: as men amazed at so great an enterprize, and such strange works, which the Gaules had neuer seene or heard of, yet so speedily performed by the Romanes; they sent their Ambassadors toward *Cæsar*, to entreate that they might yeeld themselves. The *Bellouasians* also, hauing not (as yet) seen such Engines, wherewith Townes were battered, but only hearing report made of them, surrendered the Towne of *Bratupanium*. Wherefore, if the Gaules (as *Cæsar* affirmeth) had neuer either seene or heard speech of such instruments, vntill that verie time: why then should we make any maruelling, That the Gaules, who had not yet learned such cunning, were conquered by other Gaules, that had knowledge in them? Now, whether this place in *Cæsar*, which treateth of the Belgians, was purposely written, or (at the least) may seeme not to bee vwritten according vnto truth, there the question remaineth. For, the Gaules made their

Ambassadors sent by the Gaules to Cæsar, and his answer to them.

Cicero in *Tuscul.*

Concerning the old & new soldier.

Of the *Suessones* and *Bellouasians*.

Jul. Cæsar in *lib. 2.*

Engines to batter cities and Townes withall.

A doubt concerning the passage in *Cæsar*.

Chap. 9.

Of the Ancient Gaules.

How the Gaules used to make their Towne-walles.

Jul. Cæsar in *Com. lib. 7.*

These walles were the strong & stiff defences that the Gaules then had about all their Cities and Townes.

Concerning the old & new soldier.

Of the *Suessones* and *Bellouasians*.

Jul. Cæsar in *lib. 2.*

A way of this kind of building, and what it denotes their walled contained.

All the Gaules were not ignorant in fortifying their Townes.

Marcellus *Cæsar* in *lib. 2.* he besieged the Santone Gaules.

their walles with strong beames of wood, which were not planted vp on one end: but couched downe, & ioyned together, with spaces of earth betweene each two beames, whereof *Cæsar* speaketh thus in his seventh booke. All the walles (saith he) of the Gaules, were (well nere) made after this manner. They laid beames of wood straite out along on the ground, and followed after stil in the same order, making equal distance betweene them, about the space of two foote in breadth. These beames or plaits, as some terme them, were reuersed and bound within, with strong forced earth, and the equal distances (whereof we haue spoken) were filled vp with great stones, which fronted the wall forward. After that this rowe was all along thus ranged and ordered; another like frame was laid thereon, after the same manner; yeto, that the beames betweene both, did guard and keepe the maiue Timber from touching each other. And being distanced also by the selfe-same spaces: they were knit and shut fast together, by great stones cast in betweene them. And so, consequently, all the whole work shapeth it selfe in this manner, even till the wall was perfected to a reasonable height.

Now, concerning this kinde of building, ouer and beside, that it was no way miſhapen, by the order kept in the leveling, and fitting both the beames & stones aptly to each other: euen so it was greatly commodious, in seruing for the defence of their Townes. For the stones were apt and proper, to impeach the force of fire, and the beames and other matter, brake and resisted the blowes of battery. Because, they being bound together inwardly, and knit to the Timber beames running all along, containing (for the most part) in thicknesse, the measure of forty foote; could (by no means) be forced to sinke, or be otherwise dismembred. Hereby then it may appeare, that the Gaules knew some-what for the fortification of their Cities and Townes; yea, and how to defend themselves also, by such means as were vſed in the warres.

In the third yeare of the warre in Gaul, the Santone-Aquitaines were besieged by *Craſſus* and his men, both with Treilles and Towers: but they resisted him valiantly, one while, by making faillies out vpon them, another while, by vndermining,

till they came to the great planted platforme, which formerly had bene provided, by means of the treilles. To which vndermining (saith *Cæsar*) the Aquitaines were well inured because they had Mines of Copper and Brasse in many places. So much *Cæsar* wrote, approving, that the Aquitaines knew well enough how to defend a Towne or City; because they had Copper Mines, which made them there-in very skillfull. It is saide also, that the Celtes (for the same cause) knew well how to defend themselves at the siege of *Auaricum*: because they had very deep Mines of Iron in their Country. For *Auaricum* being courageously assailed by the Romanes, the Gaules found out all sorts of inuentions (as *Cæsar* saith in his seventh Booke) whereby to giue impeachment to the most singular enterprizes of the Romane Soldiers: as hauing (by naturall inclination) a very ingenious and subtil spirit, apt to follow and counterfeite all things, and whatsoever they sawe done by others.

First, for the Romane Falks, they could overthrow it by a snare or grinne, and when it was remounted, they would againe hurle it downe with their Engines. They couered all their walles with towers made of skinnes, and equalled the height of those towers made by the Romanes, with masts made in their owne turrets. In making their faillies abroad; eyther they would throw fires into the platforme; or suddenly surprize the amazed Romanes; or by vndermining, ouerthrow the maine fortification. Whereunto (indeede) they were the more apt and ready; because they had great yron Mines in their Country, and knew (beside) all kinds of deluding into the ground. By leauing their Mines open, they impeached and tardyed the Romanes preparations: mingling fire with pitch and other matter, made apt to burne whereſoeuer it fel, and tumbling downe great stones also, to keepe them from approaching nere to their walles. By these cited places it appeareth euidently, that the Gaules had attained vnto some indifferent knowledge, how and which way to defend a City: but to speak truly, it was more through their continual exerciſe in their Mines, then by any cunning they had learned in the arte Military.

Jul. Cæsar in *Com. lib. 7.*

The Celtes skillful in their owne defence

The naturall inclination of the Celtes.

Of the Romane engine Falk.

The exercises of the Celts against the Romanes, in all their attempts of war against them.

Working in the Mines vnder ground, made the Celts ready in defending themselves.

And

After what manner the Gauls fortified their Townes and Cities.

Diuers people that had no Townes or Villages.

Jul. Cæsar in *Com. lib. 2.*

The Gaules had neuer seene such admirable Engines as were raised by the Romanes.

The words of
Vercingetorix
at the taking
of Avaricum.

Jul. Caesar in
comment. lib. 7

The constan-
cy of the
Gaules, in the
defence of
their Cities &
Townes.

* People that
inhabited
Denmark and
Norway.
* People of
Germany, called
Allemaignes

Some others
recount him
Crittognatus.

Other Gaules
maliced this
counsell, yet
yielded it fit
in cases of ex-
tremity.

The Gaules
were more
full of courage
then discipline.

And this is that whereof Vercingetorix complained, comforting the Gaules at the taking of Avaricum. That the Romans had not wonne the victory, either by vertue or battaile: but by a kinde of science and cunning, which they had in the battning downe of Townes, wherein the Gaules had no knowledge. By which words, that place of Caesar which concerned all the Gaules in general, seemeth to be true: That the Gaules had neuer seene, or heard any report, of Plattformes, Treilles, nor Towers. But bee it so, that the ancient Gaules neuer knew any such Art, as the Romans did; yet there was no want of courage in them. For, it is a matter very marvellous, which Caesar himselfe speaketh of them in his tenth Booke, in remembering their constancy, for guard and defence of their Cities and Townes.

The Gaules, in the warres of the *Cimbrians and *Teutones, being wholly constrained to retire themselves into such places as were strongest, and being there also oppressed with great famine & lacke of victuals: they did yet maintaine their liues by feeding on the bodies of such, as both appeared, and were not able indeed to do any further seruice in the warre, & would (by no means) yeeld to their enemies.

Crittognates, who was a man of great ranke among the Atrernians, held a verie strong opinion in counsell, that it was good to put the same in practise for the defence of Alexia; and although hee had made no vie thereof before, yet hee earnestly maintained the fitnessse and necessity thereof, onely for liberty, and that it was worthy to bee left (as a memorable custome) to posterity. This opinion helde such account amongst the other Gaules, that they were of the mind, to assay all other means whatsoever, then to doe according as Crittognates had aduised. And yet notwithstanding, if there wer such vrgent necessity, and ayde tardied too late in coming; that it was most behoouefull to credit his iudgement, rather then to yeeld, or listen to peace-making, vpon enforced or violent composition. Such was the courage of the ancient Gaules.

Now this kinde of defence, which they vied for safeguarding their townes, though it proceeded from no meane Vertue in them, yet it did not tellish of any great

discipline. In what manner also they assailed Townes, was without any craft or subtle device. For they neuer help themselves, either by Plattformes, Rampiers, Treilles, or Towers, as it is described in the second booke. The Gaules and the Belgians, had both one manner of assaulting Cities, to saith Caesar. For after they had ringed (after the order of crowding together) a great number of men about the Town; they would hurle heaps of stones vp on the wall, vntill they had lett it naked of men. Then, winding and turning, according as occasion serued, they approached to the gates, and vndermined the walles. Thus then their whole manner of making war in places fortified with rampiers and ditches, doeth giue vs to vnderstand, that the heart and courage of the Gaules was very great; and yet very little or no discipline at all vied amongst them. Let this then suffice, to acquaint yew with the order of their land seruice.

CHAP. X.

Of the seruice on the Sea, or other waters, vsed by the Gaules: And what Ships and Vessels they had among them. Also, into what farre remote countries they extended their name.



Concerning that which they performed on the Sea, as it is described in the warres against the Brittaines and *Venetes, it appeareth to taste of vertue, although it was simple, and without any great cunning. Caesar describeth it in all parts, with the matter and manner of such ships or vessels, as the Gaules then vied, speaking thus. Their ships were made and armed in this manner. The keeles of them were much larger then those of the Romanes Ships: to the end, that they might the more easily sustaine the ebbing and flowing of the Sea. Their Prowes were highly raysed, and their Poppes also: because they were the more apt to binde the power of great Waves and Tempests. All their Shippes were made of Oake, to endure all injury and violence that could happen. The hankes were made of timber beames, about a foute in thicknesse: and they

Jul. Caesar in
Com. lib. 2.

In what man-
ner the Gaules
assailed their
Cities and
Townes.

* People now
called Ven-
etes in Italie
Boiaria

Julius Caesar
in Com. lib. 3

A description
of the Gaules
ships, which
they had then
in vie.

The Gaules
made them-
selves masters
of all other na-
tions.

Hempe not
known to the
Gaule, nor
the vie therof

Jul. Caesar in
Com. lib. 4.
Of Caesars
Gallies against the Brit-
taines.

Caesars com-
mand for im-
ployment of
his Gallies.

Ignorance in
the mother of
much error, &
especially in
warre seruices

The Gaules
made them-
selves masters
of all other na-
tions.

they were toyed or fastened together with iron nales of great bignesse. Their Anchors (in stead of Cables) were made fast with chaines of iron: and for want of other sailes, they made vse of skinned and hides, which were soft and pliable with currying and paring. And either through the want of hempe, or knowledge how to vse it (which is the more likely) they imagined, that if they vied other sailes, they could not resist so manie tempests of the Ocean, and such impetuous windes as daily arose, neither so commodiously conuay such great burthens as they carried in their vessels.

In another passage of the fourth booke he sheweth, that the Gallies, whereof hee himselfe made seruice, both against the Brittaines and the Venetes, had not bene vied on the Ocean, vntill that instant time. For, the Romanes being somewhat hardly pressed by the Britains, on the shore of the Ocean; Caesar commanded, that the gallies (which these poor barbarous people were not wont to see, & which could be managed most readily in any business) should be set apart distant from the other ships, and that they should be moued by the strength of Oares: to the end, that they might be ranged against the flanke of the enemy, which was discouered; and whence they might repulse and recoil the enemy by the dint of their weapons, and Engines of warre, which auailed the Romanes very greatly. For the ignorant people, being amazed at the fashion of those vessels, and the moouing of their Oares, as also the manner of their vnaccustomed Engines, stayed their proceedings, and (soone after) retired.

Thus farre we haue heard the ancient fashions and behaviour which the Gaules vied in actions of warre, and which haue bene collected out of many places: declaring them to be much greater in naturall strength, then in the course of Martiall discipline. Whereby we may perceiue (in regard that their warres were managed by vertue, & not by any lights, cunning, or trumperys) they were the masters of all or most nations. For they pursued their purpose, euen as Geographers were wont to doe, to make all the Earth habitable, euen from the Suns setting, so farre as his rising. Britaine, Spaine, Italy, Germany, Illyria, Pannonia, Greece, Macedonia, yea, Asia it selfe, can declare the

Empire of the Gaules. For Brittain, which was along the sea coast (as Caesar saith in his first booke) had bene conquered by them that passed from Belgia, going thither for pillage, and to make warre; and they named themselves according to all the Cities titles from whence they issued; and hauing made warre there, they they inhabited, and began to plough and husband the grounds. VVhat shall we say of *Celtiberia? Doth it not deliuer sufficient testimony, that Spaine was subdued by them? For, to what purpose else should Lucane say?

The Celts departing from the ancient Gaules, Renowned their name as farre as Iberus.

But it may be, that Italy came not vnder the government of the Gaules: Yes, that it did foundly, and at the same time when Tarquinius Priscus reigned. The Hittariges, Aruernians, Senones, Hedunns, Ambarrians, Carnates, and Aulentes, vnder conduct of the Salluinians, Boians, & *Lingones, preuailed so farre, that that Italy, which reacheth along from the Alps, confining still to the Apennines, and so farre on as the riuier Rubicon, became Gaule. And finally, after that they had ouerthrowne the Romanes neere to Alia, they tooke Rome and burned it; and hauing agreed for a thousand poundes of gold, they sold the Capitoll (which they kept besieged) to the rest of the Romanes which were enclosed therein. And hath not furious Germany borne the yoke of Gaule? In elder times (saith Caesar in his sixth Booke) the Gaules excelled the Germanes in vertue. For the Polce and Teutoages, vnder the conduct of Sigoufus, possessed themselves of the most fertile places in Germanie, euen those which were neerest to the Forrest Hercynia, as Titus Livius also relateth.

Tacitus maintaineth, that the Colonies of the Heluetians & Boians were brought into the same place. But those Gaules, the conquerors of Germany, being made bold and hardy, by such simplicity in diet as the Germanes vied, extended themselves much further, and the renowne of their name, went (with great honor) thorough Illyria, Pannonia, Greece, Macedonia, Thrace, and Asia, according as Iustine (following Trogu) declareth more at large. And the name

Jul. Caesar in
Com. lib. 5.

*Whose people
pleaded descent
on the Celtes,
thence came out
of France, and
placed them-
selves by the
riuier Iberus.

Italy subiect-
ed vnto the
Gaules power
in the time of
Tarquinius
Priscus.

* People of
Langres in
France.

Rome surpriz-
ed and burnt
by the Gaules

Jul. Caf. in com.
lib. 6.

People of
Naibone, be-
yond Rhodanus
now called
Languedoc,
towards the
Pyrenean
mountaines.

Sparteyet
made the
Gaules coura-
ginous

Amis. de Piterb.

Scip. Brit. Cent. 1.

1. Bate Scip. Brit. Cent. 2.
Two bloodie
gians conque-
red by Hercul-
les.

*a People of Phocis a little
country of Greece by the
gulf Crissus
b A Towne of Lucania, in the gulf Po-
tarus.
c The Citie Marfles in
France, which
was famous
for Learning,
as Athens.*

*The begin-
ning of the
Study of Ler-
ning.*

Berosus, l. 1.

*Galates got
with child by
Hercules.*

*The Learning
vied amongst
the Ancient
Gaules in their
elder dayes.*

of a people, which were Natives of the Countrey; but were chased and expelled from their dwellings by another people, in regard of their continuall warres, and thorow the inundations of the Sea, they landed on the hither Islands, and in the Countrey on this side the *rheme*. Some also holde, that after the destruction of Troy, a small number of people which fled from the Greekes, wandering all about: cam at last into this country, which till then was empty. But the inhabitants of this land (more then any thing els can) do assure this, which wee have also seene engraven in their Monuments, that *Hercules*, the son of *Amphitruo*, made all possible speede to rinate the cruell Tyrants *Gerton* and *Tauriscus*, one of which over-awed *Spain*, and the other *Gallia*. After he had conquered them both, he had private knowledge of some women of noble race; by whom, he had many Children, that styled (by their owne name) all those places where they commanded.

It is likewise further maintained, that the *Phocenses* which lived in Asia, flying from the cruelty of *Harpagus*, Lieutenant to King *Cyrus*, betooke themselves to sea, and came into Italy; one part whercof, founded the Towne of *Phelis*, and the other *Massilia* in *Pennois*. Within some while after, when their forces were increased, they fortified a great number of Cities and Townes. But we must breake off this variety, which gladly would keep company with pleasing satiety. Afterwards, when these places were (by little and little) civilized, and reclaimed from rudenesse by men: the study of learning (which is most commendable) began to appear in some splendour, by the *Bards*, *Enbages*, and *Druides*.

Marcellus reporteth this of *Hercules*, agreeing therein with *Berosus*. For *Berosus* saith, that *Galates* (by consent of her parents) was begotten with child by *Hercules*, at his returne out of *Spain*; and that of her was borne *Galata*, of whom the Gauls received their name *Galates*. Therefore, the antiquity of the Gaules Discipline and Learning, maketh it self known by these testimonies.

But in what Discipline and Learning (perhaps) thou wilt aske me? I answer, in Grammar, Rhetoricke, Logicke, Mathematicke, Physick, Theology. Grammar

instructed to reade, and frame Letters; and this Art was such from those times, when as the tongues were in their entire condition: and that the neighbouring strangers had not (as yet) corrupted them. For so *Plato* in his *Philebus* grounded the Greeke Grammar. Here (me thinks) I vnderstand in this place, that which many good and learned spirits have questioned, to wit, what were the Letters of the Ancient Gaules? *Casfar*, in his sixt book confirmeth, that they were Greeke Letters. *They thought* (saith he) *that it was the duty, to set down their disciplines in writing; howbeit, that almost in all their other affairs, as well common, as particular, they used the Greeke letters.* In this place, *Casfar* speaketh not obscurely, but directly and plainly; that the Gaules made use of the Grecian Letters, that is to say, these Characters *α, β, γ, &c.* He deliviereth some proof hereof in the first Book, that in the camp of the Heluetians, there were found little Table bookes, written with Greeke Letters. Most true it is, *Casfar* calleth those Greeke Letters, which the Gaules then used; but I call them Gaul Letters, & will maintaine, that they neuer came out of Greece into Gaul; but on the contrary, that they went out of Gaul into Greece.

As concerning the man, who is sayde to be the first inuenter of Letters, verie great question had beene made thereof: and *Plinio* hath debated the matter by diversity of opinions. So that the inuention of Letters, is not proper or peculiar vnto any one Nation, according as hee thinketh; but (from all antiquity) they had bin vied. *Cadmus* (if the booke be true which is allowed to one named *Xenophon*) as is affirmed by som, was the first that brought Letters (to the number of sixteen) from *Phoenicia* into Greece, the which were verie like to the Characters of the *Gallates* and *Mæns*. Hereby may be coniectured, that Letters came from the *Gallates* vnto the *Greekes*. Now, finding not only a verie likely coniecture, but a certaine proof also, by the report and account of Times; maintaining, that the discipline of the *Semnotheans*, or *Samotheans*, *Sarronides*, *Druides*, and *Bardes*, did flourish in Gaul for so many yeares before *Cadmus* went into Greece: there neede no doubt to be made, but that the *Gauls* characters were in use in Gaul, for so many yeares before

Plato in Phileb.

Of the letters of the ancient Gaules.
Casfar in comment lib. 6.

The Gaules vied Greeke Characters.

Greeke letters found in the campe of the Heluetians.
Int. Casfar in Com. lib. 1.

Of him that was the first inuenter of Letters.

Cadmus reported for to bring Letters from Phoenicia into Greece; and to be the first that brought the calling of metalls.

The antiquity of the Gaules disciplines.

Casfar

Marcellus lib. 2. de iug. lib.

The demand of Crates the Greeke.

Arist. in lib. de Mæ. succ. lib. 22.

Strabo in lib. 4. cap. 9.

The ancient famous Vniuersity of Marfles in France.

Of whom the Gaules learned their doctryns.

Authors of found author. they ought to be credited.

Whether the Gaules spake Greeke or no.

And this is that, which *Varro* (in his seauenth booke of the Latine tongue) maketh openly knowne. For *Crates* a Greeke, had formerly made a Grammarian question in Greece, demanding what was the reason why *Alpha* might not be called *Alphator*? The other grammarians Greekes answered: *These wordes are none of ours, but are wholly barbarian.* In this place then the Greekes do plainly confesse, that these Letters were none of theirs. And, consenting heere to, *Aristotle* conuileth to his Magitian (according as I haue already sayde) That *Philosophy* received originally from the *Semnotheans*, or *Samotheans* of the *Celts*. And last of all, that Gaul had bin the Mistress of all Greece.

I know verie well, that *Strabo* speaketh of the Gaules, that they affected the Greekes: in so much, that whatsoever bargaines or conuention was made amongst them, they wrote thereof into Greece, & that they adding themselves to the study of eloquence, & of Philosophy, as the Greekes did, kept in pay or wages, professors of the liberrall Artes, as also they did the like by Physitians. But *Strabo* wrote this of the *Massilians*, and of their neighbours, at such time as *Tiberius* held the Empire, and when the great Lords of Rome (as himselfe writeth) caused their children to bee sent no more to Athens, then they did to *Marfles*, there to follow their studious exercise. It must needs then be verie certaine, that we learned the *Gauls* doctrine of *Dis*, *Samothes*, *Sarron*, *Druid*, *Bardus*, and those other ancient masters, when Greece did not so much as onely thinke on Letters.

Some may conceit, that we speak of Paradoxes, against all reason: but I cannot comprehend, why such men as haue heard so many Authors speake, that carry credite and authority (among all) in other things, should reproach theyr praises of their owne Countrey, by a peruerse opinion of iudgement. But it may bee, that al these things do serue vs to no purpose, in regard that (concerning this matter) wee may bee pressed with nouell Arguments: because the Gaules (as some will say) did speake Greeke, therefore did they make use also of Greeke Letters. But let me much rather tel them, that in, & from the time of *Casfar*, the Gaules did not vnderstand the Greeke tongue, that they

could speak it in any mean measure. Herin I haue *Casfar* for my warrant; for thus he writeth in his fifth Booke. *We presumed so farre (saith hee) with one of the Gaules horsemen, only by powerfull promises: that he undertooke to carry a Letter to Cicero, which he had written in Greeke Characters, to the end, that if it happened into the enemies hand, they might not know our secrets.* *Casfar* speaking this, I conclude thereby, that the enemies of *Casfar* and the Gaules, vnderstood not a letter written in Greeke, nor the language thereof.

And hee that will looke a little neerer, cannot probably proue to himselfe (though some others hold it for most certain) that the popular Gaules vnderstood any thing in that language: but that the cheefe and principall Heads of each Commonweale knew the Greeke tongue, as now . . . they they do the Latine. I say moreover, that whosoever maketh heedfull obseruation, will finde, that this cannot any way bee proued for truth. Because it is most certaine, that in so great an army of enemies, there must needs be some men of marke, of Townes good store. Nay, that which is more, I haue learned of *Casfar* himselfe, that the worthy *Druides*, who were the masters and Doctors of the Gauls youth, did not know the Greeke tongue. For *Dimitrius*, one of the *Hebæans*, according to the testimony of *Cicero*, was the most learned man amongst the *Gauls* *Druides*. The great affection in this *Dimitrius*, towards the Romane people, the extraordinary good will which they bare vnto him, the singular fealty, iustice, temperance (as appeareth in the first booke) in this man, was verie well knowne vnto *Casfar*. To *Casfar* I say, who vnderstood the Greeke tongue sufficiently, and had a desire to communicate secretly (for feare lest any thing should be discovered) with *Dimitrius*, concerning his brother *Damnors*, who was supposed that hee would betray *Casfar* to his enemies.

Well then, if *Dimitrius* had vnderstood the Greeke tongue, as well as *Casfar* did: could not the one haue holpen the other with private instructions, in whatsoever they would haue had imparted? But considering to serue his turne by ordinary Interpreters (as it appeareth in the verie same first Booke) *Casfar* spake with *Dimitrius*, by the meanes of *Valerius*, Prince of a

Int. Casfar in Com. lib. 5.

A Letter carried by a Gaul to Cicero.

That the popular Gaules vnderstood not Greeke.

The Druides knew not the Greeke tongue.

Dimitrius the learned man of the Druides Gaules.

Casfar sufficiently vnderstood the Greeke tongue.

Casfar seem'd ordinary interpreter.
Int. Casfar in Com. lib. 1.

E Count.

Country in Gaule. Then there is no appearance, that *Dimitius* (although hee was one of the principall *Druides*) did vnderstand the Greeke tongue, or that it was any way knowne to the Gaules.

What the language of the ancient Gaules was in regard it was not Greeke.

Here I may be demanded, what was the speech of the Ancient Gaules, seeing it was not Greeke? I may, and must answer, that it was Gaulish: but to render a certaine reply, where the Language of the Gaules hath bene preserved, it requireth the Diuination of a Pythian *Apollon*. Because it is sufficiently knowne, that the Gaules haue had time long enough, whereby to vlearne and loofe their owne Native tongue. For not onely Lawes, but the Romane Legions established in Gaule; constrained the Gaules to speake the Romane tongue. And, according as *Plato* sayth: *Ordinarily aliother Citizens do follow the manners of them that command them*. Therefore, the Romane Lawier, and the Romane Warriour, did quite abolish and extinguish the Gaules Language.

The Gaules compelled to speak the Romane tongue. *Plato in Lib. 4*

Teaching the Latine tongue so likely, rewarded.

Moreover, the Emperours of Rome, appointed wages vnto such men, as made publike profession of teaching the Latine tongue. So that, to this very day, the bookes written in this corrupted tongue, forme whereof wee haue yet to fiew, are vulgarly called *Romaine*, and not *Gaulish*.

That the Swisses speak the ancient Language of Gaule.

Some in debating this matter, are of opinion, that the Language of the *Swisses*, that hold (at this day) the dwelling of the *Heluetsians*, are they that speak the ancient *Gaulish* tongue. But we know well enough, that these *Swisses* were not the true Gaules of the Country, neither are: considering, that the ancient *Heluetsians* (but vppe by *Cesar* within their owne mountaines) were afterward expelled thence (according to *Entropius*) by the *Quades*; and finally, the *Quades* themselves, thrust out by the *Allemaignes*. At length the *Viter*, a people amongst the Saxons, possessed themselves of the *Heluetsians* Country; whereupon the *Sutois* (that is to say) *Swisses*, were called, according to the opinion of *Beatus Rhenanus*, by a Name somewhat nere vnto the *Viter*.

Of the ancient Heluetsians.

*A people of Bohemia.

*A Saxon people.

That the Germanes Language was the old Gauleish tongue.

Others are of the minde, that the language which the Germanes now adays speake, is that of the ancient Gaules, and

take *S. Hieron* for their Authour, who giueth assurance, that in his time the *Gauls* or *Galatians* of *Asia*, spake the same language which the *Treuirians* (dwelling on the *Rheine*) now doe. But *Cesar* seemeth to auouch the contrary, writing in his first Booke, that *Arminius* King of the *Germanes*, by long vie (as some haue conceived by this place) of fourtune years, did speake the *Gaulish* tongue. And in the time of *Saint Hierame*, there were other *Treuirians* in *Gaule*, that were subiects to the Romane Empire: and now in our time also, there are other that speake the same speech, as the other *Germanes* doe.

Id. Cesar in comment. lib. 1

Arminius King of the Germanes.

Enas Syluius concerning the Germanes, and their former barbarities.

Gaule Armoric now call Britaine.

Great Britain affirmed by Cesar to be a Colony of Gaules.

Plin in lib. 3. Com. Tacitus lib. 2. cap. 1.

Of the Welsh men of England.

O the discipline of the Britains, as Gaules.

Strabo in lib. 4.

There remaineth yet another opinion amongst learned men; who do iudge, that the language of the ancient *Gaules*, is that which was vied in *Gaule Armoric*, that is *Britaine* at this day. But they do not hold the French History to be true, that makes the *Britains* to come out of the Isle of *Britaine*, into *Gaule Armoric*: considering, that *Cesar* (as I haue already saide) maketh great *Britaine* it selfe to be a Colonie of the *Gauls*, and that *Strabo* maketh mention of a Towne or Citie, called *Britaine*, which is in *Amorica*; and *Plin* (though verie confidently) numbereth the *Britains* in *Gaule*: and *Cornelius Tacitus* in the life of *Agricola* writeth, That the nextest shores of the Ile were impeached by the *Gauls*, & that their language was but little different. Finally, the learned men of this Ile, imagined (for this reason) that the *Welshmen* of England, had some conuiniene in speech with our *Britains*. Therefore this is the only opinion, which (as yet) I know, to holde any good reason, or deseruing to be approoued. And this is the Grammar of the *Gauls*, both in writing and speech.

But what was that of the *Britains*, and that of the *Germanes*? The Discipline of the *Gauls* (saith *Cesar*) was first invented in great *Britaine*, as hath bene effected: and from thence transported into *Gaule*. And at this day, such as would know it most diligently, they go thither oftentimes to learne it. This passage sheweth sufficiently, that the discipline between the *Britains* and *Gauls*, was al one. If we vnderstand also, that *Cesar* maketh great *Britaine* as descended of the *Gauls*, & that they of the *Britains* were most human which were *Gauls*,

it

The discipline of the Britains and Gaules al one.

Of the Germanes, Cornelius Tacitus, ubi supra.

Enas Syluius concerning the Germanes, and their former barbarities.

Gaule Armoric now call Britaine.

Great Britain affirmed by Cesar to be a Colony of Gaules.

Plin in lib. 3. Com. Tacitus lib. 2. cap. 1.

Of the Welsh men of England.

O the discipline of the Britains, as Gaules.

Strabo in lib. 4.

it is verily to be credited, that Discipline parted from *Gaule*, to come thither. This place may suffice generally, for al the doctrine of the *Britains*.

Concerning the *Germanes*, there is scarcely any one word. The men and Women (saith *Tacitus*) were equally ignorant in the secrets of Letters. The *Germanes* then wholly, had not any Letters or Disciplines. *Enas Syluius* giueth assurance, that in the time of *Adrian*, ciuility and Letters came into *Germany*. The *Germanes* themselves do hold, that it is not yet eight hundred yeares, since their language began to be written; and that (with Christian Religion) the Muses came into *Germany*; where both in publike Schooles, and by learned professors, they haue so prospered, that the nation (which all Nations else had formerly in detestation for sauage barbarousnes:) hath since then, in all ciuility, in all gentleness and humanity of all disciplines, conferred with the most learned and best lettered Nations whatsoever, and for the priority in this commendation.

But what were the studies of the Rhetoricke *Gauls*? Assuredly, they were very highly and honourably esteemed: yet more for a fedled speech, consisting of measure, then in prose. The *Gauls* had (saith *Thodorus* in his sixt Booke) Poets of melodie, which they called *Bards*. These men, with a Muscicall instrument, as vvith the *Lyre* or *Harpe*, sang some mens praises, and others imperfections. He further shiarmeth in the same place, that Poets were in such reuerend respect amongst them, that vvhen Armies were in ranged battaile, hauing their Swords and Bowes ready drawne, and approaching to finite one another: not onely friends, but meere enemies (if these men once did steppe betweene them) were faine to make an end of all fighting. In like manner, amongst the most sauage Barbarians, anger was compelled to yeelde to vvildome, and Mars gladly reuerenced the Muses. Likewise, *Strabo* in his fourth Booke, speaketh of the *Bard*s, as being Poets, and singers of praises. The Poet *Lucane* also, in the first of his *Pharsalia*, speaketh thus in commendation of the *Gaulish* Poets.

You Poets, Bards, that of those valiant souls,
Lying in warres, do Caroll their renowne,
Know how I eternize to perpetall worlds
Their endlesse praise: Many sweet songs you sing.

Lucane in lib. 1

Moreover, *Marcellinus* in his fift Booke, speaking of the *Gauls*, hath these words: The *Bards* sung to the Harp, which they touched very pleasingly: declaring the famous actes of illustrious men, their Songs being composed in heroicall verses. The *Romaines* followed this example of the *Bard*s, and they (according as *Cato* hath written in his Booke of Originals) had a custome to sing at banquets, the vertues of famous and renowned men, euermore conforming their voices with such as did play on Instruments.

Marcel. in lib. 4

Hereby therefore, we may wel perceyue, how highly Poetic was honoured and authorized by the Ancient *Gauls*. This argument putteth mee in minde of Greece, and of her *Homer* and *Hesiodus*, these vaunting of them, that they were in as great honour and estimation amongst the *Greekes*. This then was their Rhetoricke, and (as *Pomponius Mela* sayeth) This was the eloquence which the ancient *Gauls* had.

The Romaines imitated the Bard in singing at banquets

Greece renowned theyr Bard and Poets.

Pomp. Mela, in lib. 1. cap. 5.

But what was that of the *Germanes*? Although they were ignorant (as hath bene formerly declared) in the mysteries and secrets of Letters; yet notwithstanding, as *Tacitus* auoucheth, they celebrated in ancient Canticles and Songes, the memory of their Gods and Kings. And this was the only manner of their Annals, & of the Antiquity which they had: for I finde nothing more, concerning the Discipline of the ancient *Germanes*.

The Rhetoricke vied among the Germanes. *Corn. Tacit. in lib. 5. c. 9.*

Now, what was the Logick of the ancient *Gauls*? I finde in *Cesar* one only question, concerning the meanes & manner which ought to be followed in the instruction of youth. All the noble and liberal Arts, were to be learned in written bookes; the maisters of those Arts, interpreting the to their schollers, & the schollers practising to vnderstand them. Many times some great difficulty would arise, about the entertaining of mens authority; whose Bookes were propounded to youth: because those men, although they were more excellent then other men, yet notwithstanding being no more but men, they

The Logicke of the ancient Gaules. *Id. Cesar in Com. lib. 4.*

Difficulties arising about men of authority, and their written works

Arts taught
by voice or
tongue, with-
out writing.

Instructions
given vnto
youth by
word of mouth
only.
*Int. Caesar in
Com. lib. 6.*

Two especial
reasons alled-
ged by Cæsar
concerning
instruction.

Reasons of
the Druides.

Pthagoras &
Socrates leste
nothing writ-
ten.

would sometimes dreame, and quite forget themselves. Whereby ensued, that their writings passing as vniuersall, they proued many times vnease to be explained. Contrarywise, without any writing, burby the voice onely, an infinite number of Arts and Sciences (belonging to Mechanical men (as Laborers, Malons, Marriners, and such like) were foone apprehended: and there arose no repugnance or doubt of their words, neyther any difficulty of their intention when as they were vnderstoode. There was no other maxime of these Arts, but what vse and profit had approoued. Then those Doctors and professors were not wont to write of any discipline: but at that they deliuered to youth, they taught onely by word of mouth. Yet notwithstanding, being guided by other reasons, they made Confidence (as *Iulius Caesar* sayeth in the first Booke) to set downe their disciplines in writing.

Well then, if we vrg a question (in this case) to *Caesar*, thus will he shape vs an answer. *It appeareth to me, that for two reasons, they established this decree amongst them. First, because they would not haue their disciplines imparted vnto popularitie. Next, least such as learned them, trusting to writing only, would make the lesse account of retaining them in their memory.* For many times it happened, that the more part, by vsing continuall recourse to books, became slothfull in Learning truly, or kept retention of any thing shewn vnto them. And these two reasons were likewise alledged by the *Druides*, for not committing their Disciplines to writings; & these causes haue beene approoued by the very cheefest Philosophers of Greece. For, in ancient time, this was the aduice of *Pythagoras*; and (after him) of *Socrates*, both which left not one Letter in writing. The opinion of *Socrates*, to this purpose, is amply declared by *Plato* to *Phædrus*, in this Conference which *Socrates* had with *Phædrus*.

CHAP. XII.

A Dialogue or Communication between Socrates and Phædrus, concerning what great difference there is between the excellent Art of Memory, and matters registered downe by writing.



Socrates. It remaineth now to speake of the fittest or vnfitnes of writing. VVhere the doing thereof be well or ill, is not that the question?

Phædrus. Yes, that is our argument. *Socrates*. Knowest thou, that in dooing or ordaining it, as concerning present speech, thou mayest thereby be acceptable to the Gods?

Phædrus. Not I, but thou doest. *Socrates*. I haue heard of our Elders, that they knew the truth, and if wee our selues could finde it, ought we not henceforward, to bee verie carefull of mens opinions?

Phædrus. This is to laugh at thine owne demands: but telvs that, which thou sayest thou hast heard.

Socrates. I haue heeretofore heard, that neere vnto *Naucratis* which is in Egypt, there was sometimes one of the ancient Gods, who was named *Theuthates*, and to him, the Bird rearned *Bis* or *Ibis*, was sacred. Moreover, that hee was the first inuenter of numbers, and of Iear, as also of Dice and Letters, and of Astronomy and Geometry. At that time, *Theuthates* was king of all Egypt, making his abiding in a great City of the higher Countrey, which the Greeks called the Egyptian *Thebes*, and that *Ammon* or *Hammon* was then their God. *Theuthates* beeing come to this King, he shewed and declared to him, that hee must instruct the Egyptians in disciplines. VVhereon the King demanded of him, concerning the profite that would ensue thereby to any one; and according as *Theuthates* should seeme to speake ill or vwell, so would hee blame, or else giue commendation. It is sayde, that betwene *Theuthates* and *Theuthates*

Of the fittest or vnfitnes of writing.

Whether writing or speaking be more acceptable to the Gods.

*A City well knowne in Egypt.

The inuention of numbers, letters, Geometry, Astronomy, Dice, and Letters.

Disciplines taught to the Egyptians.

Concerning the effects of letters, & what harme or benefit may ensue by them.

Letters enemy to the memory, & the reason why.

Diffence between knowledge and opinion thereof.

*A City in Chanaan, where which was a wood dedicated to Iupiter.

that many things were debated, which would require too long time to discourse, but when they came to dispute about Letters. *Sir* (said *Theuthates*) this discipline will make the Egyptians very wise, and prompt of memory: for this is the only Medicine found out for memory and knowledge. Whereto the other replied; O most ingenious and subtle *Theuthates*, the one is most apt to performe the workes of Art, and the other knowes best how to iudge, what harme or benefite their vse may bring. But thou, the Father of letters, being carried by thine own affection, maintainest the contrary of their effect. For letters causeth forgetfulness in the mindes of such as learne them, because they make no reckoning of studying by memory; for they trusting to the marks of exterior writing, doe forsake inward recoordation, which is the very soule of memory. Thou hast not then found out a medicine for memory, but for forgetfulness, and thou canst not teach thy Schollers the truth of knowledge and vnderstanding, but of Opinion. For, they hauing comprehended great store of things, and without a Master, they will perfwade themselves to know enough; and yet notwithstanding (commonly) they are exceeding ignorant in the greater part, prouoing to bee offensive and troublesome in mens company and frequentation, as beeing more full of opinion of knowledge, then of true knowledge indeede.

Phædrus. Thou canst easily (*O Socrates*) imagine the humor of the Egyptians, or of any such nation, as seemeth good to thy selfe.

Socrates. My friend, it is held by some; that in ancient times, Oakes did speake those prophesies which were in the Temple of *Iupiter* * *Dodona*. For, through the rudenesse and ignorance of old men in those times, who had not then attained to the knowledge which now your younger dayes haue done: it was sufficient for them, to heare an Oake, or a Stone speake, so long as they spake truth. It may bee thou conceivest, that some peculiar Idols (should bee placed in iudgement, how, or of what country he was, that hath spoken any thing of this nature, without consideration, whether it were so, or no.

Phædrus. Truly, thou hast very iustly

reproued me: but for the order of disciplines, I am of the same minde as *Theuthates* was.

Socrates. Then whosoever thinketh, that Arte can so well sette downe it selfe, or comprehend by writing, as if there could bee something certaine, or assured by writing; that man should ill learne, and bee ignorant in the Oracle of *Ammon*, making more esteeme of reasons sette downe in writing; then of knowing and retaying that which is written.

Phædrus. Thou sayest very well. *Socrates*. O *Phædrus*, writing hath a great matter in it, and (in very truth) carrieth some resemblance with painted creatures, for such works seeme as if they had life: but if thou demand any question of them, they hold their peace with great modesty. Thou imaginest also, that a discourse set downe in writing, should speake of it selfe. But, if hauing a desire to learne, thou come and demand something of it, concerning that which it should say; it continueth silent, yet signifying one and the same thing. For, after that a discourse is set downe in writing, it carrieth it selfe alike equally to all men: both for the learned which vnderstand it, and for such as vnderstand it not; and no one can say to whom it is most conuenient; and to whom not. And if it happen to be injuriously dealt withall, it will alwayes stand in need of his fathers help: because it is not able to reuenge any wrongs receiued, nor yet to right it selfe.

Phædrus. Hitherto thou hast spoken most truly.

Socrates. Doe wee not then perceiue, how another discourse maketh it selfe, which is *Biocher* to this world of; and much more it excelleth both in power & dignity?

Phædrus. What is thy meaning? And what is that which (thou sayest) maketh it selfe?

Socrates. It is that, which (with knowledge) writeth it selfe in the spirit of him that apprehendeth: for it can act reuenge vpon it selfe, knoweth it selfe; and when and how to speake, or to bee silent.

Phædrus. Thou speakest the truly and soule-like discourse of him that knowes & vnder-

The memory hath exceeded all manner of doing in writing.

Writing compared to painted figures or portraiture, that can speak nothing.

Writing is in it selfe equally and alike to all men.

Speaking reprobated by the better writing.

The excellency of speaking about writing.

Writing the
image of spea-
king.

A pleasant
witty questi-
on, and to ve-
ry good pur-
pose.

The feedes of
wisdom haue
their due fea-
sons.

Matters set
downe in writ-
ing, cannot
afterward be
helpen with
words.

Memories are
said to be the
rich treasures
of mans life,
and the best
to be learned.

vnderstandeth; and (by good right) that which is written, may tearme it selfe (in some respect) to be his image.

Socrates. Tell mee then, in good sadnesse, if a wife husbandman take delight to beholde his feedes, whereof he is carefull, and desireth to gather fruite; will he fowe them at Spring time, in the Gardens of *Adonis*, where hee shall see them budde forth at eight dayes following; or, when hee goeth about such businesse, shall he scatter them iestingly, as after the manner of a holy day sport? When hee hath taken paines to fowe his feedes, according as hee ought to do, and answerable to the Art of Husbandry: he supposeth it sufficient for him, if in the space of eight moneths after the seed time is past, they doe thrine, and come to their maturity.

Phadrus. The wise Husbandman, (*O Socrates*) will doe as thou hast sayde; but the idle and negligent foole hath no such care.

Socrates. Shall we then say, that a man who hath knowledge and experience in that which is iust, honest, and good, will be lesse careful of his feedes seasons, than an Husbandman?

Phadrus. No.

Socrates. He will not then write down the feedes of his penne with Inke, solving them there amongst his Discourses; as if he did a matter of great importance: because hee cannot then helpe them with his wordes, neither can hee demonstrate the truth so exquisitely as it should bee.

Phadrus. Nor can they make any proof of themselves.

Socrates. No truly: but he shall fowe and vwrite (as it is in reason) in meeke sportfull manner, and vhole Gardens of Letters. But, when he maketh memories, as certaine Treasures, to the end that they may not fall into Oblivion, as well for himselfe, as also for the first that will followe the same example: hee raketh delight in beholding their tender byrthes; and, while others doe addicte themselves vnto other Recreations, as to Feasts, sports, and the like pleasures, leaving all these heedfull matters behinde them; hee shall passe on all his leysures, taking great delight in his owne discoursing.

Phadrus. *O Socrates*, thou speakest of a most true pastime indeede, in steade of that which is of small v alue, and worth nothing: when a man delighteth in serious Discourse, he shall ruminate on Iustice, and all those other especiall matters by these remembered.

This was the opinion of *Socrates*, which was much more sweete and humane, then that of our *Druides*. *Socrates* was alwayes preferred knowledge, consisting in memorie and liuing wordes, before that of the dead Letter: neuertheless, hee allowed vriting to bee but as y help to forgetfulness. I could wish that this Opinion had bene as pleasing vnto the *Druides*; for then, wee should haue had no neede of straungers gooces, as to borrow any thing of the Greekes, but continued satisfied with our owne countryes abundance. Neyther by meanes of the Latines and Greeke, should we haue learned disciplines by paine and study, after the nature of other straunge Languages: but with great pleasure and contentment of minde, wee should haue sucked them as milke from our nuses breasts. All the youth of a man, albeit study were sharpe there-to, should not so hardly haue spent it selfe in learning Greeke and Latine Letters; yet seeming but as an entrance into the common roade way of liberal studies, where we rather should haue runne out our full course to the end. A long and laborious time of studye was required in apprehending the Greeke and Latine tongues, to vnderstand *Homer*, *Demosthenes*, *Virgil*, *Cicero* and others: whereas contrary-wise, without trauaile, and with exceeding delight, we might haue sung the Hymnes & Poems of our Bards, hauing (naturally) the true vnderstanding both of their wordes and sense.

The loue which they bare vnto their cuntrye, and to vertue it selfe, was overabounding in severity. For, our *Druides* sought all meanes, wherby to make Gaule surpass all other Nations, not only in actions of Armes; but in the honor of Disciples, and in couering to banish idleness from the Gaules mindes; they disinherited their posterity, of their most rich and vnualeuable patrimony of ancient disciplines. In the doing whereof, they buried in perpetuall oblivion, the Gaules rare Arts and Doctrines, which they had

Serious Dis-
course the na-
tural of Gaules.

Memory and
speech prefer-
red before the
dead Letter.

The Gaules
had sufficient
studies of
their owne,
without need
of borrowing
elsewhere.

Study of
straunge Lan-
guage, was
strange to the
Gaules.

The *Druides*
too leaue in
off. to them
their cuntry
and vertue.

The Gaules
had rare artes
& disciplines.

a hope, should haue liued and flourished for euer, only by the meanes of hindring writing. But in vaine doe we now make our complaints: neuertheless, sorrow remaineth still with vs, to with (how vainely soeuer) that it had bene so. And vndoubtedly (in this case) they might iustly accuse the vilenesse of the Romane ambition, which vtterly ruined the Schooles of the *Druides*. Wee may therefore say with the Poet.

*We ought to mourne, & all these mortall things
May touch their hearts.*

CHAP. XIII.

*A further addition to the Artes and Sciences, taught among the Gaules, by their *Druides*, Bards, and learned men, according to the iustification of diuers good Authors: and what religious Ceremonious orders they obserue.*

BUT lets come to the Mathematical Artes, whereof *Cesar* speaketh, when he saith. They made very many disputes of the starres, and of their motion; of the greatness of the world, and of the earth, and concerning the nature of things. Questionlesse, these were their ancient disciplines, left from the father to the sonne by *Dis, Sarron*, and *Druides*: which they themselves preserved carefully, hauing received them (from hand to hand) of their graue Auncelstors. For *Iosephus*, in the first booke of the Iewes Antiquities, testifieth, concerning the ancient Fathers before the flood, that they had obserued those Mathematicall considerations. And because they would hinder the losse of so noble inuentions, or perishing by the inundations of the waters: they engraue them vpon two Collobmes or Pillars, the one whereof was of moulded earth, and the other of stone. And this was thus done, that if that of earth should chance to be defaced by the flood: yet the other of stone might remaine intire, and yeeld men means to apprehend what was engraue thereon. The same Author witnesseth, that the same Pillar of stone

was to bee seene in Syria, in the time of *Essefius*. *Essefius* likewise reporteth, how the *Egyptians* learned them of *Abraham*; and that the *Greekes* afterward, did set downe those Artes in writing, & then published them. But our *Druides* (as I haue formerly saide) gaue them to posterity, according as they had receiued them from the hands of their fathers; disputing many matters, touching the Starres, and their continuall motions.

Mela also writeth, that the *Druides* made profession, concerning the motion of Heauen, and of the Starres. Astrology was such a thing, as it could not any way be taught or learned, except (before hand) a man had studied Arithmetick & Geometry. For the calculation of the motions, they stood in neede of the accounts of Arithmetick; and the distances and interualls of the Starres, must needs passe themselves by the figures of Geometry. Therefore the *Druides*, making profession of instructing Astrology; taught (first of all) Arithmetick and Geometry, which are Arts that make Astrology to be vnderstood.

Berosus sheweth, that there was some musike in the Hymnes and Poems of the Bards. Among the Celts (saith he) a *Barde* was much renowned, for the inuention of Songs and *Ainsique*. The *Druides* disputed many things, concerning the greatnes of the world and the earth: This was the greatnesse and forme of the world and earth, which *Mela* sayeth, the *Druides* taught: This was thei Cosmography & Geography, and the *Druides* disputed diuers things of that nature. As, what was the length of the world, from the Sunnes setting in the West, to his rising in the East: what was his largenesse, from the Equator or Equinoctiall circle, to both the one and other Pole: how great were the distances of the five Zones, from the Pole, so farre as the smallest circle thereof, euen to the Tropicke, and then from the Tropicke, so farre as the Equator, which is in the midst: what were the Zones of the earth, which are assigned and subiect to the Celestiall Zones: which of the were inhabited, and desert, by reason of cold or heate, and which were temperate: And how Europe, Asia, and Africa were diuided, and separate one from another.

Their questions of Physick, were concerning

Essefius in Hist.
Eccl. lib. 3. c. 5

*Pomponius Me-
la* lib. 1. cap. 1.

Concerning
the learning
of Astrology,
and how it
was instructed
by the
Druides.

Berosus in lib. 1.
cap. 5.

Musickall
disputations
the Celts.

*Pomponius Me-
la* lib. 1. cap. 1.

The diuers
disputations
vied among
the *Druides*,
of the world,
earth, & bea-
stents.

Id. Caesar in com-
ment. lib. 7.

Dis, Sarron,
Druides.

Iosephus in lib. 1
de Antiqu.

Two Pillars
engraue with
Mathematical
Artes.

The questions
of Physics,
among the
Gaules.

Strabo in Lib. 4.

Marcellin Lib. 5.

Two famous
Philosophers
among the
Gaules, made
immortal by
Cicero's
humilitie.

Cicero in Lib.
4. de offic.

* A searching
out of natural
things, for a
reasoning of
the nature of
any thing.

* A king of
Galatia, who
Cicero defend-
ed, being ac-
cused to have
conspired
Caesar's death

Cicero in Lib.
2. de offi.

cerning Principles, that is to say, the mat-
ter and forme of things: as Fire, Ayre,
Water, Earth. Whence all things were
engendered; how they perished, augmented,
decreased, altered and moulded. The
professours (among the Gaules) of these
so severall doctrines; are called by Strabo,
Poets, or Prophets, who, ouer and beside
other things, concerning Physicke, prin-
cipally taught this Oracle, proper to the
Country: That the world must sometime
perish by fire, and by water. The same Do-
ctrines are called (by Marcellinus) Euba-
ges. The Eubages (saith hee) seeking into
the very inmost & deepest parts of the earth;
laboured to discover the secrets of the. These
noble disciplines then, were wont to be
taught of the Gaules, and in the Gaules
language only.

Here we may not omit, to remem-
ber two most excellent Philosophers a-
mong them: that were commended, yea,
and consecrated to immortality, by the
words of Cicero. The one was *Demetrius*,
(of who we have spoken already) Prince
of the *Hedians*: the other was *Deiotarus*,
King of the Gaules in *Asia*. Speake then
noble *Cicero*, and remember vs of our fa-
mous *Druides*. In *Gaul* there were of the
Druides, among whom, my selfe know *Demetrius*:
the *Hedians* as the man that received
me into his house, and made account of mee.
This man made his vaunt, that hee knew the
reason of Nature, which the *Greekes* named
* *Physiologia*; and could speake of things to
come partly by *Augurie*, and partly by *conjectures*.
This *Demetrius* (as it is very like-
ly) was the Hoste to *Cicero*, by reason of
the *Druides* knowledge which was in him.
But what doth he say of * *Deiotarus*? How
is it that this Orator commendeth him?
But wherein (saith he) shall I make mention
of King *Deiotarus*, that most famous & right
worthy personage our Hoste, that neuer did
any thing, but with preface? For, when hee
was returned from a voyage, which hee had
formerly purposed and resolved to make: the
Chamber wherein hee should have lodged (if
he had continued his journey) fell downe the
night ensuing. And therefore, as I have often-
times heard from himselfe, hee made many
pauses and returns from that one voyage;
albeit he proceeded in many other beside. *Cicero*
speaking further of the same man, saith
eth. Hee performed one very notable action,
when he came backe from the kingdome of

the *Tetrarches*, whereof he was dispossessed by
Caesar, and condemned to pay a great summe
of money. He saide, hee did not repent him-
selfe for not crediting such *Auguries*, as hap-
pened to him when he went towards *Pompey*,
having maintained with his forces, the
authority of the Senate, and liberty of the Ro-
mane people, with the dignity of the Empire.
And that the Birds (to whose *Augurie* hee
gaue faith) had well counselled and advised
him: yet notwithstanding, hee made much
more precious and deere estimate of his ho-
nour, then hee did of all his goods and posses-
sions. These are the words of learned *Cicero*,
to whom both *Gaul* and *Galatia* are
for ever beholding: because, by so worthy
a testimony, he preferred the memory of
such famous Philosophers of theirs.

But what shall I most preferre in this
place, if not our sighes and teares, as true
witnesses of our misery? Heerebefore,
Gaul commanded ouer the *Italians* and
Grecians, and insisted of the goods of For-
tune, which are but of small worth, and
giue to men as stipendiary wages: the *Gaul*
then the goods of the minde in recom-
pence, which were (indeede) much more
precious. *Greece* and *Italy* vaunted very
proudly, because they had *Mathematicians*
and *Philosophers*: but that glory was
(formerly) ours; those praises distilled from
our Fountains: which did meere-
ly dry vp themselves, because they would
not rampier and defend their owne power,
by writing. For *Gaul* might haue had
Gaulish Euclides, *Ptolomies*, *Platoes*, *Aristo-
tles*, and others beside, farre more excel-
lent men then all they were. But let vs
ceasse our bootlesse complaints, & come
now to the Theology or Diuinity of the
Gaules.

The *Druides* (about all things else)
would haue men to beleue, that their
soules could not die: but that (after death)
they departed out of one body, & entered
into another. The reason of this their opi-
nion was that it was the only encourage-
ment to vertue, because feare of death
was thereby held in high contempt. I set
downe this their persuasion of immor-
tality, as the principall foundation of the
Gaules Religion and Theologie, which
the *Greekes* and *Latines* did enuiously
celebrate. The *Gaules* (sayeth *Diodorus*)
after their repastes and feedings, had a cus-
tome, to disse one another into the Com-
bure,

An augury gi-
uen by Birds
to *Deiotarus*.

Gaul & *Galatia*
inducted to
Cicero.

Gaul com-
manded ouer
the *Greeks* &
Italians.

The pride of
Greece and
Italy, yet pro-
ceeding from
the *Gaules*.

The Diuinity
vied among
the *Gaul* &
Druides, that
mens soules
could not die

Diodorus Lib.
3. cap. 3.

Written Let-
ters cast into
fires that bur-
ned dead bo-
dies.
Strabo in Lib. 4.
cap. 7.

Pomponius Me-
la in Lib. 4. c. 11.

Death freely
and voluntari-
ly embraced
by the *Drui-
des*.

The words of
Quintus of
the soules im-
mortality.

The error of
the *Greekes*
and *Latines*,
concerning
the Gaules,
which were of
more antiqui-
ty then *Pytha-
goras*.

Other points
of the *Gauls*
religion.

bate, without making any reckoning of their
lives, for the opinion of *Pythagoras* preui-
led with them: That the soules of men were
immortal, and that after the death of the bo-
dy, within a certaine while, they came againe
into other bodies. And for this cause, some
would cast written Letters into heapes of
wood, prepared as bon-fires to burne mens
bodies in, as if the dead were there to reade
them. Strabo affirmeth as much. They
were persuaded (saith he) that mens soules
were not subiect to corruption or mortality.
Pomponius Mela writeth thus. There
was one thing which the *Druides* helde and
maintained, to entice men (thereby) with the
better will to warre: That mens soules were
eternall, and that the dead lived another life.
Whereupon, when they burned dead bodies, or
buried them, the whole account of their for-
mer lives negotiations was interred with the,
especially if any thing had bene borrowed, it
was to be redemanded of them. Some were
found, that voluntarily, and with their owne
good will, would throw themselves into fla-
ming fires, and burned such things as were
deereft appertained to them, euen as if
they were to live with them. *Mela* repor-
teth thus of them, wherein we may note
the same reason of this perswasion, which

Cesar also held, to wit: that by the con-
templation of death, the Gaules might make
themselves the more courageous, and valian-
tly disposed to warre: and it is very
likely, that the contempt of death, where-
of we haue formerly spoken, proceeded
from hence.

Valerius Maximus, in his second booke,
maketh this relation. I bebinke me (saith
he) of the ancient manner of the Gaules, who
are saide to haue a custome, to lend out mo-
nies, to be repaid them againe when they were
in the lower regions. For they held it as a
matter most infallible, that the soules of men
were immortal: and I should haue reputed
these men foolish, but that the *Brachates* like-
wise held the same opinion, which *Pythago-
ras** *Pallium* aid. Such a number of Au-
thors then, doe consent with *Cesar*, con-
cerning the opinion which the Gaules
had, of immortality. And heere I may
not negligently let passe, that these Au-
thors (about all things else) do refuse to
confesse, that the Gaules were the first fa-
thers of Philosophy. *Pythagoras* main-
tained, that the soules of men were immor-
tall, and *Plato* (following him) saith the
same. It is also the opinion of the Phi-
losopher, which *Quintus* remembereth.

Valerius Maximus
Lib. 2.

* *Pallium*, for
the *Latine*
word *Pallia-
tus*, which is
as much to
say, as clothed
with a Robe,
which they
called *Palliu-
m*, & which
the Philo-
sophers vied to
weare.

Mens soules are exempt from death,
And leaving their first lodgings;
Live alwaies in new dwellings,
Where they haue fresh entertainment.

This (I say) was the iudgement of *Pythagoras*, from whence ensued, that the *Gauls*
(by report of the *Greekes* and *Latines*) were made *Pythagorians*, and so meere-
ly borrowed this opinion of immortality. But to shew of what great ambition this error is,
the silliest iudgement may easilie apprehend: in that, for a long time before *Pythago-
ras* was borne, this opinion of the *Druides* liued among the *Gaules*. Wherefore, I
may very well assure that which hath formerly bene proposed: that *Greece* was not
Schoole-mistresse to *Gaul*, but rather her scholler. Neuertheless the *Gauls* did not al-
low of that * *Metempsychosis*, that is to say, the changing of soules, which *Pythagoras*
maintained, as passing out of humane bodies, into other of brute beastes: For they
did not beleue, that of men they became beastes, but that they were made men again,
in other bodies. The Poet *Lucan* affirmeth the same.

According as you say,
Those shadowes goe not into the silent dwelling
Of deepest Erebus, or the pale Country
Of King *Pluto* beneath. The selfe same spirit enters
Into another body: And of long life
Led in another world, you sing most truely.

Lucan in Lib. 3.

Proceede we now to other points of the *Gauls* religion. They disputed very much,
concerning the power and might of the immortal Gods, and made profession (as
Mela

Transmigra-
tion or passage
of the soule
from one bo-
dy to another

Pomponius Me-
la in lib. 4. cap. 3

Mela saith) to know what the Gods would haue them to do. They adored the Gods, Mercury, Apollo, Minerva, Jupiter and Mars, holding almost the very same opinion, which other nations did, to wit: That Mercury was the inuenter of Artes, and a guide to men on their wayes and voyages: That he could helpe much in the gayning of mo-
nie, and in the affaires of Merchandize, being such as the Poet feigneth him.

Mercury re-
puted to bee
the God of
Messages, and
the inuenter
of Artes, as
also a guide
to trauellers
in their jour-
nies.

*He spake the word, and the God Messenger,
Immediately was ready to be gone.
He fastned to his secte his light winged plumes,
Which at his heeles do beare him through the winde.
Mounting and falling with their nimble flight:
One while on Land, and then upon the waues.
He tooke his Rod, and with that powerfull Rod,
He summoned up aloft pale meager Gnosies,
From the sad shades, or else doth send them thither.
And there withall he doth controule our sports.
Waking or sleeping, he commandeth all:
And some into eternall sleepe to fall.*

Marcellinus lib.
5. cap. 7.

For this Rod of his, was taken to be the power of Artes, the guide to trauellers on the way, and the rich gaine of Merchants. Julius Caesar made his prayers to Mercurie, (and as Marcellinus saith) he was reputed to bee the most sudden sense in this worlde, that moueth our thoughts, according to the doctrine of those Diuines. This was the power which the Druides gaue to Mercurie. As for that of Apollo, he was said to cure & helpe diseases and sicknesse; as the God testifieth of himselfe in Ouid.

Apollo taken
to be the God
of Physick.

Ouidius Meta-
morph. lib. 4.

*Physicke is mine, and through the Vniuers
Men call to me for succour in distresse.
The vertue of all beaues to me is subiect.*

Minerva the
Goddess of
all ingenious
deuises.

The might of Minerva, they held to be thus: That shee gaue the determination of all workes and cunning deuises. Whereupon the Poets feigned, that she was bred and borne in the braine of her father Jupiter. They were perswaded also, that Jupiter had command ouer all the other Gods, and that Mars gouerned in warres: to whom oftentimes they made vowes (when they had determined to giue the enemy battaile) of all such things as they should take in fight. And if they won the day, they would sacrifice all such Beasts as were taken, and bring away all the rest as booty. Diodorus relating almost the very same, saith farther; that they sacrificed their prisoners and captiues to the Gods. But you will say, that this example was too cruell. I confesse as much, but must answer ye withall: that it was borrowed from the ancient Romanes, who would put to death in their prisons, the very brauest & most valiant Captaines of their enemies. And many times for a publike spectacle, and before the common people, they were giuen as a prey to wilde Beasts, to be de-

The power of
Jupiter and
Mars in their
seuerall con-
ditions.

Diodor. in lib. 5

Cruelty ex-
emplified by
the ancient
Romanes.

uoured by them in cruell manner. Some of the Gauls did burne in their sacrifices, such Beasts as were taken for booty, and (with them) did put the enemy to death, or else torment him with other paines.

The Celts had an admirable and particular obseruation in their Temples, to cast or spread abroad a great deale of their gold and siluer. Now albeit this was a nation very greedy and couetous: yet notwithstanding, there was neuer found any man, among the rudest inhabitants of the country, that durst so much as touch one peece thereof, such was their respect and reuerence to Religion. Neuerthelesse, such offerings may (perhaps) seeme more proper and conuenient for Mars: beeing called (in ancient times) by the Greeke Poets, *The plague of men or the Murderer*. And yet such ceremonies also were common, and vsed in the sacrifices of other Gods. The whole nation of the Gaules, (as Caesar affirmeth) were greatly addicted to Religion, and by this occasion, such as were vexed with any greivous diseases, or they that were in warre, or in any

An especiall
obseruation
of the Celts
in their Tem-
ples.

Names giuen
to Mars by
the ancient
Greeke Poets

Jul. Caesar com-
ment. lib. 5.

other

Religious sa-
crifices vsu-
ally.

other perill of life: did sacrifice men as their oblations & offerings, or else made vowes of such sacrifices. For they held a seuerer opinion, that if for the life of one man, the life of another was not iustly rendered: it was impossible to appeale the anger, or satisfie the will of the immortall Gods. And such manner of sacrifices were publicly intended, as truly declaring admirable Religion, and meruailous perswasion of the Gods might and power; whereof the Greeke Authors made not a iote lesse account and estimation.

CHAP. XIII.

of the Diuination vsed by the Sarronides, who were a kinde of Philosophers among the ancient Gaules, their manner of oblations and sacrifices: As also of their spells, charmes, and incantations.

Diodor. in lib. 5

Philosophers
and Diuines
called Sarroni-
des.

A strange ob-
seruation of
the Sarroni-
des.

The manner
of their sacri-
fices in the
presence of
Philosophers.

Diodorus further sayeth, that some other Philosophers & Diuines, were held in great honour & reuerence among them, whom they termed Sarronides, that vsed diuination: and because they fore-told things that were to come, as well by auguries, as sacrifices; they were highly esteemed of them, but especially of the common people, who performed great reuerence to them. And when they held any councill, concerning matters of import and consequence: they obserued a very admirable custome, and almost incredible. For they would cut the throte of a man, and when he fell downe; eyther by the manner of his fall, or separation of his members, or fluxion of his blood (by a long and ancient obseruation) they attained to the knowledge of future things. Their custome also was, neuer to make any sacrifice, without the presence of some Philosophers: as holding opinion, that sacrifices ought to be performed by such men, as participated in the diuine nature, and came nearest to the Gods. For by the prayers of such men, they were perswaded, that good fortune and successe should be desired of the Gods, and their councill also to be especially vsed, both in the times of peace

and warre. Heere to may be referred, that which Caesar saith, in the fifth Book of his warres in Gaule. *Who soeuer came latest to the assembly made in Armes; beeing first afflicted with diuers torments, was afterward put to death before the whole multitude.* Moreover, Strabo saith, that they would fasten a man vnto a Crosse in their Temple, and there shoote him to death with Arrows.

The same Author, agreeing with Pofidonius and Artemidorus saith, there were certaine Bacchanalles, which dwelt in an Island, neighbouring to the Riuer of Loyre, and of certaine Auguries done by them, according as two white Crows moued their right wings, which neuertheless is reputed to be fabulous. Therefore that which Artemidorus saith, I hold more agreeable to reason, that in an Island nere to Brittain, such and the like sacrifices were performed, as the Samothracians obserued in the honour of Ceres and Proserpina. Caesar pursuing the selfe-same occasion, saith; that there were others, who had Idols of immeasurable height, the members of whose bodies were framed of Twigs and Osiers, which beeing filled with liuing men, & set on fire; there they dyed most miserably. Beside, they imagined, that the punishments of such as were apprehended for robberies and thefts, or any such like offences, were most pleasing to the immortall Gods, & these they made most vse of in those Idols. Neuerthelesse, for want of such offenders, they made no difficulty, in putting honest and innocent persons to the same affliction, whensoever neede and occasion required.

Strabo writeth the same of their Statues, saying, *They builded a Colopis of wood, many parts whereof, were enterlaced with Sparrow: and therein they burned all kindes of beasts, and men also among them.* But Diodorus saith, that in making their sacrifices to their Gods, they vsed an impiety answerable to their bestiall nature. For, after they had kept (for the space of five whole yeares) such as were attainted and conuicted of notorious crimes: they would spit them on stakes, from the fundament to the mouth; and so sacrifice them vnto their Gods. Then plucking them vpon high piles of wood, and putting fire to them; this was the manner of their im-
molation.

Julius Caesar in
comment. lib. 5

Strabo in Lib. 4

Pofidonius in
lib. 2
Artemidorus in
lib. 4

* An Isle by
that part of
Thrace, wher
Hebrus saith
into the Ae-
geum Sea.

Strange man-
ner of Idols,
with liuing
men in them

Strabo in lib. 3.
of their Sta-
tures.

Diodor. in lib. 4

A tyranny yet
vsed among
the Turkes.

Pomponius Me-
la in lib. 3. cap. 7.

Of the Statues
of the Gods
of the Gaules.
Plin. in lib.
34. cap. 7.

Of the height
of diuers Co-
lloies in-
dry places
of the world.

The Image of
Mercury, ex-
ceeding all o-
ther Statues.

Jul. Cef. in com.
Lib. 6.

A cruell and
abominable
kinde of Re-
ligion.

A Towne in
Apulia, where
the Romanes
had a great
ouerthrow.

Humane fac-
rifices per-
formed at
Rome.

molation. Pomponius Mela speaketh thus of the Gaules. They are a proud Nation, superstitious and cruell sometimes: for they verily beleue, that men are the best and most acceptable sacrifices to the Gods.

Neuertheless, wee shall not thinke strangely, that the Statues of the Gaules Gods were of such excessive height: if we but remember only what Pliny saith, in 34. Booke, and seventh chapter. We be- held (saith hee) huge masse Statues of new inuention, which they called Colloies, & were no lower then Towers, but of equal height. In the same place hee speaketh of a number, among which he nameth Apollo Capitulinus, being of thirty cubites in height: Jupiter Tarentinus, which was forty cubites high: The Rhodian Sunne, seuentie; the thumbe whereof, few men were able to embrace. Apollo of Tuscane, which was in the Lybrary of the Temple of Augustus, contained fifty foote in height, from the feet vpward. That of Nero, was an hundred foote high. But ouer and beside, Zenodorus saith, that in his time there was one made in the space of ten years, surpassing all other Statues in height & big- nesse: being the Statue of Minerva, of inestimable value; and made in Aurgene, a Common-weale belonging vnto the Gaules, and it contained four hundred foote in height. Those Statues then of the Gaules Gods, were of wonderfull and extraordinary greatnesse, according as Caesar saith, which they filled full with liuing men, and so made offerings and sacrifices of them.

But you will obiekt vnto me, that this manner of religion was cruell and abominable: whereto I must answer, that such cruelty was common vnto all other Nations, or rather proper and peculiar to the demons, & familiar spirits of each country. Titus Linius writeth, that such sacrifices were made at Rome, after the ouerthrow at Cannas. He saith more ouer, that in the interim while, certaine extraordinary & vnaccustomed sacrifices were performed, by consultation had with diuers fatall Bookes, wherein a Gaule-man and a Gaule woman, a Grecian man and Grecian woman, in the market appointed for Oxen at Rome, were laide along vpon the ground aloue, in a place round engirt with stones, which had neuer before bene filled with humane offerings or sacrifices,

and there they were sacrificed after the Romane ceremoniall manner. This is the affirmation of Titus Linius, and therefore I shall neede to make no further mention cyther of the Arabians, Thracians, Scythians, Egyptians, or Grecians: considering, that Dionysius Halycarnassensis sheweth in the first Booke of Romane Antiquities, that Jupiter and Apollo, (because the tenth borne of euery male childe was not sacrificed to them) sent great and greuous calamities throughout all Italy. Diodorus in the twentieth Booke of his history, declareth, that (in his time) there was at Carthage, a Statue of Saturne, and such like sacrifices. And it was thought (saith hee) that Saturne was offended with the people, because that in (former times) they were wont to sacrifice to him, the most worthy and best borne of their children. Furthermore, that by the successe of times, instead of their owne children, they bought and entertained others, secretly nourishing the, and afterward sacrificed them vnto their Gods. This being closely and diligently discovered, & an infinite number of theire supposed found out, which in that manner had bene sacrificed, they were easily perswaded to beleue, that for this occasion only, the Gods being displeased, sent enemies to take and sacke their Cities, because they had not continued those honours, which from all antiquity had bin done to the Gods. Wherfore, the better to appease them againe, they sacrificed publicly 200. young men, such as were the choyest & best borne among all their Nobility, and found out three hundred more, which (with their owne good liking, because they perceived themselves to be suspected) gaue their liues freely to be sacrificed.

They had a Statue of Saturne, made of Brasse, which was of wonderfull greatnesse, the hands whereof were extended in round circling manner on the ground, and children, being followed with eager pursuite, were enforced to enter into the roundure, and then fell into a very deepe pit, full of fire. If any man be desirous to haue more ample and certaine testimony heereof: Eusebius, in the fourth Booke & seventh Chapter of his Ecclesiasticall history, recounteth many examples of this Religion, obserued then in diuers Nations. Affirming further, that in the time of

Titus Linius in
Lib. 9. cap. 1.

Dionys. Ha-
licarn. in An.
Rom. Lib. 1.

Diod. in lib. 20.
A Statue of
Saturne at
Carthage.

Children sac-
rificed to the
Gods.

An easie per-
suasion to o-
uer-cruellous
people.

Another Sta-
tue of Saturne
of admirable
greatnesse.

Euseb. in Hist.
Ecclesiast. lib. 4.

Adrian.

Pomponius Me-
la in lib. 3. cap. 1.

Lucan. lib. 1.

Of the cere-
monies obser-
ued among
the Britaines
& Germanes.
Jul. Cef. in com.
lib. 4.

Corn. Tacitus in
lib. 1. cap. 1.

* Sonne of
Teuton, of
whom the
Alcmaignes
descended.

Mercury their
cheefest God
in honour.

Adrian, and when the Evangelicall doctrine began to appeare in some bright splendour: those abominable cruelties were commonly abolished, albeit they remained still among the Celts. Neuertheless, Arela writeth, that theyooke ending in his time. Moreouer he saith, some markes of this brutish cruelty, formerly abolished, yet notwithstanding, whē they brought their offerings to their Altars, which were consecrated and dedicated to be sacrificed, they would make an essay or prooue of them, and with much deliberation. These then were the finisier & wicked sacrifices of the Gaules, whereof Lucan speaketh thus.

You Druides, after you forsake your Arms,
You sell to savage and barbarous customes
Of wicked sacrifices. Only to you was giuen,
To know the Gods, and holynesse of Heauen,
Or not to know them.

This shall suffice, for the manner of sacrifices obserued among the Gaules. What shall we now say, concerning the ceremonies of the Brittaines and Germanes? Already we haue related, what was the manner of behaviour, as also the disciplines of the Brittaines. The Germanes (saith Caesar) were farre differing from these customs and orders: For they had not their Druides to command in diuine matters, and to take care of their sacrifices. They held opinion of such as they beheld, and by whose aide they conceived themselves to be succored manifestly; that they were worthy to be ranked in number among the Gods: As the Sunne, Vulcan, and the Moone, of others they neuer heard any speech. These are the words of Caesar. But Tacitus, ouer and beside these, speaking of the Germanes Gods, nameth Tuiston, or Teuton, a God borne of the earth, and of his Sonne * Mannus, who were the originall and beginners of their Nation. Then of the Sonnes of Mannus, by whose names, the neere neighbours to the Ocean, called themselves Ingenuos; and they that dwelt neerer to the middle region, Hermiones; and the other Ikenones. Among other Gods, they worshipped Mercury, in the honour of whom, it was permitted them (on certaine dayes) to offer humane sacrifices. They also appeased Hercules and Mars, by the sacrifices of beasts, which likewise was permit-

ted vnto them. A part of certaine number of the S. uenes, performed their sacrifices, & /fir; and yet, the cause and originall of such sacrificing, is not certainly knowne.

Caesar, in his first Booke, attributerh charmes, spells, & incantations to the Germanes, which were performed by women. For when Caesar questioned with a prisoner, wherfore Arminius would not bid him battaile: he found it to be a custome among the Germanes, that the mothers in their feuerall families, did declare by spells and vaticinations, whether it were profitable to offer battaile, or not, and they would say that it was not possible for the Germanes to be Conquerors, if they gaue the battaile before the new Moone. Tacitus speaketh much more of these diuinations, & among the rest, relateth the prefaces and incantations which they most oblietued. The very simplest and most vulgar manner of their diuining: (saith he) was, by taking a branch cut off from a fruit tree, which they would cut into diuers peeces, with certaine very knowledgable markes made vpon them, and afterward throw or scatter the (casually, and without any regard at all) vpon some white garment. If the matter were to be consulted publicly, then it was done by the Priest of the City. But if it were in private, or particularly, the father of the family, huius made his prayers to the Gods, and elevating his eyes vnto heauen, taketh the peeces of the branch by three and three, and when he hath lifted them aloft, he maketh his interpretation, according as he findeth the marks that were formerly engrauen. If he finde the case to be prohibited, he maketh no other consultation (concerning that matter) that day: but if he finde it to be permitted, then he seeketh further for the truth thereof, by other kindes of predictions, which giueth perfect knowledge in that place both by questioned voices, and also by the flight of Birds.

Moreover, it was proper and particular to this Nation, to make experience of prefaces and aduertisements by horses, which publicly had beene bred in their Woods and Forrests, and were all wholly white, without any spotte vpon them, and had neuer bene labored or employed, or vsed in any seruice of man. The Priest, or the King, or else the Prince of the Citie, tastening them vnto the sacred Chariot,

* Daughter to
the River Iu-
nach.

Iulius Caesar in
comment lib. 1.
Of Sp. Iler,
Charmes, and
Incantations
performed by
the Germane
women.

Cornel. Tacitus
in lib. 1. cap. 1.

The manner
of their diu-
ination, by any
branch cut
from a fruit
Tree.

Prefaces
made by hor-
ses bred in
Forrests and
Woods, by
the manner
of their neigh-
ing & noyle.

F and

and going along with the: did very heedfully regard their neighing and noyses. And there was not any other preface, whereto the people (but especially the very principall persons in the City, yea, and the Priests themselves) did give more credite, then to this: as perswading themselves that they were the Ministers of the Gods, and came nearest in counsell to the. They had another obseruation of presaging, whereby they could foretell the issue of their warres, how cruell or dangerous foucer they were, and how they should succeed. They would take a prisoner of that Nation, with who they intended to make warre, and he should combat with one of the brauest and mozt gallant spirits of all their owne people, & with those weapons belonging to the Country. Afterward, the victory of the one or other, turned to the preiudice and disadvantage of the vanquished, and of his Nation.

CHAP. XV.

What Ceremonies were obserued among the Gaules at the times of their Burials, or Funerals, &c.

THE manner and Ceremonies of their Funerals, are set downe in *Caesar*. Their Funerals (saith he) are (after the Gaulish manner) magnificent and sumptuous, with throwing all those things (whatsoever) into the fire, which they imagined that the dead person (during his life time) most esteemed and affected, specially his beasts. And some short while before this memory, such servants and domesticke attendants, as were imagined to be dearely loved of their Masters (to make the Funerall Ceremony the more intire and complete) were burned together with the other things. *Caesar* having affirmed this, methinks *Pausanias* as deferueth to be laughed at, when he saith in the tenth Booke of the warres of *Brennus*: That the Gaules contemned, and held the buriall of their dead in disdaine, because, that by the opinion of such cruelty, they might affright their enemies, not having any more pity on the dead, then on other living persons. In this point *Caesar* refuteth *Pausanias* and *Titus Livius* also, where he speaketh of the Gaules beliedging Rome, his

words, in the first Booke of his third Decade, are these. They heaped and piled men one upon another, and so burned them indifferently together: because they would not bury them each after other, whereby they enjoyed the place more sufficiently in imitation, and answerable to the name of the Gaules sepulchers.

As for that which *Caesar* saith, That all that which was pleasing to the dead person, was cast into the fire with him: At Rome, into the fire made for *Julius Caesar* himselfe, the Trumpeters threw their torme garments, the Legionaries, their Armes; the Matrones their Chaines and Jewels, yea, and the precious purple deckings of their children. *Caesar* doth not declare apparently, whether the servants & domesticke were throwne into the fire, living or dead; but that he meant the living, may easily be coniectured by that which *Mela* saith. They wer such (saith he) as voluntarily wold cast themselves into the fires made for their parents, kindred, and masters, holding opinion, that so they were sure to live with them.

We have such another example, in the 5. of *Ciceroes Tusculanes*, where it is said; That the women of India, when their husbands died, had a custome of comate and iudgement, to make proofe thereby, which of them was best beloved of her husband, for one man had many wives. She that carried the honour of the comate, being followed and attended by her other companions, was (with great joy) placed in the fire, and there burned with him: the other that had fought, and lost the day, returned home mourning, and disconsolate to her house. This cruell manner of behavior, may well keepe company with the other ceremony, of immolating or sacrificing humane oblations.

Tacitus speaketh in this manner, concerning the Funeralls of the Germanes. They bring the bodies of their companions into doubtful battels, and that there may be found no ambition of glory among them, for interring of their dead: they only observe, that the bodies of the most noble, or of greatest apparance, may be burned with certaine wood. They do not heape up the pile of wood, neither their garments, or any adornings; but only allow to each man his proper Armes, & in to the fire of some, they make addition of their horses. One only sad or turffe of earth as building sufficient for the sepulcher, they contemne pompous workmanship and honourable

Such things as were burned with the dead person at Rome.

Cicero in *Tusculan*, 5. A custome among the women of India to try who best affected her husband.

The manner of the Germanes, usually, according to *Cicero*, *Tacitus*.

labor

A predition for the success of their dangerous warre.

The manner & ceremony of their Funerals.

Pausanias in *inf.* 10. de *Bell. Grec.*

Pliny in *lib.* 3. cap. 1. His accusation against the *Druides*, concerning the Magick-Art.

The Mathematicians made a colour to their deceiving.

Cornelius Lentulus, and *Publius Licinius Crassus*, Consuls of Rome.

labor about Monuments, as being offensive to the dead. Complaints and Teares are soone overpast with them; but griefe & sadness is of longer continuance: for women to weep is honest, only men are to remember.

But *Pliny* in his thirteenth book & first chapter, speaking of the Sacrifices, & the whole discipline of the ancient Gaules, frets himselfe against the Magick Arts, as fraudulent and deceitfull, seeming to reprove and accuse the discipline of our *Druides* with the same crime. Let no man misuail (saith he of the Art-Magick) if great authority be giuen to such discipline. Because it onely will comprehend and redigeth the three Sciences all into one, which have most command ouer humane will.

First of all, no one doubteth, but that it receiveth birth & beginning from Physick, and that vnder pretence of yielding helpe by little and little: it hath vsurped the place, as feigning it selfe to be more high and healthfull, then Physicke, and with such enticing and desirous promises, makes addition of some strength and power of Religion, whereby men (yet to this day) do abuse themselves. And yet to satisfie them better, they have intermingled the Mathematicks, because there is not any one, but he is very couetous, and desirous to vnderstand future things concerning himselfe, and of his fortune, as beleeuing vndoubtedly, that such knowledge cometh from Heaven. Thus the reason and vnderstanding of men being surprized, and seriously buied in this manner: the discipline is fortified with a triple bond, and growne to such an increasing greatnes; as euen in these dayes (in most parts of the world) it beares away the reputation from all other, commanding ouer the Kings and Princes of the East. From whence issued the Magick-faction, Persian, Mosaicall, & *Cyprian*. Finally, the six hundred, sixty & seuenth yeere from the building of Rome, *Cornelius Lentulus*, and *Publius Licinius Crassus* being the Consuls, an Edict was made, that no man was to be offered in sacrifice, and assuredly, the celebration of such prodigious sacrifices vanished away. But contrariwise, the Gaules kept them, euen till our memory: For *Tyberius Caesar* wholly abolished the *Druides*, & such kind of Prophets & Physitions. What menti-

on shall I make of this discipline, which hath out-stept the bounds of the Ocean, entering into Britanny, where (at this day) it is celebrated with all reuerence, & such ceremonies, as it seemes that they have taught it to the Persians? It hath attained to such consent with the whole vniuersite, (although it can grow to no agreement, or can well know it selfe:) as we do little conceiue, how highly we are beholding to the Romans, who vterly abandoned all such monstrous behavior: being formerly fauoured (as a charitable work) to kill and sacrifice men, yea, and a very wholesome thing to eat them.

So far extend the words of *Pliny*, whereby ouer and beside the Arts formerly remembered, he attributeth Physicke also to the Gaulish *Druides*. But he greatly blameth the frauds therein concealed, & desperately commendeth the Romanes, for excluding such monstrous qualities out of their Empire. But would to God, that they had onely abolished the frauds and deceits in such Arts, and not the true Arts themselves, nor the Schooles and profession of them: For then vndoubtedly, wee should in duty thanke them, and crowne them with honour. But *Pliny* saith, that *Tyberius* wholly ouerthrew the *Druides*. Notwithstanding, the same man discovered Magicke, by some example of the *Druides*, as in the last Chapter of his seauenth Booke, speaking of *Glew*, or a certaine Gumme, hee hath these words.

We may not omit (saith he) in this case, one admirable matter of the Gaules. The *Druides* (by such name they terme their Magicians) esteeme nothing more precious then *Glew* and Gum, and that the Tree where it groweth, during the time it hath vigour: they themselves do then make choice in their Woods and Forests, which haue such power to nourish those Gummes, that they will not offer any sacrifice, without the leanes of such a Tree. And it may be very likely, that from the Greeke interpretation, upon this occasion, they were called *Druides*. In briefe, they hold opinion, that that which taketh birth or originall with those Trees, is sent from heauen, in figure that such a Tree is chosen of the Gods. Such a Tree is very rare to finde, but being found, they take it with great ceremony and religion, & aboue all other, at the time of the Moons sextile, or first Moon, which is the beginning of their

Britaine embraced such savage behaviour equal with the Gaules.

Physicke attributed to the *Druides*, among the Gaules.

Pliny in *lib.* 17. cap. ult. Concerning the *Glew* and Gumme esteemed among the *Druides*.

At what time the *Druides* vied to gather their Gums & *Glew*.

The ceremony
in the
Druides.

A present
remedy against
barrenness
and poyson.

Plin. in lib.
21. cap. 11.
* A hea-
ved much of
the Druid.
for all eye-
fores, hea-
dy hope

Months and yeares, and of the world after thirty yeares. Because that then she is in her strength, not being in diminution of her moiety, and they terme it by a word in their language, signifying; To be helping in all things. They prepare the sacrifice in a banquet under those Trees, bringing thither two Bulles wholly white, the harnes whereof are as yet scarce able to be bound. The Priest, clothed in a white Robe, mounteth up the Tree, and cutteth the branches with a Sickle of Gold, and such as fall are receiued in a white cloth. Then they offer their sacrifices, making their prayers, that God will make their gift prosperous and happy, for them to whom they intend the giving. They are of opinion, that such things being giuen in drinke to any sterile or barren body, either of women or beasts, will make them fruitful, in like sort that it is a soveraigne remedy against all poysons. Thus sometimes a Religion is made among men in matters merely frivolous, and not of any importance.

Thus you see what Pliny saith, concerning the mysteries of the Gaules Magick, wherein he findes the greekie etymology of the name of the Druides (although that it is a Gaulish name, to wit, of *Druidon*, as already hath beene said) as in all languages you may finde infinite words, which (by some coniunctiue) seeme to be deduced from another tongue: as in like manner the Mathematicians, in their moneths and yeares, and the Chronology of their ages, do declare sufficiently, that the Mathematicall disciplines, albeit after the Greekes descriptions, do not alwaies fall out to be one and the same. But let vs pursue some other examples of Pliny.

In his one and twentieth Booke, and the eleuenth Chapter, hee speaketh thus. There is a certaine herbe, like unto Sabine, called * *Selago*, which is gathered without any iron weapon, by the right hand, thrust into some left-handed glove or sleeve, in manner of a theefe. And the party must be clothed with a white garment, having his feet naked and cleanly washed: and sacrifice must be performed with Bread and Wine, before any offer of gathering, and modestly brought thither in a new Napkin. The Druides of the Gaules have written, that this herbe is very soveraigne against any perill or dreaded danger, also that the smoke thereof is profitable for the diseases in the eyes. They have also another herbe, which they call *Samela*,

which groweth in moist and waterish places, and they use to gather it alwaies with the left hand: it serueth against all diseases in Swine and Kine, and whosoever gathereth it, must not (by any meanes) be seene, neither must he bring it into any other place, then a gutter or brooke, and there breake or bruise it in the water, that the Beasts may swallow it in their drinking.

In the same place is recited another Magick of the Gaulish Druides, whereunto (in the third Chapter of the twentieth Booke, written by the said Author) there is another very like euery way. Moreover (saith hee) there are a certaine kinde of Egges, whereof great account is made in Gaul, and where the Crackes haue not made any mention. Summer causeth an infinite number of Serpents to heape themselves together, writhing and embracing in a kinde of artificiall hugging: when either by the moisture issuing from their mouthes, or slimy scumme of their owne bodies, or such which they call the Serpentine Egge is engendered. The Druides say, that (by their hissing or whistling) it is exalted up into the Ayre, and in the meane while it must be recited downe in some robe or garment, because it may not touch the earth. But he that receiues it, must make great speed away upon a horse, because the Serpents will pursue him justly, until they find hinderance by some River or Water. The proofe and experience thereof is, when it floateth against the water, especially when it is enchaufed in gold. But in the cunning of Magicians is well continued, for the more ingenious covering of their fraud: so they say, that it must be taken in a certaine Moone, as if it were lawfull in humane iudgement, to accord such an operation of Serpents. Verily, I haue seene this kinde of Egge, of the bignesse of an indifferent round Apple, bearing a crust or shell like a gristle, fanned with little mouthes or opening, like to them which are in the armes of the Polyus or Punicontrol, and the Druides holde it for a most notable thing. It is highly esteemed, as for gaining victory in fights and combates, and to haue access to Kings & Princes: by such an abuse, and no other reason that I know, a Romanie knight of the Pocontians, was put to death by the Emperor Claudius, only in regard of fighting, for he alwaies carried such an Egge in his bosome. Nevertheless, the embracing and colligation of Serpents, and the alliance of the most cruell creatures, seemeth to haue beene

Another
hearth of the
help of cattel

Plin. in lib. 20
cap. 3.
Concerning
the Egges of
Serpents.

The Druides
opinion of the
Serpentine
Egge.

The Author
saith, such
haue seene
such an Egge

A Romanie
knight put
to death by
the Emperor
Claudius, for
the Serpentine
Egge.

been the cause, whereby strange Nations (as an argument of peace) made a Caduceus of Serpents writhed round about, and it hath bene a custome also, that they should be crested on the Caduceus.

Thus hath Pliny noted the Serpentine Egge, to proceede from the Gaules Magick, and that for this cause onely, the Knight was slaine by the Emperour, who stood in feare of this Magick. Finally, the Romanes, to abolish utterly the discipline of the Druides, tooke occasion by this Magicall superstition: but though impiety, superstition, magick and vices may be rooted out, yet vertue will continue still found and intire. Would to God that the Romanes had maintained it in like place, and in like number, the Gaules as the Greeks. The Empire hath bene snatched from the Greeks, but Learning and Artes was left with them still. Greeke hath bene constrained to make way for the Latine tongue: but yet continually Grammer, Rhetoric and Philosophy hath bene, and yet is taught in greek. What greeke then was it to the Romanes, to expulpe not onely the Gaulish Iudges from their seates: but the professors also, yea, the very sciences & disciplines of the Gaules out of their Schooles?

Immortall Gods, the Gaules authentick face,
You thought to hold true eminence and place,
And so should still, were gifts in equal grace.

Partiality in
affection, can
neuer be an
upright iudge
in censure.

But we conuert our affections too earnestly, to the glory and honour of our owne particular, which honour we may bemoane, being too greedily carried away with a mighty spleene against the name of the Gaules. But let vs now proceede to finish the rest.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Justice exercised in Ancient Gaule, compared with that of the Romanes, by dividing the chiefe men into two degrees, of Druides and Knights, and two kindes of Magistrates, with the punishment of disobedience to superior Officers.

Thereto wee have gone thorough three parts of the proposed labour, to wit; The prudence of discipline. The entire knowledge of truth; and likewise of providence. There yet remaineth the fourth part, namely of Iustice, which is Princeesse and Mistress of all other manners. It behooveth vs then, to seeke for the principality of ancient Gaule, and what it was; what power the people had, and what policy was maintained among them: that which we terme the Platonick good and benefit of Temperance, Fortitude, & of Providence, whereby each man hath that belonging to him, without vspurning on any thing appertaining to another.

The Common-wealth, at least that of Gaule, whose lockes of hayre beeing long enough in *Casars* time; was merely Timocraticall, and in many parts very like unto the Roman liberty, as by that which followeth, wee which will examine things particularly, may easily perceiue. Let vs then obserue what *Casus* hath said, and especially concerning customes and behaviour. In all Gaule, or Gallia (saith he in his first Booke) all men that are of any name, or made any account of, are divided into two sorts; to wit, into Druides, and into Cheualiers: for the common people is of no other reckoning, but as carlets and slutes, not daring (of themselves) to do any thing, neither are they admitted to conuence in any matter. Behold what partition *Julius Casus* hath instituted of himselfe, albeit it is not altogether true which he speaketh of the people, as shall at large be deliuered hereafter, in place more conuenient for the purpose.

In this partition of *Casus*, There is one (saith he) that Presideth, or is as Primate among all the other Druides, that hath cheefe command and authority of the rest. He being dead, if there be any one among the other, that hath the advantage in worthinesse or desert: he is to succeed. If there be many of equal parity and condition, he is to be chosen (by voices of the Druides) from among the rest. Diuiners times they contend for the sovereignty or Mastership by weapons, and so striue who shall haue the prime place.

Here *Casus* propoeth two distinct kindes of Magistrates, one to rule or gouern in diuine things, other in such as are humane and ciuill. Among the Druides, he institu-

The fourth
part of the in-
tended dis-
course, name-
ly of the Ius-
tice of the
Gaules.

The common-
wealth of
Gaule in the
time of *Casus*.

Int. *Casus* in
Com. Lib. 6.

Int. *Casus* in
Com. Lib. 6.
cap. 19.

Two kindes
of Magistrat
propoſed by
Cæſar in Gaul

teth one, to be as the high or cheef Prieſt, and he defineth his election, to bee eyther by Dignity, or by Suffrages, or by Arms. And there is no great difference, between the inſtitution of the Roman high Prieſt, and this other man: but onely, that at Rome he is annuall or yeerely, & in Gaul it ſeemeth he hath bene perpetuall. That the Druides haue bene ſpread ouer all Gaul, euen in Cities, Townes and Burroughs, their eſtates haue ſhewne ſufficient manifeſtation: for the Druides did euer command ouer the three principall parts of the Common-wealth: as in profeſſion of Artes, in judgments, pleading, and ceremonies belonging to their ſacrifices. All the younger ſort (ſaith Cæſar) haue their reſourſe to them, to be enſtructed by them, and to learne ſciences, as alſo a great number of verſes, ſo that ſome continue there twenty yeares, onely to learne knowledge. And ſurely, an honeſt ſtipend or recompence, can neuer want Maſters to giue enſtruction.

The Druides (ſaith Cæſar) are not wont to goe to warre, but ſtand exempted from it, and immunity of all other taxation & charges. So that in regard of ſuch faire acknowledgements and freedoms, there are many that come to bee ranked among them, and to follow the ſtudy of their diſciplines, they are ſent thither by their parents & kindred. Let me now entreate yee, and (euen in honeſt charity) but to obſerue well this place alledged by Cæſar. Can there be any thing more excellent, or more magnificent, then when the Primates of a Country, or the Gouernors and very greateſt Princes in a Common-wealth, do make profeſſion of diſciplines? Perhaps, ſome will conſider ſweatily on this point, as though wee would haue the cheefeſt men, and thoſe that are the greateſt in our Cities, to keep Schooles, and apply their paines to enſtruct other. Notwithſtanding, let me tell yee, Plato would haue ſuch men (and no other) to take the charge of enſtructing, & deliuering the knowledge of Sciences: becauſe ſuch a place ſhould be as a Seminary or ſeed-plot, of great, iudicious, and learned men, meete to adminiſter and beare authority in a Common-wealth: wherein the grafts and plants muſt needs be the more rare and excellent; by how much the grafters and planters are moſt vertuous and honourable.

The yong m^t
reſort to the
Druides, to
learne of theſe

The Druides
exempted
from war &
taxation.

Plato, his ad-
vice con-
cerning men
of iudgement
& learning.

I wonder at the opinion of Pliny, in many paſſages alledged by him, and eſpecially in this, where he writes: *That with the ancient manners and ſiſtions of Rome, the Land abounded, & did daily bring forth double encreaſe. What was the cauſe (ſaith he) of ſuch abundance? The earth was then huſbanded by the hands euen of the cheefeſt warriors, and, as it is credible, that the earth toyed and reioyced, to be honoured with a ſhare or culture crowned with Laurell, and by the labour of a Julius triumphing conqueror: euen ſo did it traualle and endeavour it ſelfe the more induſtriouſly, to produce the ſeed ſowne in that nature, as to proſper their other warlike proceedings. And the like diligence, for well huſbanding the ground, is alſo to order and direct a potent Army, or elſe in all other things, which are performed by noble and beſt hands: do encreaſe the more abundantly, and become ſo much the more fertile by how much they are the more carefully executed. But now aduaies, this ſure and honourable myſtery, is exerciſed by ſoule, infamous, and condemned hands, by men that are either theues, or baniſht, or haue loſt their eares, or branded with ſome ſuch other wicked imputation. Nor withſtanding, the good earth is not deſſeigne, who being called Mother, and bids herſelfe to labour and fructifie, by a Latine word, called Coli, which ſignifieth alſo to do honour, as being thence derived: whereby it plainly appeareth, that what ſo euer ſhe now doth or produceth, ſhe doth it but in meere diſſimulation, in ſtead of her owne liking. And therefore we muſt needs merrilie, that no ſuch profits ariſe in the times of theſe labourers, as in the famous daies of thoſe flouriſhing Captaines. So farre extend the words of Pliny.*

But by your fauour, do not we conceiue, that it is as conuenable for vs, to ſpeake of the exerciſe of diſciplines, as of thoſe which concerne the earth? Euen ſuch was the fertility and abundance of the Gaules diſciplines, when in the times of our Druides, the Schooles of the Muſes, became the Pallaces of Kings, the chaires of Maſters, were the ſeates of Princes; the number of Students, was the company & following of honorable Lords. Then Pliny is delighted to be in a royall Colledge, viſing one & the ſame Rector & gournor in the common-wealths affaires, & to declare the Sciences and diſciplines, explicating thoſe enſtructions in one ſelf ſame manner,

Pliny in lib.
22. cap. 4.
ſt the ancient
manners
and behauiours
of Rome
in the earlieſt
huſbandry.

Good and
commenda-
tion: doe
euer illuſtrate
& manifeſt
themſelves.

The Author
anſwer to the
former al-
legation of Pliny,
concerning
the diſci-
plin of Rome.

manner, for governing their Common-wealthes. And by the ſame diſcretion and providence, they inſtituted the rules of Arts, Lawes, and Ordinances: wherein all things increaſed the more proſperouſly, and more abundantly (by honeſt labours) as they were the more diligently and reſpectively followed. There were many in thoſe dayes, who being ſpurred on by ſuch recompences, and the expectation of thoſe propoſed honours; addiſhed themſelves (gladly) to apprehend thoſe diſciplines, being ſent to the ſame end & purpoſe (from the remotest parts) by their parents and kindred.

Hereupon, and for the ſame occaſion, Lucian was the more willing to haue the Gauliſh and Ogmian Hercules depicted; not onely couered with the deſpoyle of a Lyon, and a maſſy Club: but alſo decrepitate, bald, aged, wrinkled, and meager; drawing a great number of Conquered men after him, in chaines of gold faſtned to their eares. Their tongues alſo were pierced thorow, and at them hung little Chaines of gold, in ſuch ſort, that thoſe valiant diſpoſed and conquered gallants, followed the Hercules that drew them, he turning eſtſoons his face and looks to behold them, with very milde & affable behauiour. And what elſe was all this, but the eloquence of the Bardes, a alſo the wiſedome of the Sarronides and Druides; which euen at the firſt ſight (with-out any more regarding) cauſed ſuch admirable affection to the ſame. The great number of Students, which ſubmitted themſelves vnder their charge, onely to learn their diſciplines and goodly knowledge in ſo many noble things: figured thoſe Chaines of golde. And euen to the Schollers, hung by the eares at the mouths of their Maſter, as being taken & bound by his rich words, and the ſweet doctrine flowing thence. Then did al diſciplines flouriſh, in regard that the profeſſors of them were rare and excellent. But ſo ſoon as by the Romane Empire, the ſalary and honour of Learning was taken away and aboliſhed; euen as ſo ſoonly was the profeſſion of thoſe Diſciplines eſteemed and held to bee but a ſeruite and mechanical thing. Which was the onely occaſion, that (neceſſarily as it were) thoſe honeſt and liberal ſtudies languished for a long time; and by an ouer-redious experience,

The volunt-
ary inſtitution
of the Gaules
in former
times.

Lucian his pic-
ture of Her-
cules among
the Gaules, &
the alluſion
thereof.

The extren-
ty of the Ro-
man Empire,
againſt the
Gaules Learn-
ing.

hath approoued the ſaying of the Orators to be true; *That Honor is the Nurſe of Arts, and all hearts are enflamed with the love of the Sciences, onely in regard of their glorie.* For neuer ſhould any account bee made of ſuch things as are miſprized and condemned by euery man.

Thus the loſſe and burying of the Gaules diſciplines, are due to none but vnto the Romaines, by whoſe tyranny the honour of their profeſſion, and their liberty together, was violently taken from the Druides. Wherefore Melas (who flouriſh vnder Claudius ſaith. Now are not the brane and worthy Schooles of the Dryndes, becauſe they are become clauſetie, and ſuppreſſed by other, baniſhed into the deepeſt & furtheſt off Forreſts. So that the Diſcipline of the Dryndes, was not onely robbed of her former honour, but compelled in meere feare of danger, to hide her ſelfe in cauſes and thickeſt woodes. Lucane ſeemeth to take knowledge thereof with Melas, ſpeaking thus of the Dryndes.

—Your dwelling now,
Is in the ſtrongest and profoundest Forreſt.

Cæſar alſo in his fiſt booke. *The Gaules (ſaith hee) perceiving from whence the be-
ginning of warres came, held their conſulta-
tions in the night time, and in deſert places.* Likewiſe in the ſeuenth booke. *The Prin-
ces of the Gaules, in their Councels (ap-
pointed in Woods and concealed places) com-
plained amongſt themſelves of their ſeruitude.* Neuertheleſſe, we conclude not, neither by the authority of Melas, nor of Lucane, nor of Cæſar, that the Colledges of the Druides, that the aſſembly of Councell, and deliberation of their men of Warre, were in the woods: for that would appeare rather to be a ſigne of ſeruitude, and conſtraint, then of erudition or conſultation. But proceede we on to ſpeake of the ſallary; wages, and honeſt preſents, vſually giuen to the ancient Dryndes. The Dryndes (ſaith Cæſar) doe not onely take the reward of their honeſt profeſſion, but ouer & beſide, the Gaules giue them great honor and reuerence. All caſes in controuerſie, bee they eyther publique or private, are referred to their iudgement. If there happen any thing to bee done amiſſe, or any murder committed: if there ariſe any diſſention, concerning inheritance, ſucceſſion, or bounds of Landes: they are

The Gaules
diſcipline o-
uerthrowen by
the Romaine
tyranny.
Pomp. Melas
in lib. 4. c. 9.

1st Cæſar in com.
lib. 5. c. lib. 7.

Of the wages
and gifts to
the ancient
Dryndes.

1st Cæſar in
comment. Lib. 6

Ces. in com.
ubi supra.
Interdiction from their fa-
cilities.

are the men that give sentence, and constitute the reward of well doing, and punishment of misdemeanors. Strabo addeth heere to (I know not how) that by their Magical superstition, they iudge of the fertility of the year, according to the multitude of criminal causes.

The obseruation amongst the Germans

com. Tacitus in lib. 2. c. 2.

Priest onely haue the preheminence to inflict punishment.

Punishment inflicted according to the quality of the offence.

But proceede we with the rest of Caesar. If there be any man, either a private, or publique person among the common people, that wil not obey their ordinances & decrees: he is interdicted from comming to the sacrifices, which is the most greivous punishment in all their Nation. They that stand for interdicted from the sacrifices are reputed among the number of lewd and wicked people: All men flye from them, and every man stands in feare to speake to them, or to keepe company with them, as dreading some Contagion or Plague should happen to them by such frequentation. And if they demand Law or Justice, it is denyed, and may not be granted them, neither may they enjoy any preferment or honor, or the least reverence done unto them by any. But what manner of sentences or iudgements do the Germanes obferue? What penalties and punishments are amongst them? It apperaineth to none but Priests, who haue the full power of commanding (saith Tacitus) to impose silence in publicke consultation. Moreover, it is not permitted but to Priests onely, to chastise, beate, or bind them, not as the paine or punishment of the offence, nor by the command of the Prince: but euen as by diuine permission, & as a commandement given by God, whom they make account to be then in presence, and to be assisting in their fights. In warre also they carry certaine Pictures and Images, which they bring away from their hallowed places. The difference of punishment is answerable vnto the delict. Traytors, and such as forsake their Captaiues of their Nation, to doe any seruice vnto a Stranger-enemy, are hanged vpon the Trees. Vagabondes, Rogues, idle livers, and all such as are noted of foule infame, are drowned in mudd, or in some Marish place, & covered alow with fish. The variety of punishment is much respected there, to the end, that the enormity of the offence, may be knowen by the qualitie of the infliction, and that vice may by no means be covered. But in crimes of lesser nature, the parties which are conuicted, are condemned in Fines, of a certaine number of Horfes, or other Beasts, whereof one part of the forfeiture

is giuen vnto the King, or to the Citty: and the other part is giuen to him, for whom the penaltie is done, or to his nearest Kindred.

Returne we now again vnto the Druides of the Gaules: for, Caesar detreibeth the times and the places, where they did vse to keepe their Sessions. The Druides (saith hee) vpon certaine dayes in the yeare, and vpon the Borders of the Carantes (the which Countrey is reputed to bee the verie middest of all Gaule or Gallia) do vse to keepe their great dayes meeting, in a certaine consecrated place, where all sortes of men, that haue suites or Controuersies, make their Assembly, being obedient vnto the sentences & iudgements of the Druides. Caesar doeth not distinguish the times of the year, but onely the place, which was on the Limites and Confines of the Carantes, as being the Center and middle of Gaule, where the Druides of all the Countreies of Gaule (euen as of all the world) were wont to meete together. Neuertheless, the Citty of the Carantes, named Chartres, was (in those ancient times) of much larger extendure, then now it is; and it is very likely, that it contained not onely the Charrtain Dioecesse, but that also of Orleans. For before that Caesar arrived there, it was a Realm, which afterward was put by Caesar into the power of Tullius the Carant, as himselfe hath written in his 5. booke.

In breefe; it seemeth that the Realme of Orleans, which afterward was a long time maintained to bee a Realme by the Franconians, was the very same of Chartres: Considering withall, that Genabum or Genaba, was one of the Townes in the Carantes Kingdome, and seated vpon the Riuer of Loire, beeing in the time of Caesar beyond Orleans, a farr off by a great many Miles, and which hindered him in his way, when hee went from Agendicum to Gergobin. But those Druides assembled themselves together in that place from all partes, as in the Center of Gaule, according as Caesar hath spoken. I say then, that in all Gaule, and in the Citty, Townes, and Villages of Gaule, there were Druides, who gouerned in suites and Controuersies, and likewise in the Ceremonies of Religion: In breefe, the care of all things was committed to them. The Druides were then distributed thoroughout Gaule, as now adayes are the

Julius Caesar in Com. lib. 6

People about Chartres in Celtica.

The general meeting of all the Druides of Gaule together.

In Julius Caesar in Com. lib. 6.

AA Townes in Celtica, called Sequorubence. b The Towne of Clermont in Auvergne.

A common Councell, or general meeting for all suites.

AA Noble Councell in Greece, so named of Amphipolion the son to Hecleus, who appointed the same. Pausanias in lib. de Phocia.

The royall power and authority of the Gaules Druides.

The order & degree of the Gaule Commonwealth.

In Julius Caesar in Com. lib. 6. Particular faction throughout Gaule, in every City, Towne, and Village.

the men of the Church: notwithstanding the Princes were wont to refer to a common Councell (at certaine times of the year) all the suites of their Citizens and subiects, wherein the chiefe Priest of the Druides gouerned onely.

Such (in elder times) was the Councell of the Amphictiones, which during the liberty of Greece was kept in Delphos (as Pausanias reporteth in his Phociques) & in the middest of Greece. Whereby appeareth, that the Druides of the Gaules, were like to the Amphictiones of Greece, & their place as sacred in the Charrtaine Countrey, answerable to the Temple of Delphos, made so famous by the Oracles of Apollo. The matter would haue bene a little the more noble, if Caesar had called the place Delphos, which was consecrated within the limites of the Countrey of Chartres. Heerein is shewen the authority, and (almost) royall power, which the Druides not onely held in private and particular, but intirely ouer all the people. The profession of Disciplines was in great reputation; the estate of iudgment a most famous authority; the power to performe sacrifices, and to speake of Divination, appertained vnto royall Maiestie.

The first degree of the Gaulish Commonwealth, was that of the supreme Magistrate; next, the Princes; then, the Chancellers; the people made election according to his aduice, and for his benefite and the commodity in generall, the Princes gaue him order how to make his warres; and such as did not well by their instruction, they would expulse and banish them. But you may demand of me, how this is to be proued? I will answer from Caesar, who speaketh thus in his sixth Booke. In Gaule (saith hee) there are certaine factions, not onely in all Cities, Burroughes, and quarters, but also in every particular Honbold, & the Princes or Heads of such Factions, are they whom they conuene (in their iudgment) to be the worthiest persons for authority: by whose aduice and determination, the verie greatest matters of weight or importance, either for publique affaires or Councell, are wholly disposed. Vpon which occasion it seemeth, that this matter hath bin thus ordered from reuerend Antiquity, that none of the meanest should be capable, against a rich or potent superior. For there is no man,

that will endure or suffer, that such as appertaine or depend vpon him, shall any way be oppressed or circumvented: for if he offered to do otherwise, hee shall not beare any injury among the people.

Thus you heare what Caesar saith, whereby may be vnderstood, the Timocraticall gouernment of a Commonwealth, which Plato and Aristotle so much commended, and which Greece (being in her libertie, and Italy also) did keepe so carefully: wherein, all the kinds of a iust and equitable policy are comprehended. Note the selfsame reason, in the whole charge of the affaires of Gaule; for there was royaltie in the annuall Magistrature, whereas Aristocratie was discerned in the Senate, and briefly, Timocratie in the plaine power & authority of the people, by whom the Senators and Magistrates were created. And therefore let vs goe somewhat neerer, and examine the testimonie of Caesar a little more narrowly, speaking of the Common-wealth of our Ancestors.

Such was the freedom and liberty of Gaule (saith Caesar) that in every City, Towne, and Burrough, and almost in every house, there were certaine factions, and it was in such sort, that every one was permitted to deale closely and vnderhand, by voices and suffrages: so that the very meanest and simplest, had power to giue their sentence, and deliuer their voices. I reere then we are to vnderstand, that the Electors of the Magistrates amongst the Gaules, were such kinde of men. And heereby wee plainly perceiue, that the authority of the people was not small in their Commonwealth: in regard that by voices and suffrages of the people, the Magistrates were then created. But what was hee that had the power to make election of these men? He that was reputed to be in the greatest authority: beside, all the affaires of consequence, and the whole deliberation of the Councell came onely to him. But why wast requisite, that so much authority should be in one Magistrate? Caesar himselfe makes answer vnto this Obiection. Because (vpon this occasion) it seemed that Antiquity (venerably) had so instituted it: to the end, that no man among the people (how meane or poore soeuer) should stand in neede of aide against the richest oppressor. For he might not endure that any of his faction should be oppressed or circumvented. This then was the end of the

The Timocraticall gouernment of a Commonwealth as allowed by Plato & Aristotle.

Caesar in Com. lib. 6.

Authority of the people amongst the Gaules in election of their Magistrates.

The voyce of the people in election of their Magistrates

The punishment of one that beginneth well, and neglecteth his care of the weale-publique.

The political authority of the people.

Strabo in lib. 4. cap. 7.

*Marfles in France, a cite in Provence, which was as famous for Learning as Athens. Strabo in lib. 4. cap. 9.

1ul. Caf. in com. mont. lib. 1.

the Magistrate, and the reason why the people said; *We will not have this man, except by his vertue, and by his authority, he do defend that no man offer vs injury. We will not have this man, because he is both bad and ignorant.*

But if a good Prince, who (at the beginning) hath made proofe of his vertue, happened afterwards to change his manners; and as one that hath no longer care of the weale-publique, proposeth his owne particular profit before the publike, and carry himselfe otherwise then the Ordinances of the people haue commanded: he is excluded and banished, and (as *Cæsar* saith) *Deprived of all power and authority among his owne people.* And to the end that this might not be imagined to be observed in some one City only, *The selfesame course* (saith *Cæsar*) *is kept thoroughout all Gaule.* Herein then may be noted, the political authority of the people, when Magistrates are not onely chosen by the people, but also depofed & expulſed. But *Cæsar* saith nothing, whether this principality was conſtituted in the authority of many, or of one onely, neither for how long time it continued. Neuertheleſſe, *Strabo* (in his fourth booke) defineth both the one and the other, ſaying: *There were many kinds of Aristocratical policy, in ancient times they elected every yeare a Prince, as the people elected a Chiefe or Commander for the warre.* Thus wee ſee, what *Strabo* saith: but a matter to goodly and commendable, ſhould bee enriched with ſome examples.

Cicero hath ſo highly extolled the commonwealth of the *Maſſilians*, that before the people of Rome, in the defence of *Fontenus*, hee ſayde: That the Discipline and gravity of the City of * *Maſſiles*, deſerved not onely to bee preferred equall to Greece, but almoſt with all other Nations of the world. In that City (ſaith *Strabo*) there were fixe hundred Senators, whome they tearmed *Timouches*, as men honourable, and who (all theyr lifetime) enjoyed that honour: from fourth of which number, were elected and choſen ſixteene Princes, to iudge ſuch ſuits & cauſes, as happened day by day amongst them. And queſtionleſſe, theſe were the fixe hundred *Maſſilians*, and the ſixteene cheefeſt men among them, whereof *Cæſar* ſpeaketh in his firſt booke. But let vs

go on with the words of *Strabo*. Out of theſe ſixteene (ſaith hee) they elected three, which had the moſt authority and power. In this manner *Strabo* deſcribeth the Common-wealth of the *Maſſilians*, which nevertheless I ſalledge not as a name of Gaule onely, becauſe it was better beloued and eſteemed to be Greekiſh, rather the Gauliſh: but alſo, becauſe none of thoſe *Timouches* was to bee elected, that had not bin a childe borne there, and had not bene a Citizen, euen to the third race or deſcent, as the ſame *Strabo* ſaith. Vpon this occaſion, *Ariſtole* (and very deſertfully) calleth the Common-wealth of the *Maſſilians* *Oligarchie*, and not *Ariſtocratie*: for this declareth her Oligarchie, that Princes were not elected by their vertue, but in regard of their race.

I doe not alledge (I ſay) this Common-wealth, as an example of the Gaules Common-wealth: I deſire to deliuer their owne true eſtates indeed, and thoſe that truly were of Gaule, and firſt of all in general of all Gaule; next, of the Nations, and then particularly of every Citie. The ſeauenth Booke of *Julius Cæſar*, ſhall ſerue as a ſufficient Teſtimonie in my common example, wherein *Gaulie* is intirely deſcribed, both in orders, and all reuenewes: albeit in the ſeauenth yeare of the warres in Gaule, great ſtore of the afflicted Townes and Citties, had diminiſhed much of their reuenewes. Firſt (by a Common Councell) *Vercingetorix* was elected for cheefe Commander, as *Cæſar* himſelfe ſaith, when the *Hedunians* fought, that the Empire might bee given to them, as the matter came then in controuerſie. The whole Councell of *Gaul* (ſaith hee) was called as * *Bibracte* or *Beaulne*, where arrived a great number of men, and the Election was appointed to the moſt voyces: but by general conſent it was concluded that *Vercingetorix* ſhould be Emperor, & the cheefe Leader of their Armies. Onely *Cæſar* ſaith, that the men of *Rhems*, the * *Lingones*, and the * *Treuirians* were not preſent at this Councell: but hee maketh no mention at all of the *Aquitaines*.

Afterward, when *Vercingetorix* was beſieged neere to * *Alesia*, the Gauls then called another Councell; wherein was ordained, that a certaine number of martial men ſhould command ouer every towne. And it was concluded, that ſix & thirtie

The nature of the Gauliſh election among the people.

The Common-wealths of Gaule, and according as they were in the Gaules warres.

The powers that commanded ouer the ſeueral townes and Citties.

* The whole Country of little Britaine.

4. Captains to ioyne with the other Councells.

5. Artorius in Belgica. 1ul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 7.

a Bibracte the Towne of Bray, in the country of Rochell in France.

b A Towne in Champagne in Belgica. c Langres the ſituation of Tulla Celtica. d Treves, as the Countie thereabout e Now called Alier, Langres, or Alier.

The Celts did differ from the Gaules in the ceremony of Councell.

e The people of Vannes in Britaine.

thouſand men ſhould command the *Hedunians*, and their neighbors the *Sequanians*, *Ambraueres*, *Aulerkes*, *Brannoukes*, & the *Brannouians*. The like number was appointed to the men of *Anurne*, together with the *Cadurcians*, *Heluetians*, *Gaballes*, and *Vellannians*, who were vnder the dominion of the *Auerricains*. To the *Sequanians*, *Senones*, *Riturigians*, *Santorigians*, *Kuthenes* and *Carantes*, were appointed twelve thouſand men. To the *Bellocacanes* ten thouſand, and as many to the *Limofines*. To the *Poitouines*, *Tourangeans*, *Parifians*, and *Heluetians*, eight thouſand to each. To the *Sueſſiones*, *Amiangeans*, *Mediomatricians*, *Petrocorians*, *Neruians*, *Mormes*, and the *Nitobrigians*, ſixe thouſand to each. To the *Aulerians* and *Cenomanians* as many. To the *Atrebatians* four thouſand. To the *Bellocians*, *Lexobians*, and *Aulerkes Eburones*, three thouſand to each. To the *Rauracians* and *Volians*, two thouſand a peece. To all the Citties that border vpon the Ocean, and (according to their manner) are called * *Armorica*, ſix thouſand.

Heere we haue a view of the publike Councell, vniuſually obſerued throughout Gaule, and one ſelfesame manner of behauiour, and anſwerable to the *Amphyctiones*, of aſſigning by a Councell publike, the eſtate and reuenewes of every City. Notwithſtanding, one onely man did not command ouer all theſe Companies: but there were foure captains, with whom were ioyned ſome Councillors of theſe Citties. *Cæſar* in the ſame place ſaith; That the whole charge of theſe affaires of the Empire, was given to *Comius* the * *Atrebatian*, to *Viridomarus*, to *Eporodorus* the *Hedunian*, and to *Vergasillus* of *Anurne*, *Cofius* Germane to *Vercingetorix* by the mothers ſide: and vnto them were aſſigned certaine other choſen perſons of the Citties, as Councillors for the warre. Neuertheleſſe, we may obſcure, if in all the Gauliſh Nations, the ſame eſtate of commonwealth was kept, as among the Celts, Belges, and Aquitaines.

In the time of the warre in Gaul, it neuer happened, that the Celts kept the like ceremony of Councell: for the greater part of them were allied with the Romanes, either by amity or alliance, or by what kind of dutie elle, I know not. Notwithſtanding, in the war of the * *Ventes*,

a conſpiration was made of the *Armorican* Citties, the * *Ventes*, the * *Offſines*, the * *Lexobians*, the * *Nannets* or *Nannetians*; the * *Drubinters*, the * *Curioſolites*, the * *Puellians*, the *Ambatians*, and the *Eburones*. Suddenly were *Ambſſadors* ſent (ſaith *Julius Cæſar* in his third booke) and by aduice of their Princes & Noblemen, they conferred together, to do nothing without Councell, and to abide ſuch diſaſters as Fortune ſhould ſend vnto them. Solliciting the reſt of the Citties, to chooſe rather to continue in the liberty which they had receyued from their Anceſtors, then to endure the ſeruitude of the Romanes. Neuertheleſſe, the cheefe Head or Commander of all the Army, is not named by *Cæſar* in any part whatſoouer. And yet in the publike councell of the *Belgians* (whereby was plainly and openly determined againſt *Cæſar*, the intire liberty of all *Gallia*): the maine and eminent charge of the affaires (by the wil and conſent of all men) was put on *Galba* King of the * *Sueſſiones*, as well in regard of his owne good deſerving, as for his wiſedom and prouidence.

In this warre at that time, the *Bellocacanes* contributed to the number of three ſcore thouſand armed men; the *Sueſſions* fifty thouſand; as many the *Neruians*, the *Atrebatians* ſixteene; the *Ambians* ten; the *Mormes* ſixe and twenty; the * *Mencapians* ſeuene; the *Caletians* ten; the *Velocastians* & *Veromandunians* as many; the *Adunaticians* nineteene; the *Condrufians*, *Eburones*, *Celeſians*, *Pemmanians* (which al by one name are called *Germanes*) forty thouſand. Here is to be ſeene a Common Councell indeede, and thereby likewiſe, the intire power and authority of every Citie. Such a conſpiration alſo was amongst the *Aquitaines*, of whom *Cæſar* writeth thus, *Then the Aquitaines began to ſend forth Ambſſadors, and to interchange ſoſtages, to muſter men of warre, and to craue ayde of the Cantabrians their Neighbors: as alſo to elect for their Captaines, cert. men that had ſerued (all their time) with Q. Sertorius: & therefore were reputed to be moſt expert in the actions of Armes.* It is then plaine and apparant by the places before alleadged; that the policy propoſed by *Cæſar*, was not onely common to all Gaule: but likewiſe generally in recommendation to all the Nations.

d People of Landrigner in Britaine. e Of Londull, in little Britaine. f Or Nannets in Britaine. g Or Cornuel in little Britaine. h Of Perche, in Of Ariche in little Britaine. i Of Liege in Belgica.

k The people of Suylons in Belgica.

l The people of Beauſoyſin in Celtica.

m The people of Gelderſid & Cleucland.

1ul. Cæſar in Com. lib. 4.

n The people of Bilcay in Spaine.

CHAP. XVII.

Of the forme of Government obserued in the Common-wealths of the severall Cities and Nations: and what their Rulers and Magistrates were: as also how they attained to their authority.



ET vs now particularly illustrate the Governements in the Common-wealths of the Nations and Cities of the people. And first of all, let vs speake of the Celts, among whom the Heluetians have bene reputed to be the most braue and valiant Nation. What administration & government of Common-wealth hath bene obserued in their cheefest City? The City of the *Heluetians* was situated betwene *Rhein* & *Rhone*, as also the Mountain *Jura*, in a triangular forme or shape, hauing twelve towns, and foure hundred Villages, & the whole diuided into foure Regions: yet not for warre onely, but likewise for Iustice, and for doing right to all men. There were two, named by *Caesar* himselfe, *Tigurine* and *Verbigena*. These Regions were as one Parliament, that had the whol charge of the affairs of the Realme, and for matters of consequence, were wont to come into a publike Councell; where for the Election of a Prince, hapned a coniuration amongst them of the Citie, to burne all their Townes, Burroughes, and Villages, to forsake their own limites, and by force to seize and surprize the kingdome of the Gaules.

For the better execution of this enterprize, *Orgetorix*, one of the most apparant and Noblemen was made choise of; and this act declared at the first, even a meere and certaine *Timocraticall* affiction. *Orgetorix* overcome with a couetous affection of Soueraignty and reigning, imbraced this Conspiracy; but the issue requieth obseruation, after the matter came to be discovered. This happening to the knowledge of the Heluetians, by some presumptions and conceitures; *Orgetorix* was taken prisoner, and they would haue

compelled him (according to their manner) to confesse the truth: which if it fell out to be approued, their Law condemned him to be burned with fire. *Orgetorix* summoned to this Sessions all his friends, kindred, and alliance, who were in number ten thousand men, together with his seruants and cōbers, who were a great company, that they might assist in the case of iudgement. Hee praynailed so well by this multitude of men, that hee freed himselfe from answering to his enditement, or disclosing vpon what occasion hee was incited to this matter of conspiracy.

In the meane space, while the Citie (being offended) fought to maintain the execution of their Lawes by the sword, & the Magistrates muttered men from all parts: *Orgetorix* dyed in prison, not without suspicion (as the Heluetians imagined) of murdering himselfe. *Kingdames* (saith *Caesar*) were bought in Gaul, by such as were most potent and abounding in riches, and such as had the meanes to command most men at their pay. But what these kingdoms were, is easily to be coniectured, by the example of *Orgetorix*, and by others beside, whereof we are to speake hereafter. The Commonwealth then of the Heluetians, was parted in this manner by Regions, as at this day that of the Switzers is, who vsurp and make vse of the borders of the Heluetians. Next, there were three great Cities of the *Heduanes* and *Aneruans*; let vs now survey these Common-wealths, and first that of the *Heduanes*, who were the very brauest and most valiant people, when *Caesar* made his warre in Gaule. Let vs make a good obseruation of this Common-wealth, and how (in three Kindes of a iust and commendable government) it was iudicially ordered & maintained.

By a yearly election of Priests, in a certaine place, at a certaine time, & of diuers deicents, amongst the *Heduanes* was chosen one called a *Verobret*, who had full power as a King, and absolute authoritie of life and death; but he was not permitted to go forth of their iurisdiccions. *Caesar* in his first booke, making mention of the *Heduanes*, speaketh in this manner. After he had summoned together the cheefe Noblemen and Princes in his Campe; amongst whom were *Druitiacus* and *Litacius*, who at

Orgetorix supporth his had cause by power.

Orgetorix thought by the Heluetians to haue himselfe taken prisoner. See *Caesar*, lib. 1.

*People by the Ruler of Leyce in France

The election yearly by yeare of a *Verobret* among the *Heduanes*.

See *Caesar* in comment. lib. 1.

The particular government in every Common-wealth of the Nations.

The situation of the Heluetians in their Cities, towns and villages.

*The Canton of Zurich.

Orgetorix cheefe in the conspiracie against the Heluetians, which hapned to be reueried, and hee imprisoned.

that time was the cheefe Magistrate, and by the *Heduanes* called a *Verobret*, created yearly by yeare, & having power of life and death.

The rest is reported in the seauenth Booke, where is declared how the Senate and people of the *Heduanes*, were in a great sedition about their Magistrate, for the appealing whereof, *Caesar* was called: these are his own words. The Princes Ambassadors of the *Heduanes*, came to *Caesar* & intreated him, that he would come to succour their Citie, especially in a time of such necessity, when their Common-wealth was in great danger. For whereas (in former time) they were wont to haue but one Magistrate yearly, who had authority Royall: now there were two that bare that Office, yet both making their vniuit, to be created by order of Law. One of them was called *Conuictolitane*, a man in the floure of his youth, of great power, and well aduised: the other named himselfe *Cottus*, of a most ancient race, and one that was able to doe much: whose brother, named *Valeriacus*, had borne the same Office the yeare before. Moreover they sayd, that all the City was vsed in Armes, that the Senate and the people were diuided, each holding a part vnder severall factions: And if this mutinie should be suffered for any long time among them, and no other means of help were afforded, they would make prize and bootie of one another, and all must goe to generall ruine.

Caesar, though he knew it to be a dangerous matter, to forbear his wars, and depart from his enemy: yet, in regard he was not ignorant what great inconueniences do grow out of such dissensions; and fearing whichall, that such a Citie, so well allyed to the Roman people, which he had alwayes maintained, and furnished with all things he could deuise; least also the part that was most distrustfull of him, should send for ayde to King *Vercingetorix*, he resolved to go thither, & prevent the perill betimes. And because, by the Lawes of the *Heduanes*, the cheefe Magistrate might not absent himselfe out of the countrey, as doubting thereby, that hee should diminish in any part of their right & Lawes; hee went himselfe in person vnto them, and called before him all the Senat, and they also among whom the strife had happened. When the whole Citie was (well-nere) assembled together, and hee was fully informed, that by the consent

of a few, priuily congregated together in an vnseene place, and at an vnlawfull time; vnderstanding whichall, that one brother had subrogated the other in his place, contrary to the lawes, which plainly did prohibite, that two of one Linage and family (being both liuing) should not onely be disabled from creation in the Magistracie, but also not admitted into the Senat: *Cottus* was compelled to giue ouer his Office, and *Conuictolitane* (who according to the custome of the City, vpon the ceasing of the former Magistrate, had bene created by the Priestes) had the full authority appointed to him. *Caesar* wrote all this himselfe, about the commotion of the *Heduanes*, whereby most clearly appeareth: that the royall dignitie was in the *Verobret*, and the authority of the Seigneurie in the Senat; and finally, the Democraticall power in all the people.

But to know what, and how noble this City was, we need not more then to look vpon so many Towns, as were in the protection of the *Heduanes*, whereof *Caesar* speaketh in his Commentaries. Among them of greatest note in this Common-wealth, is *Bibracte* named, whereunto *Caesar* (as he writeth in his first booke) meant to go (as to the principal place of the *Heduanes* Nation) to haue Corne of the *Heduanes*. And to this place (as it is recorded in his seauenth booke) *Litacius* had withdrawn himselfe, because this was a Citie highly authorized among the *Heduanes*; and there the Magistrate *Conuictolitane*, with a great part of the Senat came vnto him. Thither also were all the hostages of Gaule brought, when *Caesar's* Guards were slaine at *Normodunum*. And there likewise was assigned the Councell of all Gaule, against *Caesar*: and thither also (finally) *Caesar*, after that he had recovered the *Heduanes*, betooke himselfe to winter for that season. This City (I say) was the very principal of the *Heduanes*, & (as the ambassador said in the Panegyricke of *Constantine*) it was after called *Julia*, *Pollia*, *Florentia*, *Flavia*. Moreover (in his 7. booke) *Cabilone*, & *Matifcon* on *Arar*, are named among the *Heduanes*, and *Normodunum* on *Lezere*. These that I haue named were their Tributaries, but their honours were the greatest in all Gaul. For the *Bibractians*, where in elder times were the ancient Kings of the Gaules; the *Senones*, and

Caesar's sentence concerning this important difference.

Bibracte a cheefe Citie among the *Heduanes*, & where *Litacius* had made his retreat.

a The Towne of Chalon in Burgundy.
b The Ruer Soane.
c Matifcon, a city of Celtica by the Ruer Soane, now called Macon.
d Lezere, a Ruer.

The *Heduanes* in sedition about their Magistrate. See *Caesar* in comment. lib. 7.

Two Magistrates of one *Conuictolitane* & *Cottus*.

Great dissensions grow out of particular vniuites.

Caesar goeth in person, to appease the dissension amongst the *Heduanes*.

§ The People
of Beauvoisy
fine in Cel-
ta.

Jul. Cesar in
Com. lib. 6.

Plin. in lib. 9.
cap. 17. & 18

The Com-
monwealth
of the Aruerni-
ans, and the
extensure
thereof.

Strabo in lib
4. cap. 7.

The two fa-
mous battles
of the Gaules.

Titus Livius in
lib. 61. cap. 10.

Jul. Cesar in
Com. lib. 1.

and (by the same meanes) the *Parisians* (who were in the protection of the *Senones*) and the *Bellouacians*, are called by *Cesar* their Clients, as being vnder their protection. So then, the City and Common-wealth of the *Hedunians*, had the most absolute authority in all Gaul: anciently according as hee hath written in his first Booke, but as wee may sooner see in his first booke; at all times it had the principality throughout Gaul, especially before it had alpired to the friendship of the *Romane* people. But after that the *Hedunians* were called Cousins and Brothers to the *Romans*: what decrees of the Senate, how many times, and in what honourable manner were they pronounced on their behalfe? We see then, that such and so great a City of Celtic Gaul, hath had this *Democratically* Common-wealth, and *Pliny* numbers it not among the Tributaries, but among the Cities allied together.

Now, concerning the commonwealth of the *Aruernians*, it was sometime the cheefe of Gaul; for (anciently) there were two leagues throughout Gaul, as we read in the first booke: the *Hedunians* were the ring-leaders of the one, and the *Aruernians* of the other. And *Strabo* hath related in his 4. booke, that that of the *Aruernians*, was more potent than the other; extending their Seignery so farre as the confines of the *Narbonians* and *Masilians* to the Pyrenean Mountaines, to the Ocean, and to the *Rhine*. In like manner he speaketh faithfully, concerning two cruell battailes of the Gaules, giuen vnder the conduct of *Brennus* the *Aruernian*: and *Strabo* reporteth them in the same place, & *Titus Livius* in his 61. booke. The one was against *Domitius*, at the confluent of *Sulgo* and of *Rhone*; and the other against *Fabius* at *Tijars* & the same *Rhone*; where by we may plainly perceiue, that there was the same forme of Common-wealth, as formerly we haue spoken of.

For the *Romane* Senate, as it is in the first booke, being willing that the vanquished Gaules, or repulged (at least) from the confines of the Roman Province, should continue in their franchises and liberties: nay, which is more, to the end that Gaul might remaine in the greater libertie; ordained, that *Brennus* himselfe (King of the *Aruernians*, according as *Titus Livius* tells

meth him in his 61. booke) who was gone to Rome to purge himselfe, should be kept in guard within *Alba*: but *Consentius* his son was taken and brought to Rome. Afterward, *Celtius* the Father of *Vercingetorix*, although he had held the principall place of all Gaul in a warre, yet notwithstanding, because hee pretended to make himselfe King, as it is the 7. booke, the City put him to death. *Vercingetorix*, by the meanes of his own people, was fa- loured as King of the *Aruernians*, and likewise it is said in the same booke, that all the Gaules called him King: neuertheles, vpon the same occasion hee was charged with treason, and hee came in iudgement before them as ioueraigne Iudges, and in the end, courteous in desire of rule, pro- ued alike to the father and son.

Thus the Kings were excluded out of the Common-wealth of the *Aruernians*, & they remained at liberty, euen to the time of *Cesar*. And *Pliny* (in his time) remem- breth it amongst the Cities of the *Celts*, which were at freedom: and then it had no lesse protection, then they of the *Hedunians* as is already made manifest by the num- bering of military forces formerly declar- ed. The city then of the *Aruernians* hath anciently bin the Lady over that of the *Hedunians*, and after that, the *Hedunians* af- fected rather to bee brethren and cosines of the *Romans*, then of the *Aruernians*: they became like vnto them in habits and manners. And when at the last coming of *Cesar*, the *Hedunians* were overcome & spoiled by the *Germanes*, yet were they then far greater in forces. Finally, when (by the courtesie and fauor of *Cesar*) the *Hedunians* were not only replanted in their former condition, but it plainly appeared that they had more countenance and au- thority, then euer before: yet the other were equal to them, and alike in wealth, the possessions. But in fauour and esteem throughout all Gaul, they were much greater, as the election of *Vercingetorix* hath sufficiently shewne. Wherefore we may perceiue, that the liberty of a Common- wealth remained in these two cities of *Celtic* Gaul. For the remainder of the other that were of meaner ranke, hee speaketh not so much as of any one King, or of a Prince: but only we heare no other name, then of the people, and of the City.

The city of the *Senons*, was accounted among

Brennus & *Lo-
ic* in *Congre-
gatus* sent to
Rome to the
Senate.

*Vercingeto-
rix* and *hath
ther both put
to death.*

King expelled
out of the *Ar-
uernians* com-
monwealth.

The *Hetur-
tan* defeated
spoiled by
Germania.

The freed-
dom of a com-
monwealth in
Celtic Gaul
Cities.

* People of
Senon in *Cel-
ta*.

* Villema in
Lorraine.

Cauarius K.
of the *Senons*
hath expelled
by them.

Jul. Cesar in com.
lib. 7.
The common
wealth of the
Parisians.

The City
of *Chauteau*
Lunais.

Tafetius K.
of the *Car-
nutes*, slain by
his enemies.

* People of
Mont-peller
in *Celtica*.

The common
wealth obser-
ued among
the *Belgians*.

among the principals, and of great autho- rity among the *Celts*. Of some store of Towns that were vnder it. *Cesar* hath nam- ed two, *Agenecum* & * *Velluna Lunum*. *Cesar* wrought by certaine meanes, that *Cauarius* was their King; because *Mori- tisius*, brother to *Cauarius* and his ances- tors, had held the same authority in that realme, for *Cesar* had vnderaken this co- lour, only to establish a kingdom there. Neuertheles, the *Senons*, although *Cesar* was present, effayed by a councill peb- like, to put *Cauarius* to death. And as he (hauing intelligence thereof) fled away, they pursued him so far as the Frontiers, expelling him from his house & kingdom. The commonwealth of the *Parisians* was the like, by that which we read in his 7. Booke. For the *Parisians*, by a Common Councell of diuers Cities, vnderooke warre for the liberty of their country, sele- cting *Camulogenus* to bee their commander, by reason of the experience he had in actions of Armes, and the good will they bare vnto him.

Carnutum also was a great City, as al- ready hath bin shewn, & *Cesar* wrought the like meanes to establish a kingdom there. Among the *Carnutes* there was one *Tafetius*, a man descended of a great place and whose Ancestors had held dominion in that City. *Cesar* (as he saith himselfe) in regard of his vertue, and for the good wil he had found in him, because he had bene a great helpe to him in all the wars, plan- ted him in the same place which his An- cestors had held. He had reigned but 4. yeeres, when his enemies being authori- zed by many men of the city, openly slew him. These Cities then had their *Bruti*, as well as Rome. So *Cesar* named the Se- nate of the *Eburones*, *Lexobians*, and *Ven- etes*. At the same time, *Teutomatus* was king of the *Mittobrigians*, but by a publike Councell of Gaul, hee yielded obedience against *Cesar*. This may serue as suffi- cient, concerning the government of the *Celts* Cities.

What then is to be said of the Cities of the *Belgians*? By what manner of Em- pire were they particularly gouerned? The extendure of the men of *Rhemes* was very great: because it ioyned with the *Seguans*, *Mediomatrics*, *Treuirians*, *Veromandians*, and the *Suessones*. Notwithstanding, in all these parts, he nameth but two towns

or Cities, * *Durocortorum* and *Borax*. In the first Booke, the councell of Gaul was assigned at *Durocortorum*; and in the se- cond booke *Borax* was beliedged. Con- cerning the men of *Rhemes*, in the time of *Cesar*, they hadde the managing of the Gaules, and held the second place in dig- nity, next to the *Hedunians*. *Cesar* nameth their Senate, and the Prince and Prouost of the city, as that *Vercingetius*, whereof wee haue already spoken.

In the time of *Cesar*, the *Suessones* had *Duntius* as their king, who was the most powerfull man in all Gaul, and who opened a great part on this side of the coun- try which he helde, holding also the Em- pire of Great Brittain. After *Gallia* (of whom he hath spoken) he succeeded. But wee may well perceiue hereby, what man- ner of kingdom this was: in regard that the *Suessones* (who were brothers & cou- sines to the men of *Rhemes*) vsed the same course of authority, and the same lawes, hauing one and the same Gouernement, and one Magistrate, as they had. For such are the wordes of *Cesar* himselfe, by whom one only Magistrate was allowed in their cities. But yet notwithstanding, the *Suessones*, although they were brethren, yet they had a field (apart) of great largeness, and very fertile, and twelve towns, vnder of *Cesar* nameth onely one, which is *Nauio Lunum*, and which *Cesar* (after the *Belgians* were retired to him) pausing thro- ugh the country, essayed to surprize. But hee could not compass it, by reason of the deepnesse of the ditch, and height of the wall: and yet there were but verie few people to defend it.

We come now to the *Bellouacians*, what kind of commonwealth was kept among them? These men were highly esteemed with the *Belgians*, for their vertue, autho- rity & number of people. For their exten- dure was from the limits of the *Suessones*, & also fro the *Normans* so termed at this day (euen there where the riuer of *Seine*, throwes it selfe into the sea) so far as *Cal- lete*, known by the name of *Calice*. *Cesar* nameth *Bratupantium*, a city of the *Bello- nacians*. But by what forme of common- wealth did they gouern their city? They chose their Princes, as (among other) *Cor- bus*, who though his Army had bin defea- ted, yet would he neuer for any discom- fort hapning, or possible to befall him; nei- ther

* T. City of
the *Senons* in
France.

Duntius K.
of the *Suessi-
ones*, and held
the Empire of
Great Britain

A Towne in
Brittaine, neere
to *Paris*, called
Noyon.

Belgar, 68. dif-
f. *refum*.

b Rising neere
the borders of
Langues, and
low Bourgain-
dy.

The Senate & Communitie of the Belouacanes.

*People inhabiting about Tourney in Belgia.

Hannoyers, Flemings and Brabanters.

Caesar his journey to the Neruians.

*The River Skeld, running through Tourney and falling into the Maze.

Inl. Cas. in com. ment. lib. 5.

ther forsake the fight, nor retire into the woods, but fought valiantly, & in wounding many, compelled his conquerors to runne in vpon him, and so to kill him in their rage and fury. Caesar also maketh mention of the Senate of the *Belouacanes*, and authority of the Communitie whēce ensued the excuse, which the Senate of the *Belouacanes* made to Caesar: That during the life of *Corbus* the Senate had neuer the like power in the City, as the common ignorants had.

But now concerning the most potent Citie of the * *Neruians*, after what manner of order wer they gouerned? The body of the *Neruians*, is diuided into members of diuers names, as of *Hannonia*, *Flanders*, and *Brabant*, and the name of the *Neruians* signifieth no more then a Citie or Towne, including (as now adayes our words are) of *Hannoyers*, *Flemings*, & *Brabanters*. And why you may aske mee? Wherefo I can make no other answer, then as already I haue done, when as the *Neruians* had neither Towne or City: but I will discourse the bounds and limites of that sometime most noble Citie, according as Caesar himselfe hath described it; obserue then what I shall say vnto you.

When the *Ambians* had submitted themselves, Caesar went thither, to goe to the *Neruians* which were theyr Neighbors. And hauing made three daies journey into the Country of the *Neruians*, he found by report of some that hee had taken: that there was no more then tenne miles distance from his Campe to the riuer * *Scaldus*. This *Scaldus*, which passed thorough the middle of the *Neruians* Country, runneth now through the middle of *Hennult*: wherefore the Country of the *Hannoyers*, is comprehended within y of the *Neruians*. Of Caesar himselfe we may learne the limites of the country of *Flanders*, which is in firme land, and also of *Brabant*, for there is a passage in the fift booke, which maketh well to this purpose. VVhen *Ambiorix* (after that *Sabinus* and *Cottus*, Lieutenants Generals, were ouercome with a Legion and fife Companies neere to *Patuca*, which is in the *Eburores* land) exhorted the *Neruians* to doe the like to the Legion that passed the winter season to their country, vnder the charge of *Quintus Cicero*. Hee perswaded easily (saith Caesar) the *Neruians*, and there-

upon dispatched messengers immediately to the *Centrones*, *Grudians*, *Leuakes*, *Pleumofians* and *Gordunes*, who were all vnder their obedience, and ioyned together the greatest forces that they were able to make. These are the very words of Caesar. But the *Grudians* & *Leuakes* were enskirted with *Louane*, in the Countrey of *Brabant*; and the *Gordunes* (as much to say as the men of Gaunt) were in the Mediterrane countrey of *Flanders*. Likewise the *Pleumofians*, whom some doe hold to be them of *Corroy*: And they that are of this opinion, do plant the *Centrones* in the Diocesse of *Lege*.

This so great Commonwealthe of the *Neruians*, and which was of fuch large extendure, elected a Prince, such as *Boduog-natus* was in the first warre of the *Neruians*. It had also a very great Senat, for Caesar reckoneth vp fixe hundred Senators of the *Neruians*. After that the *Atrebatians* were vanquished, Caesar gaue them *Comius* (who was of the same countrey) to bee their King: that is to say, that of a Prince, which was but for a time, he created one that should continue. Hee maintained the franchises of the City, & gaue to them their laws and rigths, and annexed the * *Morines* to his Empire. Neuerthelesse, this King enioyed his authoritie no long while, for after that the *Atrebatians* had put themselves vnder Caesars obedience: his sway ceased, & *Comius* bare Armes against Caesar again. The *Eburores* then also had two Kings, *Ambiorix* & *Catualenus*, but their authority was such, that the commons had no lesse command ouer them, then they had to contradict it.

The commonwealthe of the *Morines* was answerable to that of the *Heluerians*, although it was diuided by diuers villages, & had extendure farre off from them: as to *Callis*, and all along the coast of *Picardie* and *Flanders*, in the *Forreits* & *marishes*; euen so far as the * *Menapians*, who dwell vpon the confluent of *hennē*, as also of the *Menze* or *Maze*, and who were their neighbors, as is to be seene in the *Teutibers* war, in the 4. booke. But the *Treuirians*, as well for a kinde of gouernement, (wherein they were very skilfull) as also for the occasion of tumult and sedition, very frequent among them; resembled in quality the *Heduns*. *Cingetorix* & *Indicciomarus* quarrelled for the principallitie, euen

Centrones, Grudians, Leuakes, Pleumofians and Gordunes.

The Prince & Senate of the Neruians.

*The people of Tournay in Belgia, or as Iosephus Morlet (sayth) the Flemings.

*The people of Gelderland & Cleueland, or of Juliers in Belgia.

euen as did y other two, *Conuictolitane* & *Cottus*, but Caesar seated again *Cingetorix* as he had done *Conuictolitane*. Thus the gouernment of the Belgian Cities, were mingled with three formes of estates.

The * *Santone Aquitaines* seemed to bee gouerned by such a kinde of commonwealthe. For that City, when she made prooffe of her own vertue, by fighting both on foot and horseback, and well to sustaine all assaults in her own defence: she rendred hir necke to such authority. But *Adcantianus* their Prince (of his owne power) stept in to do his duty, and fallied forth with 200 * *Soldures*, or *Soldurij*. Wherefore I think that the gouernment of the Gaules Commonweales, hath bin already sufficiently explicated, and by so many examples, as we may well conclude, that the principalities of the Gaules (according to Caesar) were such, as would not suffer that the subiects should be oppressed or circumuented; but if any Prince did otherwise, hee helde no authority amongst his subiects. VV e haue spoken then enough of the gouernment and authority obserued among the ancient Gaules.

Let vs now listen vnto the Commonwealthe of *Great Britaine*, and that likewise of the *Germanis*. There is mention made in the fourth Booke, concerning the Princes of the Britains, with their conferences and consultations held among themselves, for the common good of *Great Britaine*. And in the fift booke, the common counsell is obserued by Caesar; and that the whole charge and command of warre against Caesar, was put into the power of *Casibelune*, and the diuersity of Kingdomes which were subiect vnto that common Counsell, doe sufficiently declare, that *Great Britaine* vied the same kinde of gouernment that Gaule did. Caesar also deliuereth (almost) the very same gouernment of the *Germanis*. When a Commonwealthe (sayth he) either endured war made vpon it, or attempted any, Magistrates were elected to undertake the charge of the war, and they might also take or saue life. In times of peace, there was no common Magistrate, but the *Lords* of the Countreys, and of the *Burroughes*, who exercised law to their vassals, and appeased all their contentions.

In the time of *Tacitus*, *German* had some Kings; but they were such as had more honor then power; in other mat-

ters they were like to the Gaules manners. They made Kings (saith he) for their Nobility, and Captaines for their vertue. Nor had those Kings any vnderfed or free power, for the Captaines were obeyed more by example, then by command: either, whether they were deliberated, in fight, or doing their deuoye vpon the point, making wonderfull prooffe of their prowesse. As concerning the Captaines or Princes (as the same Author relateth) & likewise for them, termed companions of the Princes, thus it followeth.

The Princes also they elect in the publicke Councells, which doe hold the iurisdiction of Burroughes and villages. Every man hath an hundred Companions, who are of the popularity, and doe giue assistance vnto them in Councell together, and also in their Authority. A Noble or generous stock of fame, whose high deserts of theyr Fore-fathers, doe challenge to haue the dignity of a Prince, amongst the younger sort of people: They are accompanied with other of more robust complexion; and such as haue had (long time) good prooffe made of them: and yet they blush not a little, to bee seene amongst such Companions, albeit there are some degrees in this companie, according to his iudgment whom they follow. VVhy then I may safely say of the *Germanis* (according to *Tacitus*) that their Magistrates haue bin answerable to their Kings, Captaines, or Princes, and likewise to them called the Companions of Princes.

I come againe vnto the Knights of the Gaules, which (in the times of warre) haue the managing of the affaires. And these Knights (thus saith Caesar in his fift booke) when there is neede, and any warre happeneth: they are all employed, and according as each man hath authority and meanes, so hath hee most seruants and clyents about him, for this is the only fauour and power that they doe know. Herein is continued the ancient Gaules manner, for election of Magistrates, and we may learne by a new argument: that the Gaules Princes were chosen for their Vertues, and for their deserts towards the Commonwealthe, and that this eminencie came from Vertue onely. For every Prince would not suffer his subiects to bee oppressed, nor deceived (so hath *Julius Caesar* formerly said) but if hee should do otherwise, he must beare no authority among his people. And hereto doth this

Concerning Kings & Captaines among the Germanis, and the Companions of Princes.

The election of their Princes.

The stronger ought alwayes to helpe the weaker.

Inl. Caesar in com. lib. 6. the knights of the Gaules. The words of Caesar himselfe

Great Britaine had the same gouernement as Gaules, and the *Germanis* very little differing.

com. Tacitus in lib. 4. cap. 7.

justly make answer: That this is the only favour and power which the Knights knowe, if according as they have most meanes and authoritie, so they shall have the more servants, and the more Clients about them.

The difference between servants and clients.

By servants or vassals, are meant such as stand obliged or indebted (of whom I have formerly spoken) and who, ypon that occasion are dedicated to the service of those Knights: for, these vassals serve as Waggoners to their Masters, and carry their shields. And the Clients (as it is in the seventeenth Booke) never dare, even in the extremity of all misfortune, forsake or leave their Lords. Thus then the vassals or servants, do accompany their Knights and Masters in warre, and the Clients doe attend on their Lords, and these are the companions of the Germans, whereof Tacitus speaketh, as already hath bene saide.

Strife for popularity, and concency in the Princes favour.

There is great jealousie amongst these companions, who shall have the chiefe place about his Prince: and amongst the Princes, who shall be followed by the most and best companions or attendants. It is held a high dignity, to be dayly rounded with a great troope of young and choyse men: it is an honour in time of peace, & security in time of warre. This honor, and this glorie is not onely in euerie Nation, but even in the neighbouring Cities, coeuring as much to be accompanied with such a company of men, as with so manie vertues. Whereof practise is made by Ambassages, and plenty of presents sent; nay, oftentimes, they will undertake Armes, for the bare name to be termed a souldier. When a man is in the fight, it is shame to a Prince to be surmounted in vertue: and it is a more shame to his follower, if he doe not equall the Vertue of his Prince. It is a most infamous & shamefull thing, and not to be washed off in a mans whole life time, to return from the battell, his Prince being there slaine. The principall Oath that he takes, is to defend and sustaine him, and if he doe any braue or worthy acte in his owne person, to referre it to his Princes glory onely. Princes fight for victory, companions and followers fight for their Prince. Tacitus writeth: The Prince recompenseth such as follow him: for they receive (saith he) from the Princes liberality: this Horse of service, that

Princes and their followers should be alike in their vertues.

Corn. Tacit. lib. 5. c. 11.

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victorious and bloudie Sword: for such Bankets, although they are not properly served, yet are they sumptuous to them, & men are well contented with such wages.

Recompence to the Gaule Knights, for their seruice.

But can you tell me, what were the recompences of the Knights amongst the Gaules, and who managed this other part of their Common-wealth? As for the recompence of the *Druydes*, it hath bin spoken of already, which was honor, the greatest payment that could be, and only proper to vertue. Neuertheless, the Common-wealth it selfe could not be ingratefull towards them in recompences: considering that there were *Impolls* & *Tolles*, which appertained to each Citie, as is to be seene in the first Booke, and their greatness of Tribute, in the sixth Booke. Tacitus hath declared among the Germanes, what worthy recompences were performed to Princes. Cities had a custome, to collect (with their owne good liking) by the poll or head, either of their cattle, or of their fruites, to give to their Princes: which being received as an honor, serued also to supply necessity. About all, they tooke delight in presents given by their neighbouring Nations, not onely by particular persons, but in generalis of choise Hories, faire Armour, trappings for seruice, and also of Chaines. And hence then they haue taught vs to accept of mony.

Recompence to Princes amongst the Germanes.

But let vs pursue other manners of the Gaules Common-wealth. Caesar doth often accuse the infirmity of the Gaules, because in aduice they were fadain and mutable: but especially in this place of his 4. Booke. There is a common custome (saith he) amongst them, to compell passengers or way-faring men, to say whether they will or no, and to enquire of them, what each man hath heard, or knoweth of euery matter what soeuer. The popular and common people, they flacke about Merchants in the Cities, and constrain them to tell, out of what countries they come, and what things they knowe, or haue heard of there. The ancient Gaules, had not onely this wonderful desire, to know matters of nouelty: but besides, that they should be imparted, and made knowne to them and theirs.

I will set downe two examples of some admiration, the first is in the fifth booke, of the victorie which *Iulius Caesar* had against the *Neruians*. During the bruite of *Caesars* victorie (this he writes himselfe) the

Caesar his blamming the Gaules for their variableness & instability. Iul. Caesar Com. lib. 4.

Caesars victory over the Neruians. Iul. Caesar Com. lib. 5.

the man of *Rhemes* (with incredible swiftnesse) carried tidings thereof to *Labienus*, in foorth, that where as he was about threescore miles from the Garrison of *Cicero*, and that *Caesar* came thither after the ninth hour of the day: yet notwithstanding, there arose such a cry or noise before the gates of the *Campe*, and before it was midnight: that the men of *Rhemes* (only thereby) gaue understanding to *Labienus* of the victory, & made a signe of their reioycing with him. But the other is an especiall, and most notable cry or noise, when the Romanes were overthrowne at *Genabum* before Sun-setting: yet before the first watch was set, the cry was heard to the *Aruernians*, the noise running through all the Townes of *Gaul*, as *Caesar* affirmeth in his seventh Booke. For so soone as any important matter happened, by a cry they made it knowne in the fields, and so along thorough the Countries, and till as it was heard, others sent it in like manner to their neighbours, and according as it came to them. And that which had bene done at *Genabum* before Sun-setting, was knowne in the confines of *Aruerne* before the first watch, & yet the distance was about an hundred & sixty miles. So saith *Caesar*, and haply it may seeme, that that singular description of Fame, which is set downe in *Virgill*, tooke hence the first originall.

Virgil lib. 9. de Aeneid.

Fame, an euill, unmatchable in swiftnesse, Is sudden, mouing, gadding with rashnesse.

Rumor is commonly a babbling lay.

Caesar describeth the like celerity and effect of this cry, as *Virgill* doth of Fame. This concerneth the bruite and cries among the Gaules, whereby being moued, they often held Councils of important matters: whereof (not long after) they reported themselves, in regard they gaue credite to vncertaine noyes, and found them in the end to be nothing but fables. But hee that thus reprinted the common people of *Gaul* of lightnesse; commended their constant & politickal wisdomme. Those Citties (saith he) which are accounted to gouern best their Common-wealths, haue their Lawes, which ordaine, that if a man that hath heard any thing of his neighbour (either by report or otherwise) concerning the estate of the Common-wealth: he is to impart the same to the Magistrate, and not to any other whatsoever. Because it hath bin oft seen, that rash

bearded men, and of small understanding, are affrighted by false noyes, or provoked on to unhappy attempts, and (dreadlesse) enter into important enterprizes. The Magistrate concealeth what he thinketh fittest; and discourseth to the Commons, any matter needfull to be knowne.

This last passage of *Caesar*, refuteth (very strongly) popular seruitude, for it testifieth, that euen in those Cities, which gouerned best their Common-wealths: that yet the Commons haue their authority, because the Magistrate imparteth to the people, what is necessary for the to know. *Strabo* auoucheth in his fourth Booke, that this was also vled in the Councils of the Gaules. If any one (saith he) did interrupt him that spake: the publike Minister steps up with a drawne sword, and using threatnings to the party, commanded him to hold his peace. If he would not do it, he advertised him in the same manner a second and third time. In the end, he would cut off such a peece of his garment, as the rest should afterward do him no seruice. Tacitus expresth it more plainly, as hee doth many other things; concerning the manner of electing Magistrates, and the Councils kept among the Germanes.

The Princes (saith hee) hold a Councell, wherein matters of meanest importance, and such also as are of greatest consequence, are handled together: And yet in such manner, that those affaires which appertaine vnto the people, are managed and ordered by the Princes. They assemble together (if there happen no sudden accident or aduerture) on certaine daies, either at the new Moone, or the full of the Moone: For they beleene, that those seasons are most happy to treat on their affaires. And they do not make their account by the daies, as we vse to doe, but by the nights. The fault ensuing on their liberty, is, that they are not altogether on the day assigned: but two or three daies is lost, to attend for such as slacke to come.

The same Authour declareth another strange thing of the Germanes, affirming, that many times they deliberate at Banquets, to reconcile enemies, to make alliances, and to gaine grace of Princes, yea, euen then to consult of peace or warre: because as then (rather then at any other time) they haue their spirits most open, eyther to simple thoughts, or more earnest to them of greater importance. This

A good observation to prevent ydle rumors.

Popular seruitude represented by Caesar.

Strabo in Lib. 4. cap. 7.

Corn. Tacit. lib. 5. cap. 3.

Ceremoniall daies of meeting for general conference.

Matters consulted on at Banquets by the Germanes.

Nation,

Nation, which is neyther subtile nor cautelous, will discouer the secrets of their soules in iesting manner: for the minde being naked and discouered, be thinks it selfe better on the day following, & then hath more regard to eyther time. They deliberate when they know no dissembling, and determine when they cannot erre. Such also was the custome of the Country, when the Gaules helde their chiefeft consultations: as hath already bene declared, in the leuying of their men for warre.

Tu. Liv. lib. 3.
Decad. 6.

The ancient
Gaules came
armed to
Councell.

Titus Livius, speaking of the Gaules, reporteth the same in his one and thirtieth Booke, saying. *Then is seene in them a new and terrible apparance, because (according to the custome of their Nation) they are armed when they come to Councell.* Why then the *Pallas* of the ancient Gauls, came herselfe armed to the Councell: and because they would not do any thing, but it should expresse the courage of the *Gauls*, their assemblies were alwayes made by sound of Trumpet. For *Firrius* writeth so of the *Bellouacanes* Senate, having knowne their misfortunes by all contrary things. *Corbus* being slaine, all their Cavalerry ouerthrowne, and the very valiantest of their foote-souldiers, when they thought that the Romans drew nere vnto them; then suddenly they assembled a Councell by sound of Trumpet, crying all with one voyce, to send Ambassadors and Hostages to *Cæsar*.

The garments
of the german
sitting in coun-
cell.

What shall wee say of the Germanes? What garments did they weare whē they came to councell? *They did not any thing (saith Tacitus) neither in affaires publike or particular, but all in Armes. They went armed about their daily negotiations, and came in the same manner to their Banquets.* Blame not then the counells of the Gaules to be done in Armes: for the Romane Orator could say in his owne Language.

Let Armes giue place to Gownes.

The habite of
Warre and
Peace.

Because Armes are the accoustrements of Warre, and the Gowne is the habite of Peace, followed and attended on by Eloquence. And when the Court of Rome was enuironed with souldiers of Armes, at the pleading of * *Milo*: the spirit thereof was not onely terrified, but the whole body also trembled with feare. But Elo-

* The Roman
that was de-
fended by
Tully.

quence vnited it selfe with the Armes of the Gaules, so that there wanted not at one time and place, both Commanders of warre, and learned Orators: for the Gaules Orators (by the irradiation of Armes) were encouraged to speake the more brauely. Princes were pleading Orators in the Gaules counells, where (in generally) all might heare, that had interest in the case in question, as is euident by the examples of *Cæsar*.

Princes were
pleading Or-
ators.

*Among the Germanes (saith Tacitus) in publike Counells, the King or Prince, according to his age, according to Nobility, according to the place for warre, and according to his residence in winterance: was much rather heard for authority in perfwaling, then any power in commanding. It was also permitted in a full Councell, to accuse of crimes deserving death. The cry or noise of the people, by listning fauourably, or otherwise: signified to the Romane Orators, that their Oration had found good or bad successe. But the counsell of the Gaules, which was made in Armes, as it was reasonable, made a signe by their Armes (although the clattering of weapons was a signe among the Gaules) how they tooke liking of that which had bene said. *Cæsar* writeth so in his 7. Booke, speaking of the Oration of *Percingetorix*: All the people made a cry (saith he) and according to their custome, made a clattering with their Armes, as they do, when they approve the Oration of any man.*

Corn. Tacit.
m. li. 9. c. ap. 9

Julius Cæsar is
conquered, lib. 1.

Marcellinus declareth in his 21. Booke, that after *Julian* had made his Oration: the Army of the Gaules applauded him, and mingled dreadfull cries, among the loud clashings of their Targets. The Gaules consultations were in Armes; their Orations were approved by Armes, and the oath they take, was vpon Armes. The *Carmines* (as it is in the 7. Booke) promised in a full counsell of the Gaules, that they would be chiefeft in the warre against *Cæsar*, and because they could not in field giue assurance by the meanes of Hostages, fearing how matters might come about to the end that all might be certaine and sworne, after they had brought together al their Ensignes of warre (as alwayes they vsed to do in very ceremonious manner) they requested, that they wold begin the war, and the other would not forsake them. And in the same Booke there is a most holy oath, to assure the batell giuen by

Marcellinus

The Coun-
sell in the war
against Cæsar

A sacred oath
made in war
in open field.

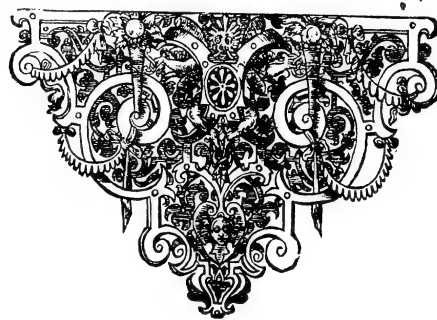
by the horsemen. They on horse cry altogether, that this holy oath may be imposed on euery man: Neuer to be receiued into his house; neuer to goe backe to his parents, nor to his wife, vntill hee haue twice thwarted ouer the enemies armaes. Wherto that of *Marcellinus* conformeth, speaking of *Julian*: All were commanded to sweare in his Name, & setting solemnly the points of their swords vnto their throates, made execrable oathes and curses on themselves, if they brake their vows.

But now it is time to finish our discourse. Having thus reported the man-

ners and customes of ancient Gaule, the temperance of the peoples liues, their assurance in dangers, their wisdom in artes and disciplines, their iustice, in ruling and establiishing the best meanes, for good ordering and gouerning their common-wealth: There remaineth now no more, but if we can recover the like leysure (having finished some other studies already entred on) we hope to proceed in the manners and customes of our new Gaules or Frenchmen, which will yeelde the more delight and pleasure, because the subject is of a farre more excellent nature.

The Authors
conclusion of
his long labor

The End of the first Booke.





THE SECOND BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the new Gaules, or those that are called (now aduies) Frenchmen, or the people of France, succeeding after their Predecessors, the Ancient Gaules.



Among all parts of the Earth, Europe, (though it is the least) holdeth the verie cheefest rancke, as beeing the principall, and most worthy: So

it is not to bee doubted, but that among all the Countries of Europe, France must needs be the most excellent in all respects. The people of Arabia that now are, haue a customary kinde of saying, that if the world were a Ring, the City of Ormuz must bee the Beziele, Collet or Head, wherein the most precious Stone is to be enchaied. By much better reason then, may it lawfully be saide of France, and a true saying:

France the cheefest country of Europe

France the cheefest country of Europe

France abounding in the fertility of all things.

It is the lesser eye, & the Pearle of the world.

As one of her owne Poets formerly hath sung. Which no way can be accounted strange, when consideration is iustly made, of the great blessings, commodites, and graces of Heauen, wherewith the Land is and hath bene endowed. For there is nothing else found to be compared therewith; be it if we regard the fertility and abundance of all things, not only necessary for the life of man, but also for all sorts of pleasures and delights. Bee it also, for the sweetnesse, temperance, and amenity of the Ayre: not hauing any other, more graciously regarded by the cie

of the Sunne. No lesse commendable (for valour) is the courage and spirit of the people, which haue inhabited there to this present time, who not onely haue extended their renoune through all Lands habitable: but also haue excelled in whatsoever can bee applied to the height of minde.

About all (as most admirable) is the dignity, greatness, and Maiesly of their Kings, redoubtable and exalted (for their vertues truly heroes call) about all other on the earth. In this excellency then, there are three things to be discouered: the first is that of the Land it selfe; the second is of the People; and the third is of their Kings, which result as well from the two Precedents, as from their owne proper vertue.

Concerning the goodnes of the Land, it were an infinite labour to expresse fo many blessings, and all things else which it produceth, euen of best vie for the life of man, and that in such abundance, as sufficeth not only for the people; but also are imparted and dispersed to other Nations, without any incommody to it selfe, and (in a manner) not to be discerned. The fat fields, couered with good wheate and all graines else of any kinde, fill the Graunges & Garners euery harvest season. The Mountaines and Hillies, clothed with goodly Vineyards, which bring forth most healthfull and delicate wines: & almost euery where floured with all kinde of fruite trees. There is not a tote of vnprofitable Land, all is laboured and husbanded, or serues for pasturage for feeding beas, which causeth such plenty of all sorts of flesh. There ye may likewise behold goodly Woods & Forrests, filled with all kinde of game and Venison. Most excellent Flax & Hempe, wherof cloth is made in great abundance. Dyers woad also, Scarlet holme-ozke, Saffron, with many

The Maiesly and dignity of the Kingdome of France.

The three & gurners of this infinite discouerte.

The goodnes and excellency of the Country.

Cornes.

Wines.

Fruities.

Pastures.

Woods and Forrests.

Flax & Hempe.

Nauigable & fishing riuers.

Houses, Cities, Townes, and Villages.

The great plenty of people.

Of Where & other Corne.

Strabo in lib. 4. Polybius in lib. 4. Pomponius Mela in lib. 3. Cicero pro Iulio.

Plin. in lib. 18. cap. 7. Nidus hom. in lib. 3. Cicero pro Iulio.

many singular Plants and Hearbs, not only for Medicine, but also nourishable.

Heereto I may adde, the admirable sight of great and goodly Riuers, both nauigable, and abounding with fish, dispersing themselves through France, as veins in the body of man: making the mid-land Regions as apt for commerce, as those on the Sea-coasts. Beside a great number of other waters, great Pooles & Pondes, Fontaines, and cleere running Riuers, all meruailous and delectable. Then haue yee goodly houses and buildings; an infinite number of rich and great Cities, Townes, Burroughs, Villages, Castels, and other Edifices. Moreouer, greater plenty of people, then in any other Region of the world. This is that which is so much wondered at by strangers, who haue thought France to bee a terrestrial Paradise: making more account (in this case) then Frenchmen do themselves, because it is so ordinary and frequent vnto them. But to such as haue sayled into farre remote strange Countries, or otherwise haue had intelligence of them: they hold it a happinesse to themselves, to see the felicity of France so farre beyond other, and thereby to know their owne good. All these graces might much better bee acknowledged, if we did but seuer and consider them particularly.

First, for VV heate and other Corne, which is the principall sustentation, to maintaine and strengthen the bodye of man: it encrease and aboundeth so in France (and that of the best that can bee) more then in any part of the world, and likewise all other sorts of graine. It is not a time now to acknowledge to great a happinesse, for we see that our Elders haue better knowne and felt it, when the Land was not thoroughly so well husbanded and tilled. As wee discern by that which is written by Strabo, Iulius Solinus Polybius, & Pomponius Mela, who speake thereof expressly. Also Cicero reporteth, that (in his time) was brought to Rome, and into Italy, great quantities of Corne from the Gaules. Pliny the Great hath also obserued the same, for speaking of the Corne of France, he saith: That it was most cleane Corne, and that it yielded foure pound of Bread, more then any other. It is well known in these dayes, that Spaine

furnisheth herselfe with the Wheate and Graine of France, and that it is to her as a nursing Mother. And Portugal it selfe, which is described to bee one of the most happy and fertile countries of the Spains, hath recourse to France: as we may see by y which Ozorius saith, a Portugall Bishop of Sylues; & the same is reported likewise by others, who haue written of Relations.

And for Wines, the country is no lesse fruitful, in producing such as are very good, and in great affluence. This hath also bene confessed by our Ancients, according to the testimony of Solinus and Pliny, who renoune Bituricum-citem. Perhaps this may be interpreted, not of Bourges; but of the wine about Bordeaux, whereto hee giueth the cheefest place among all them of Gaule. And Iulian the Emperor said, that there were good vines in the grounds of Paris. Behold how Colonnella makes his moane, at that which the Italians did, for planting of Vines: forsaking their owne country, they went to seek in the delicate grounds of France, in the Isles Cyclades, and those of Andolonia. VV hereby we may perceiue, that he equalleth the grounds of France and their wines, with them of Muscadella, Greeke, and of Spaine.

Pliny saith, that in Italy they highly esteemed the Grapes of France, making mention also of a certaine kinde of admirable Grape there growing; which daily turneth it selfe to the Sunne, like as the Heliotropium doth, and therefore is called after the Greeke word Streptos. Wine is transported from France to Rome, which is there accounted very delicious: especially, that which is gathered in the grounds of Picenum, which they call Picenum, as Plutarch declarereth in his Symposiakes. Notwithstanding, there is a difficulty found in these words, as namely, that which Pliny saith, in the life of the Emperour Probus, That he had permitted to the Frenchmen to haue and plant Vines. Notwithstanding, it appeareth, that they were in France before his time.

The resolution of this, dependeth thus; that by the Edict of the Emperour Domitian, he had enioyned to the inhabitants of the Prouinces, to cut all the Vines, fewe excep-

Of the plenty of Wines. Plin. in lib. 14. cap. 2. Bituricum-citem. Plin. in lib. 14. cap. 2.

In Misopogone. Plin. in lib. 14. cap. 2. Bituricum-citem. Plin. in lib. 14. cap. 2.

Plin. in lib. 14. cap. 2. Bituricum-citem. Plin. in lib. 14. cap. 2.

Plut. Lib. 5. quest. 3.

Herodot. in l. 3.

Ile De Los Ladrões.

The French were neuer covetous of gold or silver.

To get gold, hath bene the luste of many lues.

Plin. lib. 32. cap. 2.

Of Sale.

obtained. The Ethiopians (saith Herodotus) contemning gold, doe value copper beyond all other; and at this instant, siluer is made more account of in China; the gold is. The people dwelling in the Ile De Los Ladrões, in the Sea called *Su*, although they haue no more store of gold, then of other mettals: yet notwithstanding, they couet not, or demand any of passengers Ships layling by them; but call to them with loud cries, to let them haue yron, which they acknowledge to be most necessary.

It is to be credited, that there are no lesse store of Mines (both of gold and siluer) at this day in France, then formerly hath bene knowne, and spoken of by our Ancients: as daily might bee discouered, if men would giue their mindes to search and breake open the ground for them. But the French were neuer affected to such greedy desires, the earth yeelds and fush them vp commodities sufficient, goods & treasures in abounding plenty: without violence or deluding into the earths entrails, and very profoundest deeps, euen (as if we should say) to burye men aliue, renting and tearing hard Rocks in peeces, leuelling high Mountaines, to melte and fine them, with the losse of an infinite number of liues. Day and night is spent in these extreme passions, to get this vile mettall, and then to adoe it as a God, being the true cause & originall of the greatest miseries that can happen to man: albeit Nature (in her purity of wisdom) placed it to be trodden on vnder our feet, and hid it close in the earth, as a thing unworthy to be seene.

There are many other treasures & gifts of Nature, which are afforded vs by France. *Quantum apud nos margaritis Indiciæ præcium est, tantum apud Indos in Corsilio: gignitur in Rubro mari, laudatissimum rerum in Gallico sinu ad Stachades.* Looke how much (in these quarters) we esteeme the Pearles & precious Stones of India; as much reckoning there is made of our Corall. And though it encreaseth in the gulfe of Arabia; yet notwithstanding, the most excellent mettall from the Isles Stachades, now called the Isles of Ierex, so saith Pliny.

Among so many benefits and commodities, Salt likewise is one, the best & most wholesome that can be in any Country: in which regard, it is sought for by stran-

gers, euen whence cometh great store of gold and siluer into France, beside that which is of her owne ordinary vie. *Boto* ranketh it among the foure things which aboundeth in France, tearmed by him Adamants, as drawing to them the gold of strangers countries. These foure Adamants (saith he) are Corne, Wine, Flax, and Hemp, and Salt.

In diuers parts of France, are the materials fit for all kinds of building. Hard stone and other matters, wherof infinite are to be seene in goodly, great, and rich buildings, Castles, and publike Edifices, wherewith the Country is wel filled, and cities beautified. Nor is it delitute of the fairest Marbles, in which respect, wee may not omit that which hath bene obserued by our Ancients, as a thing particular giuen to Gaule: that those Stones and materials do encrease in the Quarries, how liberally soeuer dispersed abroad, as *Plinius* the Lawyer hath left vs in writing.

It was not then without great reason, that the Poet *Manilius* called France Rich. And *Dion* tearmeth it flourishing in riches. It seemeth also to be knowne to *Iosephus*, who declareth, how King *Agrippa* deliuering to the Iewes, what inconueniences might come vnto them, by reuolting a gainst the Romanes: demanded of them if they could speake of more wealth then the Gaules had; more strength then the Allemaignes or Germanes; and better vinity and vnderstanding, then among the Greekes, all which (neuertheless) were vnder the dominion of the Romans. And he better to perswade them, in the commodities and advantages of all those people, being vnder their yoke & obedience: he saith of the Gaules, that they were (in multitude) three hundred & fiftie kindes of people. And had among them (by his manner of speaking) Welles and Springs of all happines and felicity, watering and bedewing the whole Land habitable, with riches and good blessings. He addeth beside, that there were then in Gaule, about twelue hundred Townes and Cities.

Inlike manner, *Cæsar* hauing bent all his hopes, one day to make himselfe Master and Monarch of the whole estate, power and dignity of the Romane Empire, and finding himselfe in want of money, charged with great debts, and yet (necessarily) to lay out greater largesse and expences,

Of hard flace.

The faired Marbles.

L. Fr. lib. 1. cap. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Disco. lib. 4. Africa.

L. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Cæsar intendit se facere Re Romanorum.

Suetonius in l. 1. cap. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

The cunning of Cæsar to compasse that which he ayment.

Sueton. cap. 16. in l. 1.

Plin. in lib. 1. cap. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Suetonius in l. 1. cap. 13.

Plin. Marcel. in l. 1. cap. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Procopius in l. 1. de bel. Got.

pences: to compasse the maine Master-piece wher at he aimed; Among the multitude of mighty Provinces, hee chose principally the Gaules (saith Suetonius) whose profite, riches, occasion, and opportunity, was to him subiect & matter sufficient, apt & conuenable for so great triumphing. Shewing thereby that it was the goodliest, richest, most potent, and worthy Province of the Romane Empire, & thought it there the fittest, to exalt himselfe to the Maiesty of Rome. VVhich accordingly came to passe, for by the means of the Gaules riches, not only hee discharged himselfe of his great debts: but enriched likewise all his friends, practising with diuers, & winning an infinite number of Lords in Rome, yea, they that were the cheefest Magistrates: In briefe, hee omitted not any kinde of bounty, as well publike as particular.

Among other matters, hee attempted the building of a Pallace, for the iudging of causes, the meere place costing him aboute 1400000 crownes, and altho came from the pillage of the Gaules. He feasted all the people of Rome, which was a thing (well neere) impossible and infinite. He doubled the pay of his Legions & companies of soldiers, to perpetuity; enriching the rest with good gifts, beside great distributions, as well of monies as flaures, as also lands and victuals, which he caused to be giuen to euery Citizen of Rome, & likewise to his Captains & Soldiers. For *Plutarke* saith; He emptied out of his owne Coffers, the riches of the Gaules, to such as help him to the publike gouernment of Rome, euen what they would haue. He acquitted *Curius* the Tribune, of a great sum of money, which he ought him: And gaue to the Consul *Paulus*, 1500. Talents, amounting to 900000. Crownes of french coine.

All this bounty, all these goods & treasures, were taken in Gaule, & (as Suetonius saith) without any spare of the Temples, which he knew to be rich in gifts & many times sacking Cities, rather for the greedy desire of booty, then any other iust cause. And *Cicero* saith: That he had overcome Nations, abounding in all things & in all the several kinds of power; this he meant of the Gaules. For not only was that true which *Procopius* saith; That Gaule is much more powerfull then Spaine: but also about all the other Provinces of the Romane Empire, according to the iudgement of

Cæsar. So then, it may iustly be saide, that Gaule, as well for riches, as for the me that hee found there, gaue entrance to the great power of *Cæsar*, & was the cause, means, and instrument of his designs, & obtaining the Empire of the world, which hee enioyed, in despite of so many Romane Lords, his aduersaries and competitors.

But among so many prosperities, it is a matter both rare & admirable, that there are to be found few or no difcommodities at all, wherewith the land should be annoyed. There is not any Region in the world, how goodly or happy soeuer it may bee saide to be, but is subiect to sundry inconueniences, that make a counte poise to the felicity thereof. *Arabia*, which carrieth the surname of *Happy*, wherewith, beside many blessings it affordeth, the odors & perfumes there growing, maketh the aire all embalmed, as it were: yet in counterchange, it hath two very great difcommodities. One is, that in those Forrests of most odoriferous trees, throughout in euery place, are found a great number of small and short serpents, of the same colour as the earth is, that subtilly sting and bite men, before they haue any power to perceiue it, or defend themselves against it; and being thus bitten, they cause their death in a million of tormentes. The other is that these so happy people are subiect to a strange discale, proceeding fro their ouermuch ease, and hot perfumes of the country: so that to helpe themselves, they are enforced to find out all kinds of stinking and infectious smells, euen the foulest that can be, so saith *Diadorus*. So that there is no happinesse in any part, neither any such pleasing sweetnes; but it is conioynd & neighbored with one grieke or other.

The Regions of *Africa*, those that are the most delicious of all, are ordinarily afflicted with an infinite number of wilde beasts, horrible Dragons, Serpents, & other venomous creatures: beside Lions, Leopards, Panthers, Ounces, & prodigious monsters, which *Africa* produceth from time to time, often rayfing sledge against the inhabitants, compelling the to seeke out new dwellings. *China*, which is described to vs to be so fortunate, and abounding in all things: hath many afflictions. Fire fallies fro heauen there vially and such wonderful rauage is made, that not only it embraceth & consumes particular

No matter of difcommodity to be found in France.

The inconueniences that are in Arabia Felix.

Small stinging Serpents.

A strange sickness.

Diad. Sic. in lib. 1. cap. 18.

The infelicities of Africa. Dragons, Serpents, & dangerous wilde Beasts.

The afflictions of China.

Fire from heauen.

cular houses; but Villages, Burroughs, & great Cities altogether, yea, many times whole Provinces. Deluges and inundations haue also wrought there strange effects, spoyling, ouerthrowing, and defacing whole Countries, & that very often Earthquakes, ingulfings, and impetuous shewes of raie, are (as a man should say) there daily: thus you see what delight and happinesse, is in the greatest & most renowned kingdome of the East.

There are Countries, which suffer colds and insupportable freezings: as other are meere burnt and wasted with heates. Witnesse the * *Namones*, who in regard of this heate (they dwelling beyond the Torride Zoone) do curse the Sunne when it passeth ouer them. I hus then other Regions, being esteemed so happy for perfumes, odours, & such kinde of delights: doe sometime pay very dearly for their pleasures: perill is euermore neighbour to ioy, and contentment is close followed at the heeles, with some or other mishap.

Whosoeuer thinketh to gather the sweets of their fairest flowers, or the iuyce of their most delicious plants; may as soone meete with deadly poyson, and in stead of sweetnesse, finde such bitternesse, as quickly will bring him to his graue. Either by the Aspicke lying close hidden, whose pricke causeth sudden sleepe, & procureth death in that sleepe. The Snakes bying, bringeth a deadly drought with it. The Viper filleth the whole body full with venome, by his byting. The Basilike slayeth by his very sight onely. The earth by quaking, endangereth to swallow men vp, or ouerthrow and kill them in their houses. A deluge suddenly carrieth away, and couers all with water. The Lyon or the Tyger comes onely to deuoure.

Strabo hauing related the goodnesse of *Batica* in *Spaine*, which is now *Granada* & *Andalusia*, saith withall, that the country is persecuted with an afflictio very strange yet reputed to be ridiculous. It is by the great and immense multitude of Conies or Rabbits, which feede on, and consume their feedes, plants, and rootes of trees. He also saith, it hence enlueth, that almost throughout *Spaine* yea, and the neighbouring Isles, are thereby afflicted. Adding beside, that the inhabitants of the Isles *Gymnasia* or *Baleares*, now called *Maïorque* and *Minorque*, sent Ambassadors, to

request aid of the Romanes, against these hurtfull creatures, and to chafe them out of their country, as being vnable to endure their multitude. And succour was necessarily required in so great a warre, which doth not alwayes happen (saith he) but when the country is subiect to be infected with some plague of pestilence, famine, or such other affliction and punishment sent from Heauen.

Marcus Varro writeth, that a Towne in *Spaine* was wholly vndermined, and ruined by those Conies, & another in *Thes-salie*, by Moales. Some that haue bene dis-peopled & forsaken, in regard of the great multitude of Frogs. Another in *Africa*, by Locusts. Also, that the inhabitants of the City * *Gyaros*, now called *Gura*, in one of the *Cyclades*; were expelled thence by Rats: and that in *Italy*, an ancient City called *Amylea*, was vtterly ruined and lost by Serpents. There is a Region in *Africa*, where a great extensure of the country is become desert, the people which dwelled there being driuen to all extremities, and quite exterminated, onely by Scorpions and Pistemires, which are a kinde of venomous Ants. *Theophrastus* reporteth, that others were expelled by * *Scelopendraes*. And *Strabo* saith, that *Spaine* was ordinarily infected with a strange multitude of Rats: whereupon (oftentimes) followed contagious diseases. The like happened once to the Romanes, when they were in the countries of the *Balques* and *Astures*: so that they were glad to hire men to chafe them away, the Rats came so fast vpon them, and hardly could they faue themselves from them. An ancient Philosopher, named * *Dicaearchus*, wrote a Book, of the ruine of men, and had collected together, how many ruines had happened in diuers countries, by reason of the inopinate multitude of beasts: by whose impetuous violence, he sheweth, that some Nations haue bene lost and consumed.

FRANCE, on the contrary (God be praised for it) neuer was subiect to so many miseries, & there is nor any Region found in all the habitable world, being so happy, tasteth lesse inconueniences. Deadly poyson cannot deccie him that gathereth there her whole some flowers & hearbs, or perfumes. The Lyon or Tyger, the rauenous Beare or Panther, cometh not to set vpon the traueiler, or driue the husband-

man

Plin. in li. 8. cap. 29. Diod. in lib. cap. 13.

* An Isle in the Aegeum sea, one of its Sporades.

* A worme that hath no nyctes, and is very venomous. Strabo in lib.

* A Sicilian Philo- sopher, bet, Aristotles Scholler.

France may compare with any Region whatsoeuer in the world.

No venomous creatures in all France.

Of the Aspicke in France.

In li. 5. cap. 2.

The flesh is fouer sign for diseases. B. li. Ang. Ab- batus li. de Vigna.

The Egyptian hieroglyphick of health.

None of these nouelties are in France.

Lib. cap. 80. Gallie terre- mediu minime quatitatur.

man from his home. The Serpent cannot annoy the passenger or haruest Reaper by his byting, because there is none at all to be found there. A man may safely take the Evening or Mornings benefit on the greene grasse, without dread of any venomous creature, which are most dangerous in other countries. But admit that there were some kinde of Serpents or Snakes in some peculiar parts: yet are they very few, and no harme at all discerned to come from them. No Egyptian Aspicke is there to bee found, and that which is termed in *France* an Aspicke: it is no Aspicke at all but rather a Viper, as is verified in the Observations of P. *Bolanius*. Neuertheless, it is rare or seldome to be seene there, and benefit (rather then any harme) is to be receiued thereby. And say that this Serpent were very venomous: yet notwithstanding, it serueth most commodiously for the life of man, and Treacle is compounded thereof. The verie learnedst Physicians do hold, that the flesh thereof is soveraigne for many diseases, and that which is much more, it hath power to lengthen the life of man, in such as make ordinary vse of it, as manie of our Ancients did, and other healthfull people yet liuing, who haue heretofore referred the cause of their so long healthfull continuance. Thus our Ancients, and especially the learned Egyptians, vfed the Snake as an Hieroglyphick, marke and signe of health: presenting it to theyr Goddesse *Sanitas*, rouled about with other creatures.

Moreover, *France* is not subiect to the miseries and horrors of Earth-quakes. Neuer shall ye there heare the earth grone, bellow, then tremble, shake, and swallow vp houses, Burroughs, & whol Townes, making groweth of Mountaines, by leuellling and plaining other places, to drie vp waters and riuers, and then sodainly to let loose Flood-gates of Nouelties; to stay their violent course of a streame, and then to make it run directly against his currēt: to let forth flaming fires, to finish that with greater defolation, which the former Earth-quake had left behinde it. By an especial priuilege of heauen, *France* stands exempted from all these; experience hath made it apparant, & *Pliny* long ago witnessed it, when he saide: That the *Gauls* were not shaken by tremblings of the earth.

To know the quiet condition and felicity of *France* in this case, wee may compare and consider other Nations & Provinces, and what great afflictions and ruines haue insued to them by such harmes, in most part of the worlds Regions. Wee finde, that in *Italy* and other Countries, in the time of the *Punicke* warres, the people were tormented with Earth-quakes, seuen and fifty times in one yeare. VWho would not be amazed, to heare that two hills should approach neere each to other, to iustle (as it were) together; then, to retire and auancer on againe, after the manner of fight, stirring and moving furiously, with an horrible noise and breaking? A great fire and sioake rofe vp betweene them; and by this their rude encounter, houses and villages (seated in the valley) were bruised and beaten downe, & both men and beasts smothered to death: euen as it happened in the Territorie of *Modena*, in the yeere 622. and in the City of *Rome*, in the time of the wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*. This was seene in broad day time, by a great number of passengers & Romanes Cities, who beheld this wofull spectacle, from the neere-neighbouring high-way, or hill ascending to the Capitoll.

It was a strange thing, that trembling or Earth-quake, which happened vnder the Emperor *Tiberius*, and in the 5. yeare of his Empire (to the end we may not, as *Orosius* doth, confound it with that which chanced twelue years after, miraculously, euen at the passion of our Sauour: *Tacitus* reporteth, that in this yeere (which was the 770. of the City of *Rome*) in one night, twelue great and famous Cities of *Natolia*, were ruined and vtterly ouerthrowne, such as was *Ephesus*, *Sardis*, *Cuma*, *Philadelphia*, and other of the same ranke. And that which was most terrible, they had not the means of open flight, an ordinary succour in such misfortunes; yet thereof they were deprived, because the earth shrunke and opened vnder their feete, and swallowed them vp immediately. Herewithall arose shinings and flames of fire among the ruines; and that which was plaine champaigne ground before, was exalted to Mountaines, and contrarywise, Mountaines became euen and leuell ground.

Heere might also bee alledged, the vfall

Plin. li. 2. cap. 9.

Two great mountains met together.

Plin. li. 2. cap. 83.

Corn. Tacit. Annal. 2.

Plin. in lea. 8. 4. English in ch. 10.

Strange earth
quakes at Con
stantinople.
Paul. Div. hist.
Miscel. lib. 14.

Marcel. lib. 17.

Paul. Diac. bist.
Mise. lib. 15. &
Cedrenus. l. 16.

Plin. l. 6. 7. c. 60.

The temperature and mildness of the air.

No Mountains of Ice and Snow in France

small and frequent earthquakes at *Constantinople*, and whereto it hath bene alwayes subiect. And in such manner, as during thereigne of the Emperour *Theodosius*, there happened such an Earth-quake, as lasted foure moneths continually: the people being constrained to fflye out of the City, not daring to returne in againe. There was another as strange, which chanced in some yeares before, in the City of *Nicea* in *Natolia*, which was ruined; and the dreadfull effectes thereof are particularly written by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and vnder the reigne of the Emperour *Constantine*. *Zonarus* reporteth, that thirteene great Townes of *Champaigne* ground in *Italy*, or in the foyle called *Terra di Lavoro*, were vterly ouerthrowne. But among other, the City of *Antioche* was wonderfully afflicted. In the reigne of the Emperour *Iustinian*, it was ouerthrowne; and an infinite number of men therein swallowed. Soone after, it was re-builde by the liberality of the Emperour, and two yeares were not fully expired, when this goodlie and flourishing Citie had bene newly finished; but againe in like manner it was wholly ruined, and the greater part of the inhabitants buried in the downfall. This was in the beginning of *Iustinians* empire. Such miseries neuer hapned in the Kingdom of France: Gallæ terræ motibus minime quatitur.

It is likewise a happineſſe particular to France, that the ſweetneſſe and temperature of the Ayre is ſuch; as in compariſon of that in other Provinces, there is neyther exceſſive colds, nor inſupportable heats. And if in ſome year it happen otherwiſe, it is but once in an hundred yeeres, and of ſo ſmall continuance, that it is only but as a ſcantling: therby to let the Frenchmen know, the ſharpe rigour and difcommodity that other people endure, to the end they may the better vnderſtand their owne felicity, and ſhape their comforts anſwerable thereto. Length of Winters, and of Nights; the bitter North-eaſt windeſ of Scythia; Mountains of Ice and Snow, neuer hindereth their Commerce, nor their Voyages at all ſeaſons of the year. Their Seas doe not freeze, as often it dooth in *Pontus Euxinus*, or *Mare maior*, euen ſo farre as the ſtreights of *Conſtantinople*. On the contrary ſide, extremity of heate con-

straines not men to keepe them a long while hidden vnder ground, without daring to come forth but in the night time: neyther to sleepe in the water, and like the *Amphibii* or halfe Fishes, to dwell there the most part of their time. That which is reported of many people, & particularly of the dwellers in *Barbarie*, *Ormus*, and them of *Taprobane*, now called *Samatra*: no any thing here is like vnto them, but all most temperate. From so sweete an Ayre, can proceede nothing but healthfullnesse, the Heauens being no way subiect to ingender frequent and irksome Diseases. Therefore did *Cæsar* deservedly set this commendation on France: To be a Country most sweete and healthfull. And so the English-men likewise, in the recital of *Froissard*, doe note France, To be a most safe Country, and very sweete, a courteous Country, with mild aire, and delicate iuers.

It is an admirable matter also; that France produceth such diuersity of things and in such abundance: there being no Country throughout the World more commixed, and that hath lesse meanes of subiect, for recourse vnto other. It is by a priuiledge and particular right, and against the Law which Nature hath giuen vnto other landes; but to speake vprightly of France, it is proper to all, and in such sort, as there is not any thing particular to other, which is not common in it. In regard whereof, and considering what hath formerly bene said, there needs no doubt to be made: but that which *Virgil* meant to say in commendation of his *Italy*, was much more fitting for the Land of *France*.

Hic ver affluctum, atq; alienis mentibus afflu-
bis gr. uide pecudes, bis pomis vitulis arbos,
Ac rabida Tigris abfunt, & fœua Leonum
Semina, nec miferos fallant aconita legentes:
Nec rapis immenfos orbes per humum, neq; tanto
Squamæ in fpiram traflu fe colligis anguis.
Adde tot egrægijs vrbes operumq; labore.

Beside, that which he could say concerning the amenity or delectableness of *Italy*, was but for some certaine places; & the *Italians* themselves do know wel enough, that whatsoeuer they do admire or commend, in any particular part of *Italie*, it

That live
most of their
time in the
water.

* In the Indian sea, bearing in length 1000 miles, and in breadth 625.

Lib. 3. Bd. C. 23

Frei(Tin vll. 2.

The plenty & abundance in France.

Ving Gaur:

Botero. Rel. un-
ica. L. p. 2.

How France
is seated for
Navigation.

is to be found every where in *France*, and is meerely common there.

Moreover, the Kingdome is most absolutely feared for Navigation: because on the one side it hath the *Mediterranean sea*, and the *Ocean sea* on the other, environing it by a long exendure, and wherein are many goodly and commodious Ports and Hauens. As for the Land it selfe, it is as in the very middest or hart of Europe. *Suriano*, in his relation of *France*, hath well obserued it, and makes great reckoning of the commodiouseffe of the situation, vying these very words.

Il regno di Francia, come quello che è in mezzo della Christianità, è commo- & oportuno più d'ogni altro per vnire & diuidere (sua volontà) le forze de i più gran Principi, & de i popoli più bellicosi, perche à dnanzi l'Italia, & l'Inghilterra ale spalle, à man destra la Spagna, à sinistra la Germania, di qua Suizzeri, di qua Flamengi, & oltre di questo à fer di mare, il Mediterraneo dell'vna parte, & l'Oceano d'all'altra: onde per mare & per terra può facilmente fauorire tutte l'imprefe & tutti li disegni di ciascun Principe & Potentato del mondo. Et quanto à se, è sicuro di ogni banda & per Natura, & per Arte.

The Kingdom of France, as that which is in the midst of Christendome, is oportune & commodious (more then all other) to unite and divide (at her owne will) the forces of the very greatest Princes, and of the most warlike people. Because it is bath by before it, England to shoulder it, Spain on the right hand, Germany on the left: on this side the Switzers, on that side the Flemings. And beside all this, it is betweene two Seas, the Mediterranean on the one part, & the Ocean on the other: so that by sea and land, they may easily fauour all the emperizors, and all the designs of euery Prince and Potentate in the World. And as for her selfe, she is most secure on euery side, both by Nature, and by Art.

Let no man then thinke strangely of it, if France be endowed with so many celestiall graces and fauours, and so wel peopled and inhabited, that any thing can be comparable thereto, in all other Countreys whatsoeuer. There is not a iorte of voyde or waste ground; the goodly and great Cities and Townes, are all well filled with inhabitants, and very neer neighbouring one to another. Trauailing vpon

the common high-wayes, from any part
whither you please: you shal finde them
bordered with great villages, faire Hou-
ses and Castles, and the people swarming
euery where, euen as if al France were but
one Citv.

It is not so in other regions, for in some there are immense Forests, Lakes, and Marish grounds, taking vp immeasurable roome; as in Germany, and in the Low Countries. In other places, are great and sterile Mountaines, which take vpe no meane part of the Countrey: as *Botero* acknowledge, that the *Apennines* vsurpe a whole quarter of Italy. There can you not behold (as you may in France) small hills and dales, sweetly clothed, and flourishing with delicate fruit trees, or vneathie Vineyards, or else employed to some other profitable vse. As for the Alpes and Apennines, for the most part, there is nothing to be seene but sharpe and craggie rocks, bearing their heads vp vnto the clouds, couered with Mosses and Saltpetre, and hauing very dreadfull downefalls. There is nothing but hardnesse, rocks full of horror, places vnacceffable, vnprofitable, and fruitelesse, cyther for Men or Beasts.

Concerning *Spaine*, so much as it is far off from this happinesse of France, euē (in comparisōn) it is as slenderly peopled. Behold the perspective thereof, according as *Sr. abo* hath drawne it downe for vs. *Spaine* (saith he) *for the most part is very ill inhabited. For the Mountains, Forests, and plaines* (whereby the land is dried, meager and barren, being but slenderly holpen with waters) *takes up too much ground.* The same Author faith in another place, that hee cannot beleue that there hath bin so many Cities or Townes in Spain, as some haue reported, or else they counted Villages for Townes. For (saith hee)

The Nature of the Country cannot receive any number of Townes, in regard of the barrenneſſe of the ground; by being farre off, & retired from one of the worlds corners: and alſo the ayre breathing not gracious & agreeable. Thus you ſee the true deſcription of Spaine, and this licke Iayth, becauſe it is found in ſome Authors of Antiquity, who have teamed it to be happy and fertile: it is to be underſtood of the Sea ſhores, and ſome Countreys, where (in truth) it is ſo. As in *Batica*, containing now the

The injuries that are in other countries different from France.

Spain no way
compareable
to France.

Strabo in lib. 3
 τῆς Ἰσχυραε, τῆς
 μὲν πλείονος ἀκα-
 τῆς φεύλας ὅρη
 γὰρ καὶ θρυμνῶς
 καὶ πᾶσι αὐτῶν
 τῶν ἔχοντα γῆν,
 ἐδὲ ταύτην ὁμο-
 λῶν ἐν τῇ τῇ
 καὶ οὐ τῶν πολλῶν

Strabo in lib. 3
κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν φωνήν πάλ-
λον παλιντοῦσιν
πάλιν τοῖς θί-
κω λυσιτελεῖ,
ἢ θί- κατὰ τὴν ἀποστο-
λήν τῃ ἀποστο-
λῇ.

What happiness and fertility is in Spain.

Strage plague
in Constantinople,
and in the Grand
Caire.

in Myssopie.

Lib. 1. Delle
coste della
grandezza della
Città.

He proceed-
ed on with
his second dis-
course.

mented with a pestilence, which doeth greatly dispeople it: to the no meane amazement of many, that haue made deep search into the cause. So it is in like manner affirmed by diuers, that the *Grand Caire* is euery year afflicted with the Pestilence. Vndoubtedly, when I consider with my selfe, that great *Louis*, vulgarly called *Chlouis*, stayed his opinion, and made *Paris* the seat of his kingdome, leaving many other Cities which were then far greater: and that before him, the Emperor *Julian* (being come into France) established there his ordinary abode, and called it *Amiable* or *Louely*. I am compelled to admire therein, their great Wisedome and vnderstanding, in choosing a place so commodious, so pleasant and answerable; although then it seemed to be one of the least Citties of Gaul. It would require an entire volume to speak thereof, and yet none will credit what it is, except they haue the happinesse to see it: & the fight may much better satisfye them, then all that can be sayde or written of it. Therefore I wil end this discourse, adding onely that which is sayde by *Botero Parigi*, *Città che di popolo, & di abbondanza d'ogni cosa, auanza di gran lunga tutte l'alre di Christianità. Paris a City that in people and abundance of all things, goeth farre beyond all the rest of Christendome.*

CHAP. II.

Of the People dwelling in this fruitfull Land of France, what they were being ancient by Gaules, and afterwards Frenchmen: their Manhood, Valour, and successfull Fortunes.



Land it selfe in all things: let vs now see (according vnto our intended purpose) what the people haue bene and are in their condition. Such as haue heard of

so extraordinary felicity, perhaps may quickly condemne mee, by alledging it as a matter impossible: that in a Region so pleasant, gracefull, and abounding in all kindes of goodnesse: the inhabitants can any way be vertuous, valiant, and courageous. Great *Cyrus* was of that Opinion, when his victorious *Persians* laboured to change their Countrey, in regard it was sharpe, rough, rude, and Mountainous; for one of them which they had conquered, that was more pleasant, consisting of goodly plaines, and euen *Champaigne* grounds. Which hee would not suffer them to doe, but shewed them, that like vnto feeds and plants, so are the liues of men made conformable vnto those Regions where they abide. As if hee would haue sayd, that in a fair & fortunate countrey, the mindes of men alter, and quickly become effeminate.

Hanniball, not onely inuincible by the Armies of the Romanes, but also by so many victories ouer them, bringing them neerer to their viter ruine, then euer they were or had bene: was ouerthrowne and confounded, by the soft and easie delights of *Capua*. The sweets of his winter sojourning there, did enurate and weaken both him and all his army, which the rough Alpes and freezing snowes, had formerly made vnconquerable. Euen so we may say, and very truly, that the high and mighty courage of *Alexander*, was softened by the luxury, sumptuousnes, and dissolutions among the Persians.

It is a matter verie frequent and ordinarie, that the Provinces of greatest happinesse, become a prey to others, in becoming voluntarily destitute of courageous men. For, a more warlike people coming to invade them, after they haue continued there for some time: they forget their former generosity, as if they were wholly changed, and with the very ayre of the countrey, had deriued to themselves the verie same Nature. *Sicily* hath alwaies bin the butte and ayne of all warlike people, as of the *Grecians*, the *Carthaginians*, and the *Romanes*, and of many other beside.

Also in *Egypt*, which is one of the verie choicest, fertilest, and richest Nations of the worlde: the most martiall people that come to stay there, doe after enter into such a lazic condition, that they stand in neede of chafing thence, euen as

The wisdom
of Cyrus a-
gainst the slo-
ly of his follo-
wers.

Hanniball vi-
dorious a-
gainst the Ro-
manes, lost
his honor at
Capua.

Alexander
dissolutions
Persia.

Sicily the
ayne of all
warlike peo-
ples.

The fruit-
nes of *Egyp-
t* and how it
doth to make
all people.

*A Spring
neere to Ha-
lycarnassus.

A morall Al-
lusion of the
Fable.

Frenchmen
are truly borne
warriors.

*Zoeira in vi-
sion, imp. P. alexan-
der.

they did to the first inhabitants. The like great and frequent changes haue bin often obserued, as well in ancient as more moderne times; and namely, vnder the *Mahometane Califfes*. It is reported of the Wel * *Salmacis* in *Caria* (which is one of the regions of *Natalia*) that such as drinke the water thereof, doe immediately become women. But the truth is, according to the relation of *Vitruuius*, that it is a place so goodly, pleasant, and where the people liue in such delights and dissolutions; that the courages of men, after they haue liued there any long while, becometh altogether effeminate or womanish; which gaue such a subiect to the Fable, as if they had bene changed into women, and receyued into another Nature. Some haue attributed (to the felicitous reason) the vmanlinesse of the latter Grecian Emperors of *Constantinople*, through the ouer-much delicacie of the Countrey.

All this is contrary in France, for amidst such a great affluence, and euen among a world of pleasures; generous spirits are borne, truly warriors, and of men excelling in all vertues, it yeeldeth withall the like abundance of euery other thing; yea, euen among those Frenchmen as suffer themselves to be led into all pleasures, in peacefull & vndisturbed times; yet are they not thereby softened a iotte, neyther lose any of their courage, valour, and addresse to actions of Armes. But euen, as if they were meere borne thereto, nor euer learned any other kinde of exercise: being euermore readie to giue ouer all pleasures, to follow the warres, march to fights, and throw themselves first into the mouth of danger. This is their true exercise, their naturall inclination, which they knowe not how to forget or giue ouer; and whensoever they delight in hunting, yet are they more readie to returne to Armes.

The like naturall disposition is described by *Zozimus*, of the Emperor *Valentinian*, who although hee was a man giuen to much pleasure, and addicted himselfe thereto at due seasons: yet notwithstanding, when occasion required, he was alwayes readie to vndertake Armes, whereof as patiently hee endured all the paines, toiles, and incommodities, euen as if hee had taken a great pleasure and felicitie

therein. Such a man was *Demetrius* King of *Macedon* among the Grecians, and *Marcus Antonius* among the Romanes; and *Scipio* giues very little ground vnto them in martiall disposition. *Caesar* also, speaking of his Army (composed for the most part of *Gaules*) saide: *That his Soldiers, howeuer they were perfumed, yet they left not (for all that) to fight valiantly and courageously. Milites suos etiam vnguentatos, bene pugnare.* The like account was heretofore made, that the Belgians were the most hardiest and valiant amongst the *Gaules*: because, they would permit no Merchandizes to be brought into their Countrey, that any way might serue to soften the naturall inclination of Men. But he knew well enough soon after, that valiance and Militarie vertue was so naturall vnto them that were borne and nourished vnder the ayre of Gaul, as it could not by any meanes bee quailed in them, or separated from them, by the plenitude of any thing seruing vnto voluptuousnesse.

Some haue held opinion, that the rigor and austeritie of the Persian youths, and their continuall manner of liuing in so stricke a kinde; prooued to be the onely cause, that they were much better men of warre, then their neighbours. And surely, the *Lacedemonians* differed not from this coniecture of them, when they saide: They made no great merruile why they went so boldly to warre, and exposed themselves vnto death; considering, what small delight and contentment they tooke in life, in regard of the harsh and rigorous discipline of their lawes. But the Gentlemen of France, although they be borne and bred delicately, they do neuer faile in generous courage: Armes, and verie hard Trauailes in Warre, are vnto them as sportes and pastimes; and, to speake iustly, they are born thereto, without neede of so much cunning and instruction, as others haue to exercise and prepare them.

Those people that *Fraunce* hath bred and yeelded, haue alwayes bene redoubtable for their Armes, to all other Nations of the world. The Romanes well felt it, when they were hewed in peeces by the *Gaules*, on the day at *Alia*. And afterward, when (vpon their fodaine coming on them) they were constrained to

Men a li-
d to armes
by nature.

Sueton in *Tullio*,
Cap. 67.

The stricke
forme of life
obserued a-
mongst the
young men of
Persia, is or-
dered at amon-
gst the *Lacedemonians*.

The Romanes
felt the man-
hood of the
Gaules to their co-
ll.

Gallo-Grecia
to named of
the valiant
Gaules, that
declared their
valour there.

*aliquo impulerent: Deniq, neq, Reges Orientis
fisse mercenario Gallorum exercitu villa bella
gesserunt, neq, pulsus regno ad alios quam ad
Gallos confugerunt. Tanti terror Gallici no-
minis siue armorum inuicta felicitas erat, ut
alter neq, Mæstetatem suam tutam, neque
amissam recuperare se posse, sine Gallica vir-
tute arbitarentur. Deniq, in auxilium ad By-
thinia Rege inuocati, regnum cum eo par-
ticipata victoria diuiserunt, eamq, regionem Gallo-
Graciam cognominauerunt. There was then
such an abundance of youthfull French, that
they filled Asia, euen as if it had bin swarms
of Bees: in such sort, that the Kings of those
quarters of the East, attempted not any war,
wherein they had not Frenchmen under pay.
And if they chaced to be expelled from their
estates, they had no other recourse, but to
throwe themselves into the armes of the
French. Such was the terror of the French-
mens Name, or the inuincible felicity of their
Armes; that Kings knew not howe to pro-
uide, nor conferre their Mæsties, or to re-
couer it againe being lost, without the valour
of the French. To conclude, being called by
the King of Bithynia, to lend him succour, af-
ter they had parted away with victory, they
also parted or diuided his kingdom with the,
and surnamed the Countrey Gallo-Gracia, or
French-Greece.*

Those verie Gaules whereof we now
speake, were come away from Thrace,
where they (before) had established a
Kingdome: which continued afterward,
till the time of *Charyas* their last king, ac-
cording to the report of *Polihius*. The
people of Thrace, of *Bizantium*, and of
Cherronsus, being then their tributaries.
All this is affirmed and maintained of the
ancient Gaules.

Nowe, as concerning such as haue
caried the name of Frenchmen or Gauls,
ancientlanders, and dwellers in partes
neerer hand, as well on this side, as be-
yond the *Rhine*: they long time made
warre with the Romanes, pursuing them
with their Armies, and ouer-labouring
them by so many courtes; that at length
they expelled them quite from amongst
the Gaules. They were first obliged to
appeare vnder that name of French-
men, in the time of the Emperor *Galen*; and
from thence onward, the Roman
Histories are copious, how manie times
they passed and repassed the *Rhine*, to
make warre with the Romanes, vwhen

they thought to teare away Gaule out of
their hands. Panegyricall Authors, exal-
ting those Emperors with praises to hea-
uen, that had in any encounter (how silly
foeuer) got any aduantage against the
French; do yet make it sufficiently known
what great account was made of this
people and generous Nation, yea, more
then of any other, as being most fearefull
to them, and to whome (for this cause)
they yielded themselves tributaries.

Vnder the Emperor *Claudius* the 11.
they inuaded *Holland*, and other neigh-
bouring Countries, and made thence their
courtes and wonted expeditions, as well
by Land as Sea; vntill they extended their
power to onward, that they entred some-
what farre into Spaine. *Zozimus* and the
Rhetorician *Eumenius*, doe report a cer-
taine voyage of theirs, and a chance well
deseruing memory. The Emperor *Probus*
hauing made warre on them, and wonne
the vpper-hand in some encounter; hee
tooke diuers of them prisoners, which he
led away into Asia. Soon after, they made
an escape, & being embarked in certaine
small vessels, which they found fitting for
their purpose: they ouer-ran and raged the
coasts of Greece, and the Isles of the
Ionian sea, besieging and taking *Siracusa*,
and afterward passing the straites of *Ge-
baltare*, returned home againe into their
owne country. The verie greatest affairs,
that euer the Romanes had with Strain-
gers, were alwaies against the Gaules, or
French, who neuer would suffer them to
liue in quiet.

In the end, the Emperors well vnder-
stood their valour, and made vse thereof
to their seruice. *Constantine the Great*, in
the warre hee made against *Licinius*: had
great store of them in his Armie, vnder
conduct of a verie valiant French Cap-
taine, named *Bonticus*, whose manhood is
well noted by *Ammianus Marcellinus*. At
the same time, partly by conquest, partly
by conuincence of the Emperours; they
extended the Gaules name very farre, and
did so great seruices to the Romanes, that
they filled whole Legions of them. Espe-
cially, vnder the Emperours *Constantus*,
Constantius, *Valens* and *Valentinian*, as is to
be seene in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Zozi-
mus*, and diuers other Historians of those
times.

Afterwards, *Gratian*, hauing sworne
more

The inuasion
of Holland &
other places
the Gaules.

Claudian his
words of the
Gaules.

The success
of the Gaules
that were in
prisoners in
Asia.

The passage
of the Gaules
into Asia and
Africa.

The warre
Constantine
against *Lici-
nius*, and the
use of the
French word

The Gaules
gaue great
succour to the
Emperours of
Constantino-
ple.
Nicom. Chroniques

Marcellinus

Mellibands.
The affection
of the Empe-
ror *Gratian* to
the Gaules for
his own good.

more strict alliance with them, could find
out a *Mellibands*, Prince of the French,
beside many other Captaines and Soldi-
ers: by whose meanes he assured his owne
estate, and carried away great Victories
from the Germanes, whereof thirty thou-
sand were laine in the field. This Prince
did so highly esteeme of them, as they
serued him in all occasions: yea, they fil-
led vp the Army which he gaue to *Theo-
dofius*, to make quietnesse in the East, and
to repulse thence the Gothes, Moreouer,
he fauoured and aduanced them to great
charges of his Court, and euen (as if in
respect of them) he began to grow in dis-
taste with his Romanes; so prouoed it
(partly) to be the cause of death.

It is most plaine and apparant, that for
the space of about 200. yeares, they were
the threshing Flaile, the terror & amaze-
ment of the Roman Empire: wherto (to
vse the same words that *Claudian* sayth of
them) *They sold peace and quietnesse at the
prizes of money, and tooke great recompences
to cease their fights*. The Epithets vvhich
the Authors of those times gaue them,
were the names of Terrible, dreadfull, and
redoubted Warriors; as being the only na-
tion, that (more then all other else could
do) amated, bruised, yea, & vterly brake
in peeces the Romanes forces.

After that this Monarchy of the French
in Gaule was fully established: they could
then vndertake other great enterprizes &
voyages. How many times did they passe
in Armes, both into Asia and Africa, to
chafe thence the Infidels, Sarazens, and
Turkes, to deliuer the Holy land, and the
Christians that were there in their serui-
tude? There hath not bene any expediti-
on in Christendome, wherein they haue
not bene heads and conductors, yea euen
the better part it selfe. Many times haue
they succoured & re-established the Em-
perours of *Constantinople*. And in the end,
to reuenge the death of *Isaacius Angelus*,
(whom they had defeated som short time
before) cruelly murdered by the Tyrant
Marsuffle: they took in their assault that
great City, where they commanded (al-
most) foure hundred yeares. They made
themselues so knowne thoroughout the
East and South parts, and haue so liuely
engrauen there the memorie of their
name: that (euen to this day) all the Ori-
entals terme the inhabitants of Europe,

by the word *Franki*, as thinking that name
to be vniuersall. As in like manner the A-
rabians and the Abyssines, who call Eu-
rope by the name of *Frankia*.

Ozorius, the learned bythop of *Sylves*
reporteth, that the *Indians* when the Por-
tugals make warre against them: they call
them by no other name then *Franki*, as
confessing naturally, that since the braue
expeditions of the French, against the
Turkes and Sarazins; this name (full of
admiration among those people) had fo-
spread it selfe thoroughout all Asia and
Africa, that alwaies afterward, the same
was to be attributed vnto all the Western
people.

But to deliberate no longer at this time
on all the expeditions of warre, and voya-
ges attempted by the French for the chris-
tian name, for the defence of religion &
the Church, against Moores, Sarazins,
Turkes, and other Mahometanes, in di-
uers Countries of the world, and the glo-
rious and goodly actions thereby them
performed: Can any thing bee tearmed
more hardy, valiant and generous, then
that which they did for conquest of the
holy Land? Vnder-taking so long a Voy-
age, crossing so many Countries, & with
such store of difficulties: Nothing could
dant or turne them; nothing seemed im-
possible to them, beeing altogether infla-
med with a zealous & diuine desire. They
exposed themselues to all kindes of dan-
gers, inconuenience of places and passa-
ges, famine, thirst, pestilence and warre:
merely prodigal of their liues, for religi-
ous zeale. In whatsoeuer we read concern-
ing antiquity, yea euen of the fabulous a-
ges, neuer are to be found such deedes of
prowesse, as they did in that conquest.

Let *Godfrey of Bullen* set himself before
you, with his gallant French troopes, tra-
uersing al *Germany* & *Hungaria*, & arriuing
at *Constantinople*: there is assailed by diuers
ambuscadoes on the Emperours behalf, yet
ouercoming them all, euen as if it were a-
gainst his wil to preuaile. Then looke on
him passing the straits of the *Hellepont*, be-
sieging the city of *Nicea*, one of the strong-
est in all the East, munited with all things
sustained and defended by a people refo-
lued, as wel for assaults given, as fallies re-
pelled, or by any cunning to bee circum-
uented. During this siege, the Army
of *Soliman*, consisting of 50000. men,

13 com-

The Portu-
gals warring
on the Indians.

The painefull
travailes of
the French,
for conquest
of the Holy
Land.

Gualt. Tyrinus
lib. 1. c. 2. c. 3. c. 4.
De Bellis Sacris.

Polihius lib. 4.

The ancient
Gaules inha-
biting on ey-
ther side the
Rhine.

The valour of
the Gaules in
the Emperor
Galiens time.

Nice taken
by the French

comming expressly to rayle the siege, is overcom, broken, and cut in peeces, & the City surprized in the end.

A battell giue
by the French
in Caramania
against Soliman
and his
Turkes.

After this, beheld another battell giuen in *Cicilia* or *Caramania*, by thirty thousand French onely, against an Armie of two hundred thousand Turkes and Mahometanes, led by the same *Soliman*, and the Sultane of *Perfia*. These two hundred thousand Turkes, hauing (at their first charge from farre off) covered all the Christian Army with a cloud of Arrows; and making a counterfet shew of flight, sent another shower of shafts in the same manner, and then a third, they not hauing any meanes to ioyne or come neere them. So that there was scarcely one man among the Christians, but was wounded with their steeld Arrows, some in the armes, others in the legges, and many in diuers parts of their bodies, notwithstanding the helpe of their Targets: euen as if we saw the like Army of the Romanes led by *M. Crisus* against the Parthians. Vntill such time as *Godfrey* refused to make a pretence of flight, and (indeed) yretted, as if he had bene no longer able to endure them. Which moued the Turkes to pursue after them out of order, as if they were altogether ouerthrowne and disheartened. But when the French behelde them within their compasse, that they might deale with them by handy stroakes: all wounded as they were, they gaue such a couragious charge vpon the Infidels, that they foiled and vanquished the whole Army. So proceeding on, the Citties of *Tharsus* and of *Edeffa*, and all the other betwene them, were likewise taken.

A won by first
tagem of
Godfrey of
Bullen, in an
vrgent nec-
ty.

The sharpe &
seuer be-
siege of the
City of Anti-
och by God-
frey of Bullen.

Antioche besiedged by a long siege, the besiegers being incessantly assayed, as well with the yssuing forth of an Army that was within, as by the ambuscadoes of many troopes at liberty abroad, besides cutting off victuals, and all other commodities from them. In these extremities they were also oppressed with contagious diseases, famine, and other kindes of necessities and miseries, every thing being opposit and contrary to them, and the Emperor of *Constantinople*, doing his very vttermost to endamage them. All which notwithstanding, they lost not a jot of courage, or became any way at all disheartned in this their enterprise, although to make their misery much more:

there came also on them another dreadfull Army, containing all the powers of the East, and appearing impossible to bee resisted. But the Christians conducted by *Godfrey of Bullen*, over-spent and wearied as they were, hauing giuen the battles; ouercame the great Armies, and droue them to flight.

The happy
successe of
the Christi-
ans against
the Infidels.

Let passe an infinite number of particular charges, encounters, combates, fights, ambushes, surprizes and assaults, to come to the siege of *Ierusalem*, where they met with all resistance possible, both by force and cunning: which neuertheless (in the ende) after infinite famous actions of Armes, was wonne by liuely force, and in a generall assault. All this was done in lesse then two yeares, from the yeare 1097. to the yeare 1099. when *Ierusalem* was wonne, and in the Month of Iuly. Then was *Godfrey* chosen King of *Ierusalem*, who yet refused the crowne of gold, saying; *It fitted not him to weare that pompe, where his Lord and Saviour wore one of sharpe pricking thornes*. Every one of the other Princes & French Lords, which made vp the body of the Army, were also partakers in the chiefe possession of Citties and Prouinces thereabout; & there was not a man among them, but was capable of holding the Empire of the world, and by farre greater reason, then is reported of *Alexanders* Captaines. And this may iustly be the cause (in part) that the successe was not so great as it might haue bene: they being able to haue passed on, so farre as the extremest parts of the East, to conquer all the Country, and plant their Ensignes on the banks of the Indian Seas. In brieft, there was neuer a thing comparable thereto, neither for religious piety, nor manhood in Armes.

The examp-
le of Ierusalem
by Godfrey
of Bullen.

The honor
rewards etc.
great desire-
ting.

Godfrey
in Lib. 3.

It was also a matter admirable in *Godfrey*, that being Souldier; he should be culpable of so great prouidence, iustice, and moderation of spirit. It is reported of him, that although he was King; yet he clothed himselfe, and liued so simply, as the very meanest Souldier about him. So that vpon a certain day, diuers Lords of the Country being come vnto him, to present him with gifts, but (to speak truly) to espie and take knowledge of what they could: being brought before him, they found him sitting on a Sacke full of straw, & vpon the ground. After they had well

observed

The admirable
humility
and modesty
of God-
frey of Bullen
& his answer
to certaine
Lords.

observed it, being driuen to no meane admiration, they made enquiry; how so great a Prince, being a Lord of such matchlesse merit, hauing taken all the East, and seized on the very greatest kingdom, should be seated so poorly, without any pompe, no rich hangings, nor any Guard about him, to make him dreadfull to such as should come neere him. But he demanding what they had saide, replied thus: *It is the best seate for a mortal man, and by good right the earth should suffer and serue to beare him for a time: in regard that (afterward) it must be the house for his body to dwell in*. Which when the Lords had heard, admiring his answer, humility, and wisdom, they returned thence, saying: *This is (indeede) such a man, as ought to rule over all these Regions: and to him (in equity of desert) it belongeth, to commaund ouer all other people whatsoeuer*.

How long
time the French
held the king-
dome of Ie-
rusalem.

I thus the kingdom of *Ierusalem* was held for the space of about fourescore & some yeares by the French, who (in the meane while) made warre vpon the Infidels, being succoured from time to time by the Kings of France: among whom, *Lewis* the tenth, called the young, and *Philip Augustus* went thither in person. But afterward, this kingdom was conquered by *Saladine*, first Souldan of Egypt: And then the French, vnder conduct of their Kings, ceased not alwayes to attempt voyages and expeditions, as shall be declared in place more conuenient. Here I forbear to speake of the great warres and goodly exploits in Armes, of the French against the Allemaignes, Hunnes, Danes, Normans, Saxons, Sarrazins, Gothes, Lombards, and English, which are to be discouered hereafter.

The apparant
singularity
of the French,
above all other
Nations.

There is not any other people, that haue caused themselves more to bee spoken of, to spread their renowne so far, and enterprise matters more great, goodly, & difficult, then they haue done. Other Nations neuer could come neere them, nor the *Spaniards*, of whom *Strabo* yeeldeth refection, that they neuer did, or ever durst vnderake great occasions. They being (saith he) exercised and inured to slender exploits, & loue of base enterprises; as some light ambuscadoes, courtes, and brigandages or theeneries. But concerning the valour of the French, and the greatnesse of their

courage; there remaineth very sufficient proofes in antiquity. Some haue attributed this quality to them; to be voyd of feare, and boldly to cast themselves into the midst of dangers. *Strabo* reporteth, that certaine Frenchmen being brought to *Alexander* the Great; when he demanded of them, what it was they most feared; made this answer: *Nothing at all, except the Heauens should fall on our heads*. Signifying by this manly reply, that feare had no power to freeze their blood, or v-surpe any place in their warlike soules.

Strabo in Lib. 7.

A brave an-
swer of the
French to A-
lexander the
Great.

In like manner, they neuer knew what it was to flye, or turne their backs in the most dangerous fights; neither to gile so much as the least inch of ground: as the Emperour *Leo* declared in his Art Military or *Tacticks*, and *Chalcondilus* the Grecian, in his Turkish History. Both of these Authors do affirme, that they hold this the heaviest sinne, which can happen to be committed by them. The selfsame is also toucht by *Aelianus*, who deliuereth these very words. *Among all men, they that most affect dangers, and most valiantly expose their lines to perilles; I understand them to be the Gauls*. The whole subiect of their Songs, is of such men of vertue; as died valiantly in foughten battels. Crowned they combate, and adorned with Markes & Trophies of their victories: as we'll to honor the worthy acts which they haue done, as to serue for memory to posterity, according to the manner of the Grecians. But above all flight is held so dishonest and shameful among them, that very many times, they will not get themselves gone, or make escape away from a tottering house, though it be ready to fall vpon their heads, or all on a flame, and themselves in immediate danger to be burned. This may seeme very strange; and rather blame worthy, then commendable: yet it is done in no other regard, but only to shew what their resolution hath alwaies bene, as shunning all occasions, whereby they might bee reputed timorous.

Leo Impia. Tac.
Chalcondilus
Hist. Turke.

Aelian. De var.
Hist. lib. 11.

In like manner, the Emperour *Julian*, speaking of his sojourning among the Gauls, saith; *That it was with the most warlike, and onely couragious people of all other Nations*. *Pausanias* declareth, that although they were wounded quite thorough their bodies with the sword, and euen cleft in twaine with axes sharpe slices; yet notwithstanding, not a iote of their

In A. G. P. P. P.
P. P. P. P. P.
P. P. P. P. P.
P. P. P. P. P.
P. P. P. P. P.

Pasien Phocis

Vaconquer-
ble resolution
in the French
and what opin-
ion the
Greekes had
of them.Arist in Elicic.
lib. 3. cap. 7.No distincti-
on of years
among the
Gaules from
marching in
Armes.

Marcelin. l. 15.

* One that
cutteth off
his thumb, be-
cause he will
not go to war.

their courage abated. And when they wer shot through with darts and arrowes, so long as any respite of life remained, or the very last gaspe or breathing; they fought stil manfully, and made a massacre among their enemies: yea, there were many among them that snatched the Arrowes & Darts out of their own wounds, and shot them backe against the Greeks, or being neerer hand, slew them with the same Arrowes and Darts, even by meere stabs. Whereat the Greekes being amazed, to behold such wilfulnesse in fight, such courage, contempt of death, & prodigality of life; not knowing whereto they should attribute it, nor (to speake truly) what to say of it, (being wont to commend no men but themselves) they saide; *This goes quite beyond the nature of men.*

In the same case and respect, *Aristotle*, imagining that such strength and valiancy was without example, and above the capacity of any humane spirit: attributed this viciuete of soule, to a kinde of furious and naturall insensibility, not fearfull of any thing; neither earthquakes, nor the roughest stormes or tempests: *Even like* (saith hee) *as it is reported of the Celts or Gaules.* Warre was their true trade & exercise, there was not a man among them, that would excuse himselfe from marching to the field, without any distinction of ages. The olde man, wearied and spent as he was, went to it as cheerefully, as hee that farre greater force and vigor. A yong lad, euen in the first floure of his time, found therein no difficulty at all; he made offer of his youthfull members freely, to be hardened by colds, and inured to traualles, alwayes disposed and ready to support most difficult occasions, yea, and the very dreadfulest accidents of war.

In briefe, as it is confirmed by *Marcelinus*, a faithfull Author, a Souldier or mæfit for the warre, who hath liued any time among them; shall neuer be there mette withall, as among the Romanes: where there were some, that to shun the warres, would cut off some member of their owne, especially their thumbs; *Whom we termed* (saith he) *in derision and mockery.* *Marci.* To men of such base and feruile condition, as will thus cutt off a ioynt, to make themselves vncapable of being Souldiers, may bee referred that iniurious French

disgrace, *Polsron*, a police trunco; *A knue* hath his thumbs cutt off.

This generosity and greatnesse of courage, is likewise familiar among the women of France, whereof we haue testimony in the same Author *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who writeth thus. *If a man of Gaule enter into a quarrell, his wife being with him, there is not any troupe of strangers able to resist or stand against their strength. Especially, when the women are moued & enflamed with choller, stretching forth their brawny armes, gripping their strong knit hands together great and white as snow: so that both with feet & fists, they discharge blowes as liberally, as if they wer stones from slingz, or quarrels from Crossbowes.* And as they are thus excelling in magnanimity, so are they as complete in other perfections: but chiefly in providence, discretion, and good aduice.

VVereade, that before the Gaules passed into Italy, a strong sedition happened to grow among them, which dispersed it selfe into a ciuill warre. But the women, euen as the two Armies were ready to meete each other; threw themselves into the midst betweene them, and questioning the reason of their difference, drew them to so great equity, and fulnesse of content on cyther side; that they began admirable and reciprocall loue and kindnesse among them, not onely betweene the Townes and Cities, but also in the houses neighbouring together. Whereupon, after that time, they continued all consultations of their affaires (as well concerning warre as peace) with theyr wiues, and pacified all quarrels and differences with their neighbors and kindred, onely by their meanes. And therefore, in the composition which they made with *Hannibal*, when he passed by the Gaules, they concluded (among other Articles) in this manner. That if it so came to passe that if the Gaules pretended any wrong to be done them by the Carthegenians; the Carthagenian Captaines and Gouernours (which were in Spaine) should be the Iudges thereof. Contrariwise, if the Carthagenians could alleadge, that the Gaules had offered them any injury; the women of Gaule should bee Iudges therein. And therefore *Plutarke* had great reason, to ranke those Ladies in number, among them reputed to be vertuous women.

The spiritfull
courage of
the Gaulish
women.
Marcelin. l. 15.Plutarke
de
Clar. Mulier.The compo-
sition that was
made be-
tweene Han-
nibal & the
Gaules.

The

The Gaules
called their
wittes to con-
sultations and
councils.Kingdomes in
India where
Noble men
admit not
marriage.Of Bertrand
du Guesclin,
and his noble
minded Lady,
Tiphania.Behold what
generous
words of a
woman can
doe.

The Gaules euer called them to their counsels and consultations, as well for warre as peace, because they knew their naturall disposition to be such; as not a woman among them, would seeke any to soften and weaken (willingly) the boldest or most courageous enterprize her husband could vndertake. And this may be the cause, why the ancient Romane Souldiers would not be married: As now at this day, there are certaine kingdomes of the Indies, where the Noble-men will by no meanes admit marriage. But the Gaules knew well enough, that this sexe were so farre off, from any way hindring their Marttall designs; that they would by no meanes permit the very least inclination to negligence or cowardise; they rather serued as sharpe spurres to their vertue, to excite, encourage, and animate them more and more.

To this purpose, I may not omit a notable example, though not of the ancient Gaulish women; but of a French Lady, as yet recent and fresh in memory. *Bertrand du Guesclin* had benee alwayes a most valiant Knight, and one highly renowned in all Histories. After he had performed many worthie enterprizes, euer to his fame and honour: he married with a beautiful Lady, named *Tiphania*, descended of a noble family. After which marriage, he growing to leaue, and discontinue his former exercise of Armes; as he sate discourting with his Lady, she gently began to blame and reprove him, declaring, that (before their marriage) hee followed the warres, wherein hee had atchieued the cheefest reputation. And that it neyther suited with the nature, nor duty of a true Gentleman, to lose the least repute of honour wonne before, by ouer-much affecting a new made choise. As for mee (quoth shee) who ought to shine by the bright radiance of your fame, I shall account my selfe too low deiected, if you giue ouer a course so well begun, and lose your spirits in doating loue, werr it to one more worthy then my selfe.

These words did so neerely touch the Knight, that hee began againe to follow Armes, wherein he carried himselfe so valiantly, that they did well and worthily attribute it to him, to stand as a stout Rampier for France, in the very sharpest times of warre, and euermore made a meere

Barre of his body, against the hottest insuasions of the English. By vertue of his valour, King *Charles* the fifth, hauing reconquered most part of those territories, which had bene insuluted on in the reignes of the precedent Kings: alwayes helde head against that valiant *Edward*, turne the Blacke Prince, and Prince of Wales, and disappointed all his hopes. It was he that re-established *Henry* the 11. King of *Castille*, in his kingdom, in despite of all the Armies and English forces. Hee was also made Constable of France, by King *Charles* the fifth, who helde him in such endeared affection for his valour, that hauing bestowed great gifts on him in his life time; after his death, hee did him so much honour, as to let him be buried at *S. Denis*, at the feete of the same *Toombe*, which this King had prepared there for himselfe.

What couer is heere set downe, concerning this honourable Lady *Tiphania*, hath benee, and is as familiar to all the Ladies of France, who partake in the selfe-same affection; and couer rather to enflame, the freeze their husbands forwardnesse, in winning honour by Armes; and the like they are (in all respects) to their children. For whosoever will but aduisedly well consider, on the admirable generosity, and greatnesse of courage in the people of Gaule; they will make no meruaile at all, of those bolde words vied by the braue Souldier *Vercingetorix*. *If I could* (quoth hee) *write together all the French: I should compose such an Army of men, as if the whole world did conspire, and bend all force against them, they were not able to withist and them.* Take it as a vaunt or brauado who will. The very prooffe of their fights and conquests, made but by some part of their people, may yield sufficient testimony, that if the words spoken by *Vercingetorix* had bene put in execution; they would haue proued true, and the same effect must needs haue followed.

And to speake truly, if we conferre them with other Nations, we shall apparently perceiue, that the French haue gone beyond all in Military vertue. So many expeditions, and yet in so farre remote Countries, so many warres attempted, & fortunately finished; so many foughten battels; and so many actions of Generosity,

The honora-
ble actions of
Bertrand du
Guesclin.All the Ladies
of France are
equall to Ti-
phania.Vol. Cefin. com.
lib. 5.

The Romanes
always flood
in feare of the
Gauls.

Polyb. in lib.

Of the second
Punicke warre.

Had besieged
with the
Gauls, & led
them into
Italy.
Polyb. in lib. 4.

The Gauls
had war with
the Romanes
about 200.
years.

Stratagemes &
cunning, argue
the least part
of manhood.

sity, have made them sufficiently knowne to the world. The Greeks and the Romanes (albeit their sworn enemies) doe render but too true testimonies thereof: not speaking (in the like termes) of any other people whatsoever. But especially the Romanes, who neuer feared any Nation so much as they, whom they acknowledged to be fatal to their City, and the greatest thereof. So that when the Gauls of Italy, but particularly those on the higher side of the Alpes, made but a countenance of removing themselves; or designed any enterprise: they were immediately possessed with terror, and in a continuall apprehension, omitting no needfull provision of all things, even as if their City were to be besieged againe, or halfe surprized. Polybius faith. *They verily persuaded themselves, that they should never become Masters of Italy; no, nor conferre their owne lands sufficiently; so long as they had the Gauls to be their neighbors.*

They felt againe the force of the warlike Gauls in the second Punicke warre, when Hanniball went to encounter them in Italy. That great Capitaine passed then through Gauls, and made alliance with the Gauls, whose valor was well enough knowne unto him: and hee conducted them into Italy, where they did him great service against the Romanes. And notably doth Polybius remember them, when in that great day at Cannas, there were slain 4000. Gauls in the field on the Carthaginian side: *That were (saith he) the principall instruments of the victory, wonne by their blood for the Carthaginians, which was the most deadly day for the Romanes, next to that of Allia, where the Gauls overcame as many.* I forbear to speake of all the other encounters, batailles, and most signale warres, which this courageous Nation had against the Romanes, for the space of about two hundred yeares. It is easily discerned (even out of their owne reports) how many times the Gauls had the upper hand of them, and what dismal feares and amazements they haue put them to. Also, where they haue noted downe any conquering of the Gauls, it may be well observed, that it was compassed only by some stratagem, deceit or cunning, whereby (according to their own saying) they brought all their purposes to passe.

In a word, after that the Gauls of Italy were emptied of men (by continual wars) and brought into subiection, Polybius reporteth, *That there was the end of the Gauls war, she like whereof was neuer heard or seen, be it for courage, boldnesse, and resolution in Soldiers; be it for greatness of fights; be it for numbers of slaine men, or multitudes of their troups.* Further he proceeded on in the accidents of their wars, by way of giuing some encouragement to weaker mindes, against the dreadfull attempts of the Gauls: *Who made seizure (saith he) on the Greeks, not only before, but also in my time.* Of any other nation, he findeth none but the Grecians & the Romanes, that can deliuer any such true testimony of them: which rendreth faith sufficiently on their side, & (among all other people) they neuer could be followed. Albeit Cicero in his time, speaking of the Spaniards and the French (saith, *That the Spaniards exceeded in number, but the Gauls or French in valiancy.* Wherby is evidently seene, that in the comparison of these two Nations, he giueth the honour to the French, attributing to the other, nothing but number.

And yet me thinks it is strange to be credited, that the Spaniards should exceed the French in multitude of men, considering, that Spaine (as hath bin spoken herebefore) is described to be but badly inhabited, even by ancient Geographers, and them more moderne: whereas contrariwise, that France is so filled with men, and so greatly inhabited, as it is wonderful to behold. But it may bee, that the mighty numbers of the Gauls were not (as then) knowne, Gauls being not subiect to the Romanes, as Spaine was, which they held almost wholly. For whatsoever shall consider, what Armies the Gauls gathered from time to time, to make warre vpon the Romanes, according to the recital of Caesar himselfe, will iudge that Spaine, nor any other Province of Europe, could not be so fully furnished.

Moreover, it would not be much differing from our purpose, if wee should set downe, what troups of strangers the Romanes then kept at their pay: & namely, that they had more mercenary Soldiers out of Spaine, then euer they could get from France. Because those people being more barbarous, lesse ciuiliized, & polished with good carriage, gaue themselves

Polyb. in lib. 4.

Polyb. in lib. 4.

Cicero pro P. to Hispania, in libro 1. de Officiis, Titul. 1. de Gallia.

Concerning the slender inhabiting of Spaine.

Jul. Caesar in lib. 7.

The Romanes had more mercenary Soldiers from Spaine: then from France.

The naturall
breeding and
quality of the
Gauls.

The negligence of the
Spaniards in
ruling their
grounds, lea-
uing them to
be done by
their vices.

Learned
Students
in the
Gauls.

Cicero pro M. Manlio.

All Countries
subject to the
spoils of
strangers.
Italy & Rome

selues to no other exercises, but to wander at randome among the Mountaines, there to pilfer and rob from one another, or else to serue as mercenaries, partly to the Carthaginians, and partly to the Romanes, after they had once got footing there. On the contrary, the Gauls (of whom no question was at any time made to be no warriors, excelling in valour and greatness of courage) in regard that they were much ciuiliized, neuer liued after so base a manner. And although they had such plenty of warlike people, yet wanted they no means of freeing themselves from ydenesse, when their grounds were to be tilled and husbanded, or other Arts and Trades vsed, necessary for the life of man, as well in times of greatest turbulence, as seasons of more security. For no where can it bee read of them, as it is of the Spaniards, that they left their Lands barren, because they would not till them, but referred them wholly to their wives to take that paines, who both before and after their times of childing, were feigne to toy toyle and moyle themselves.

Other of our Gauls employed themselves in the studie of Letters, and exercises of Religion, and contemplation in celestiall matters: witness so many skillfull *Druides*, and such beside as followed after them, renowned for their Learning through all the parts of the world. So that the Gauls dwelling beyond Gauls, serued but very slenderly to the Romanes, vntill such time as they had conquered Gauls: then they found the sufficiency of their assistance, and acknowledged not only their vertue and valiancy, but also their infinite number of warriors. And this was the reason, why Cicero, speaking afterward to Caesar, concerning his victories in Gaul, said: *That hee had overcome Nations, innumerable in multitudes.*

Now, to speake of all other Countries, there is hardly any one of them, but it hath bene as a prey to strangers. Italy, sometime the Conquerresse of many people, with her Rome, calling her selfe, cheefe Lady of the world: was free not (for long time) exposed to the rauages, irruptions and pillages of the *Vuisigothes, Herules, Gepides, Ostrogotes, and Lombards*: who intirely sacked and rent her in peeces (each after other) and droue the people out of their dwellings? Spaine

became inuaded in the same manner, and afterward was cantoned by the *Vandales, Alanes, and Swenes*: yet were they also expelled (in following time) by the *Vuisigothes*, who established their owne abiding there. Next to them, came the *Ostrogotes*, who held the Country powerfully to long, till the *Sarrazins* overcoming them, were vntirpally possessed of well neere all Spaine. *Allemagne*, or *Germany*, was not it likewise made subiect to the inuasions of those people which dwelt more Northerly, who at length ouerthrew the whole Romane Empire? I say nothing of some other quarters of the world, where the like fortune hath many times happened: yet this is most certaine, that thorough all the Provinces of the earth, there haue bene changes of people, and of frequent Colonies.

But to speake more particularly of Spaine, at the first it was filled with people of the French Nation, as along the Riuer * *Anus* or *Ana*, now called *Gaudiens* in *Castille*, so farre as the Promontory *Arctabrum*, or *Cabo de finis terra*, in *Gallicia* in *Portugall*. Also the *Celiberians* in *Castille*, by the testimony of *Strabo*, *Ptolomie*, *Pomponius Mela*, *Pliny* and *Appian*. From whence it ensueth, that some ancient Geographers, as *Ephorus* and others, haue comprized them vnder *France*. But be it howe soeuer, Spaine hath continually bene taken, held and commanded by strangers: as by the *Ionians*, *Lydians*, *Thracians*, *Rhodiens*, *Phrygians*, *Cypriots*, *Phoenicians*, *Egyptians*, *Phoenices*, and *Carthaginians*, according as their owne Historians haue acknowledged. Since then, by the *Vandales*, *Alanes*, and *Swenes*, that inhabited there for a long time: and afterward by the *Vuisigothes* and *Ostrogotes*. At last, wholly filled with *Moors* and *Sarrazins*, who held it in possession about seuen hundred yeares. And there they remaine yet to this day (according to some Writers) in the Mountaines of *Andalusia*, called *Alpuexarrus*, whether the Armies of Conquerours could neuer come or reach.

Heereby may bee gathered, that they are a mingled people, and composed of so many seuerall Nations, as haue dwelt there in the countries from time to time. As their very language it selfe (euen the best polished and most frequent) sufficiently

Spaine in the
same condi-
tion.

Allemagne
or Germany
in no better
estate than the
other.

* The Riuer
Gaudiens,
which dis-
tributed
from Portugall
Strabo in lib. 4.

Diuers strange
Nations com-
manding
Spain.
Vastus & Te-
races.

Moors and
Sarrazins yet
abiding in
Spain.

The Spaniards
are a com-
pounded
people.

The pure and
entire condi-
tion of France

* A Rhetori-
cian of Alex-
andria, teach-
ing in Pompeii
boule.
Marcel, in l. 1. 5.

Marfeilles in
France, built
by the Phoe-
cians.

Marcellin, l. 1.

The Bretons
expul-
ed by the
English
Saxons.

Cornel. Tacitus
in vita Iul. A-
gricolae.

Colonies plan-
ted in Armo-
rica or Bre-
taine.

ently sheweth, consisteth (for the most part) of the Gothish and Arabick. It would aske an infinite and wearisome labour, to make search for all the mutations that haue ther happened. But France is a Country, which hath least bene that way ill entreated: as hauing kept herselfe more pure, entire, and neate from rauage, and incursions of so great numbers of strangers.

* *Timagenes*, an ancient Greeke Author that flourished in the time of *Augustus*, cited by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, saith; That according to the opinion of his Nation, the *Gauls* were *Autochthones*, that is to say, *Originaries*, and borne in and of the selfsame Country. Declaring thereby, that they were not come or deriued of any strangers Colonies: like the Athenians also attributed to bee a matter of great honour. I know well, how it may be objected to me, that *Marfeilles* was builded, and inhabited by the *Phoenices*; yet there was none other but that only Colonie, beside that which is reported of the children of valiant *Hercules*, which he had by the women of France, and who there commanded for sometime, as is testified by ancient Monuments and Antiquities of the *Gauls*, which *Ammianus Marcellinus* saith, *that he himselfe had seene in Gaul*.

As concerning the Britannijs or Bretons, who being expelled out of *England* by the *English Saxons*: they withdrew then selues into *Bretaigne*, the called *Armorica*. I hold, agreeing with the iudgement of many learned men, that they being ancient Pillars of the French, parting from the firme land of the *Gauls*, to dwell in the Isle which was before it: coming backe afterward, to refuge themselves in France; did but re-establish their owne ancient Country, and returne to their true originall. Naturall reason, for the neighbourhood both of the one and other, doth apparently shew it selfe. The same is confirmed by *Cornelius Tacitus*, & by the common opinion that then was, as also by the similitude and likenes, both in faces and manners of the inhabitants. And beside, there is to be seene in the Geographicall description of that Island (according to *Plolomy*) the names of many Gaulish people, who vndoubtedly had planted Colonies there. Such were the *Belgians*, the *Parisians*, the *Atrebatiens*, &c

the *Cornubians*.

As for the French, they were no strangers, they entred among the *Gauls*, not as enemies, but as friends and brethren to the *Gauls*: to deliuer them from the tyranny of the *Romans* and *Goths*, who had expelled them, and were (in that manner) restored to their former freedome, and so the *Gauls* and French became but one people, as shall hereafter more plainly be declared.

The *Goths*, hauing so long time kept their reuels in Spaine; to speake truly, came also among the *Gauls*, but yet for a very short while: nor was there any Eng-
lish or remarkable valor in these *Goths*, making comparison of them with the French. It is said, that their property was to be fearefull, and soone put to flight: so reporteth *S. Gregory Florentinus*, Archbishop of *Tours*, who liued somewhat neere to those times. And *Salustianus* that eloquent Priest of *Marfeilles*, acknowledged the *Goths* to be the most feeble and slothfull, among the generous Nations of the North parts. When they were in Gaul, and stood to encounter with the French: they durst not tarry, or make any head against them. The Kings *Mercureus*, *Chloris*, and *Cindibert*, beheld them to passe ouer the Pyrenean Mountains, yet they assailed and ouercame them in battaile, euen in Spaine, hard by *Toledo*, their capitall abiding. The *Burgundians* and *Germanes*, who had invaded some small parcels of France, were soone cut off, and quite extermined.

So the French and *Gauls*, conferred themselves within their own limits, without hauing any strangers mingled among them. And as (in former times) they filled the world with their Colonies or troops of people, so did they continually the like afterward: hauing againe peopled Germany and Italy, vnder the Emperour *Charles* the Great, and his successors. So that it is not without good reason, that (at this instant) the very greatest houses of Germany, deriue their originall from the French: as is declared by *Hermanus*, Count of *Near*, in an Epistle which he sent to the Emperour *Charles* the 5. on the the *Annales* of *Peppin* and *Charlemagne*.

True it is, that the *Gauls* haue bene overtaken by the *Romans*: but what people knew how to resist them; considering their

The entrance
of the French
among the
Gauls.

The *Goths*
came among
the *Gauls*.

*S. Greg. Flo-
rentinus*, in l. 1. 5.

Alaricus the
Goth, when
he came into
France, was
repulsed by
the French.
The French
were not
defeated by
him, but
he was
driven out
of the
country.

The be-
haviour of
the French
in the
warre
against
the
Goths.

Iosephus lib. 4.
de bell. Iudaic.

The words
of *Iosephus*
concerning
the *Romans*.

France last
conquered
by the *Romans*.

None of the
Romans could
conquer
France, but
Cesar.

Cesar made a
conquest
of France,
by France
itselfe,
and in a time
when they
were at diuis-
ion among
themselves.

their admirable order, and exact Military discipline? *Iosephus*, very fitly to this purpose, attributeth thereto all their great conquests and large extendure of the *Romane* Empire. So that after he hath demonstrated the forme of their Campe, their ordinary exercises for Armes, and a sumonary obseruation of all their behaviour, he concludeth. *All these being well considered, wee neede make no doubt to say; that the possessions was much lesse then the possessors. Adding withall, that hee extended so farre in declaring all this, not as any commendation to the *Romans* power, but rather as a comfort to the conquered.*

Moreover, of the *Western Prouinces*, France was the last conquered by them, whatsoever is els said to the contrary. Whereas (on the other side) *Spaine* came among the first into their hands, in the time of the wars against the *Carthaginians*. France was that Country, that longest of all resisted, and against which (to speake no more then truth) their invincible Armies, yea, they that were victorious throughout the whole world; became merely edgelesse and blunted, as not able to beare off their blowes. All other *Romane* Captains vtterly lost their labour, *Cesar* only excepted. Which is no meane honor to the *Gauls*, to yeeld themselves vnder the yoke of so great a Prince: who is acknowledged to be the most wise and perfect Captaine that euer was. And yet for all that, France was not conquered at the first onset, neither made surrender of her spoyle, without sweate and blood. That great Commander in warre, tooke intollerable paines, and travelled for the space of ten yeares continually, with all the power and strength of the *Romans*, which then held the more part of the wide world. And yet (euen then) he had not prevailed neither, if hee had not serued his turne with Frenchmen themselves, & made a conquest of France, by France. Diuisions and partialities, which were then on foot among them (an ordinary and fatall ruine to the most potent kingdomes) called him thither, wher finding all to be diuided in diuers factions, ciuill warre kindled among them, allied with many, and fortified with their troops, as namely them of *Arthun* and others; it was so much the more easier to be surprized by him, and in such an op-

portunity of aduantage.

All which notwithstanding, it is an admirable matter, and well worth the obseruation, that in the resistance made against him, by people so disioyned & perplexed: yet in ten whole yeares, the *Gauls* fought thirty ranged batailles, wherein, according to the account made by *Appian*, there were slain well neere eleuen hundred thousand able fighting men. And beside, himselfe testified in his Memories sufficiently, with what manner of people they had to deal: & they likewise could no way performe, without receiuing great losses, as there he seareth not to confesse.

If wee had but his *Ephemerides*, or particular Iournall booke, we should see other matters of his owne confession; considering that *Ammianus Marcellinus*, speaking of the conquest of the *Gauls*, saith: *He pacified them after many great losses on either side sustained in ten years war*. And as touching his owne person, it is recorded, that in a certain encounter, he was releued, (notwithstanding all his Greatnesse and goodly Armour) by a *Gaule*, who hauing remounted him vpon his owne horse, bare him away through all the throngs. But there came another *Gaule*, who brauely cryed to his companion, *Cesar*, *Cesar* in the ancient Gaulish language which is as much to say, as *Let Cesar passe*, & this was the reason of his safe passage. Wherein they worthily declared, that it was honour enough to their generous mindes, to carry *Cesar* safely away from danger, when they had him in their power, and could haue slaine him, *Satis est prostrasse*. The Grammarian *Seruius* citeth this example out of the *Ephemerides* or Iournals of *Cesar*, which wee cannot come by in these dayes. In like manner, *Cesar* knowing them wel, and hauing (on the other side) experimented the dulnes of the Easterne people, in the war which he had against *Pharnaces*, King of *Pontus*, saide. *Most happy was Pompey that he had nothing to do with the resolute French, but with the faint-hearted men of the East, for got the surname of Great at so cheape a Market*. In briebe, the *Gauls* were neuer ioyned to the *Romane* Empire, by any power in the *Romans*, but thorough their owne proper forces: as a great Captaine speaketh in *Tacitus*. *Verè reputantibus Galliam suismet viribus concessisse*.

Appianus lib. 4.
de bell. civil. &
in celis.

Cesar kept a
Iournall booke
of all actions
in Armes.
Marcel, in l. 1. 5.

Cesar releued
by a *Gaul*
in great ex-
tremity.

Seruius de vi.
in l. 1. 5. versum
Dixit prostrasse
ad equo.

* Who was
sane to king
Mithridates.

Histor. lib. 4.

K And

Josephus lib. 4. de bel. Iud.

And as King Agrippa declareth in Josephus. It was not through want of courage, or any dull neglect, that they were overcome: considering the Romanes themselves said, it was four score years, before they could fasten hold in one small Atracental or South-erly Province of Gaule, & afterward fought so much against Caesar: But rather it was by the frugal managing of their own felicity, wherein they pacified both destiny and fortune: whereby they plainly saw that the Romanes got the upper hand rather by force than otherwise, and (in a word) by the divine permission or providence. Nay, and that which is much more, after so long warre, against such power, and so great a Captaine, yea, and after so many losses: yet notwithstanding, Gaule fell not into the Romans hands, as being subiect, but rather as allied, and in farre better fashion then all the other Prouinces.

Gaule not so much conquered, as lovingly leagued.

De bello Gallico. lib. 8. in fi.

He that continued Caesars Commentaries, saith: That while hee wintered in Belgia, he had a carefull eye, onely to maintain the people in amity without giving to any one either will or occasion, to rise or take themselves to Armes. For that which hee most of all desired, was, that vpon his departing, there might happen no occasions to flay him: or if hee had cause to bring an Army thither againe, yet that he should not bee troubled with any long warre, whereunto Gaule gaue listening with very good attention, when hee saw her selfe out of apparant danger. Vv herfore, causing the Citties to come before him, with his best respect, and greatest honour he embraced them, and gaue very goodly gifts to the principall and most apparant persons: not imposing on the rest any charges, or extraordinary subsidies, whereby he contained them in peace, and the better disposition to obedience throughout all Gaule. And so by this cunning, Gaule (at last) gaue place, and became mildely quieted. For the affability of Caesar, and the courtesies he extended towards them, did more conquer them in one winter, then all his Forces, Legions and Armies could doe in ten years.

One winters kindeesse in Caesar wonne more then all his Legions could doe in ten years warre.

ouer and beside, the titles of Alliances, of Peace, and of friendly conference, are so frequent in the Romane Authors, euer where they speake of Gaule; that it plainly testifieth on her behalfe, that shee

was not conquered by Armes, but rather left a louely liberty, by friendly parlanes and confederations. Which Ammianus Marcellinus himselfe also confirmeth, for he saith, that Caesar; after many losses on the one side & other sustained, during a warre of ten years continuance: in the ende (by external pactions and agreements) ioynd the Gaules to the Romane society and alliance. We see also, that they left some people in Gaule wholly free, as (among other) the men of Aunergne, who termed themselves as Noble as the Romans, and called them their brethren; the men of Aethion, the Marsellians; them of Tionnois, Foresis, and the round neighbouring Countries.

Now as concerning Subsidies & Contributions, a Romane Gouverneur, named Cerialis, sheweth plainly in Tacitus: That such tribute was but for maintenance of the Legions, and for preruation of peace in the Prouinces; which could not bee continued without Armes nor Armes without wealth. As for the rest (saith hee, speaking to the Gaules) all is in common with vs, oftentimes you gaue command to our legions, your selues also gouerne in the Prouinces, as others do in our Empire. By the selfe-same reason, that which bound them most to duty, was the entire amity of the Romanes to them. Caesar made a great number of their Citizens Romanes, and Angustus in like manner, though in more sparing fashion, with some restriction fro vulgarizing to great an honour of the City or Bourgeship of the Romanes. Afterward, the Emperour Claudius gaue the right of Senators to the principall of the Gaulish Lords. And in the ende, Galba, for the signale seruices which the Gaules had done to him and the Romane Empire against Nero: hee made them all Citizens, without exception.

The like was neuer done in, or for Spain, where there were but some Colonies: had the same right, and no more then to any other Prouince of the Empire: who obtained that priuiledge, but by generall Edit of the Emperour Antoninus Caracalla. Nor was it without great reason, that they made such great account of this Prouince: considering, what great advantages it gaue vnto them. For, were it in respect of treasure, rich Gaule furnished them with more reuenues; then (by vsing the common manner of

Gaule not conquered by Armes, but courted. Marcellinus lib. 1. Part de conat. belli maximo. clades fortis. hostis. sed etiam. pacis. etiam.

Plin. lib. 4. cap. 19.

Corn. Tacitus. Histor. lib. 4.

Caesar made many of the Gaulish Citizens Romanes.

Annal. Tacitus. lib. 1.

L. in orbe. romano. D. de. Statu. bonis.

Treasure of the Gaules.

Pelagius Paterculus. Soldiers for the war out of Gaule chiefly.

Caesars victory against Pompey attributed to the Gaules.

Plut. in vit. Caesar. Pompey was alienated at the bread where on the Gaules fed on in warre.

The Gaules sent to succor M. Crassus against the Parthians.

Plut. in M. Crasso.

The admirableness of the Gaules to young Crassus.

(saying) all the rest of their Empire, as it is recorded by Pelagius Paterculus. Were it for leuying vndaunted Souldiers, and for such as they mustered from thence: it consisted the maine strength of all their troops. And that Caesar knew well enough, and published it sufficiently abroad, as hauing made choise of them above all other, and (by their means only) came to possesse the Empire of the whole world. For ouer and beside what hath formerly beene said, concerning the wealthy treasures of France: the valiancy of the Gaules holdeth the most eminent place, by whose courage he was especially and principally serued, to gaine that greatnesse, whereunto hee had so long time aspired.

The victory which hee wonne against great Pompey, ought to bee attributed to the valour & warlike vertue of the Gaules. And if he had not bin furnished with such men, valiant and strong, not onely against the enemy, but also to endure famine, and all other kinds of necessities euen to the feeding on bread made of grasse & roots; he had bin lost in his hopes, and vtterly defeated by the long & lingering delais of his enemy. This was that which most of all amazed Pompey, who gaue expresse charge, that such dread should not bee scene in his Camp; for feare of disheartening his Souldiers, or driving them into dereliction of their paines, wher they considered, the sharpe extremities suffered by their enemies, with whom they dealt so cruelly, that they left them nothing to feed on, but euen as brutish beasts.

Moreover, Caesar hauing sent a small number of Gaules, for great succour to M. Crassus against the Parthians; these were the men, who (in that most vnhappy day for the Romans) performed most strange exploits of Armes, and shook the enemies victory very sharply. These were the men in whom young Crassus reposed most confidence, as being the warriors, with whom he performed admirable actions of prowesse. For they received (with their bare hands) the sharpe points of the Parthians Pikes, and closing with them body to body, threw them to the ground, among their horses feetes; where they lay all along stretched out, vnable to releue themselves, onely through the massy weight of their Armor. Many ther

were beside, who forsaking their owne horses, crept vnder the bellies of the belonging to their enemies, to pierce & stab them with the points of their Swords: which causing the horses to bound aloft, by extremity of the anguish they felt, trampled vnder their feete both their masters & enemies together, and so fell dead without any rescue.

The same Caesar, prepared a complete Legion of Gaulish Souldiers, which hee called the *Larke*, and added it to the Romane Legions, and whereto (at length) he gaue the honour of Bourgeship. Nay, and that is much more, hee not knowing how he might worthily enough recompence the Gaules: made a great number of their Senators, to the great discontenting of many Romanes. And as for the Caualtery or horsemen, wherein the Gaules euermore excelled all other Nations in warre: Caesar had (almost) none other, but continually ready at this seruice ten thousand Gaulish horse, according as it is declared by Appian. These were the French horse, that afforded so many great seruices to Caesar; as well in Spaine against *Affricus* & *Petereus*, Lieutenants to Pompey; as afterward in *Affrica*. Vvher it is said, that in one fight, lesse then thirty Gaules in number, fought against two thousand Mauritanians, and droue them to flight.

Nere to *Munda* in Spaine, Caesar fought against the sonnes of Pompey, where all had bin vtterly lost for him, hee knew not any means for helpe or redresse: till the Gaulish horsemen reconferred all, and was the cause, that the day (being before reputed for desperate) came solie to Caesar. His successors found themselves alwayes well serued, both with ordinary horse and foote of the Gaules. Tacitus maketh mention of a Cohort or Regiment of the *Sicambrians*, which did many remarkable deeds, in the warre against the Thracian Mountaineers: *Who were (saith he) prompt and hardy against dangers, and no lesse dreadful for their Armes and order of marching in battaile array.* This I do the more willingly set downe, because of those Gaulish Sicambrian Nation, the French are properly descended.

The Poet *Claudian* auoucheth, that as other Prouinces furnished the Emperours with diuers commodities: so did

Caesars Legion of Gaules, learned by him the *Lark*. Sueton. in Iulio. cap. 44. Sueton. in Iulio. cap. 76. & 80.

Appian. De bel. Civili. lib. 2.

Autor de bello Affrica in prius. Gaule bello, G. milis.

Caesar succored by the Gaules on a desperate day.

Corn. Tacitus. in Annal. 4.

De laud. b. S. r. r. r. D. G. Gal. tarbar militis.

Greece spoyle
d & wasteth
by the Goths.

The Gauls
hated to be
commanded
by a Gallie
Emperor.

Tiberius Pollia-
nus. Ty. Lib.
1. De Polli-
anis 2.

Politian in
Cato.

The Gauls
were neuer
truly subie-
cted to the
Emperors.

France alwayes fit them with men for the warres. The same Author faith in another place, that vnder the Emperors *Aracadius* & *Honorius*, about the time of the insurrection and reuolt of *Gildas*, a great Army, composed (for the most part) of Gauls, was brought to succour Greece, then rauaged and spoiled by the *Goths*; and they performed there such deeds of valour, as holpe the Country to recouer her right. So that being (for long time) wel entreated by the Romans, partaking in the honours and administration of the Empire: it was no matter of maruaile, that their peace should be of so long continuance. One onely thing also was like- sum & burdenous to the, in regard where- of, they troubled the Romane Empire with some stirres and perturbations, the Gauls being naturally addicted to vertue and severity. And therefore they hated to be commanded by such Emperors as were negligent, dissolute, and quite giuen ouer to all vices: which made them despite subiection to such as was *Tiberius*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Commodus*, *Helioabius*, *Galen*, and other such like monsters of their names. They would endure none but vertuous Princes, and such Governours were the fittest men to confirme and keepe them continually in peace.

Heereupon was it, that the Emperour *Valerian*, in a Letter of his said; *That hee had made a certaine man, named Polthimius, Governor of Gaule. A man (saith he) well worthy of the Gauls severity.* A word sufficient to reiect the obiection of leuitie, wherewith some would haue reproched them. Another Author, writing the life of the Emperour *Carus*, confesseth: *That to command the Gauls, there needed an Emperour very constant and vertuous.* So that being vnable to suffer the detestable vices of many Romane Emperors, they departed (at euery occasion) in this respect from their obedience: whereby it may be iustly said, that they continued alwayes free, and being not truly subiected, gaue their seruice to no other Emperors, but such as themselves repured worthy. Vntill such time, as vpon the declination and fall of this great Empire, by the insatiable auarice of Romane Governours, and other insupportable charges: they altogether fell off from them, and gaue ayde to their compatriots the French, and so wholly

did roote out the Romanes name.

But to examine a point (heeretofore handled) somewhat more particularly, it cannot bee faide with any reason, that France was conquered by the Romanes before Spaine: neither that the Spaniards made any more resistance, or continued longer time from subduing or subiection. For on the contrary, it appeareth, that the Carthagenians possessed themselves (in few yeares) of a great part of Spaine: euen at such time as the Romans fell likewise on it, and carried away their share without any difficulty. Vntill the treaty of peace, made betwene the Romans & *Hadruball*, chiefe Captaine for the Carthagenians, wherein it was cōtenuanted, that the Riuer *Iberus*, now called *Ebro*, should bee the bound of the Empire for these two people, and that the *Saguntines*, free people originally of Greece, who were betwene them both, should confederate with the one and other.

After this, it is sufficiently knowne, that the Romanes had long time made warre against the Carthagenians in Spain, who gaue them there many valiant fights. During which while, no estate, or fewe, made mention off among the Spaniards; who stood but as spectators, in expectation of the yssue, to see which of those two people should haue command ouer them. This was at the beginning of the second Punicke warre, when the *Scipios* (after they had spent eight yeares in war) were slaine by the Carthagenians. And afterward, *Great Scipio*, turnamed *Africanus*, being sent thither, after diuers encounters, and taking Townes from the Carthagenians: expelled them wholly thence, & first of all made it a Romane Prouince, in the yeare of the Citie of Romes foundation CCCCXLI. All the busines which he had with the Spaniards, was for some reuolts of particular people, whom he likewise as soone suppressed. So that very truly *Amianus Marcellinus* hath saide: *That all the Prouinces of firme Land in Spaine, were the first conquered by one Prouince by the Romanes.*

All Historians agree together, reporting also, that in the yeare CCCCCLII, two Pretors were created at Rome to gouerne Spaine, which was then diuided in two parts, and termed *Citerior* & *Pterior*, so wit, on this side, and beyond *Ebro*.

France ne-
conquered
the Romanes
before Spaine.

Plutarch Estor-
mator.
Tit. Livius in l.
31. Anti. de
Pun. lib. 6. c. 47.

T. Livius in l.
31. c. 47.

* Saguntina
City in Spaine
beyond the
Rus and
from the 31

The second
Punicke warre
wherein the
Scipios were
slaine, & the
commanding
great Scipio
into Spaine.

Marcellus

Tit. Livius in l.

Cato Senior
sent into
Spaine.

Plutarch Estor-
mator.
Tit. Livius in l.
31. Anti. de
Pun. lib. 6. c. 47.

At what time
the Romanes
first entered
into Gaule.

Strabo in Lib. 4

A defective
kind of ma-
king warre.

* People of
Boetica in
Spaine.
* People be-
tweene Gal-
licia and Por-
tugall.

ra. The elder *Cato* was also sent thither, to quell the reuolts of some people. When he had ouercome them, & made prouision, that no more rebellions might afterward happen: he sent his Letters & command to euery City in particular, to this effect, that they should cast down to the ground their wals and fortifications, & disposed the action so orderly, that his command was obeyed in the Cities, and he arriued ther at the same time. So they being verily perswaded in each City, that this command stretched but to that place onely: yielded the more willingly, which otherwise they would not haue done. Whereupon ensued, that in one day, all their Townes were dismantled, and their wals raced. In regard of which successe, *Cato* made his vaunt; *That hee had taken more Townes in Spaine, then there were daies.*

Now, as concerning Gaul, the Romanes neuer had footing there, but in the yeare IVCXXII. & in Provence only: about an hundred yeares after that *Spaine* was wholly conquered. Nor had they there but a very small parcel, which was a nere neighbor to them: all Gaule being neuer made a Prouince, but by *Cesar*. By what likelihood of truth can it be said, that *Spaine* was brought vnder the power of the Romane Empire, after France? Neuerthelesse it is very true (as *Strabo* saith) that the difficulties which the Romanes had in *Spaine*, to make it peaceable, grew onely through the reuolts of some particular Townes & people, and by the incursions of the heues gathered together in troopes, and these (of necessity) were to be chastised. So, making war, not in grosse, or with a body of iust Armes, but by peeces and parcels, one after another, in small courtes and surprizals: the Romanes had more trouble to finde out, then conquer them. Againe, although *Spaine* was held & commanded wholly by the Romanes, yet notwithstanding, there remained some people, dwelling in difficult, sharpe & mountainous places, as * *Baques*, & * *Astures*: who afterward, in the time of *Augustus*, were wholly vanquished, and added to the rest of *Spaine*. As also (about the same time hauing conquered *Aquitaine*) he made it a Prouince, as the three other of Gaul.

Moreover, there cannot bee found so great a number of worthy Captaines, af-

foorded by any country, like vnto France. As were among the ancient *hellonians* and *Sigonsians*, chiefe of the first & furthest off expeditions among the Gauls: *Brennus*, that surprized *Rome*, and another *Brennus*, who afterward subdued the most part of *Europe* and *Asia*. *Dumoris*, *Diniconis*, *Ambiorix*, *Dumnatus*, *Vercingetorix*, *Diditacus*, and many more recorded by *Cesar*. And to set Kings aside, who can recount all the Dukes, Earls, Barons, Lords & Gentlemen, that haue excelled in the Art of wars. They are not to be numbered, such as haue bene in later times, as *Godfrey of Bullen*, king of Ierusalem: besides many Princes and Lords, as went in the expeditions to the holy Land, the wars of *Spaine* and *Africa*, against the *Turkes*, *Moors*, and *Sarrazins* at sundry times. The Marshall *Bouciquant*, in the dayes of king *Charles* the first, as also *Iohn de Saintré*, knight; *Bertrand du Guesclin*, Constable of France; *Enguerrand*, Lord of *Coucy*; the Conte de *Dunois*, chiefe of the famous house of *Longueville*, the right hand and maine helpe to King *Charles* the 7. for expulsion of the bolde English. *La Fiere*, *Potbon de Saint-rales*, *Tannequy du Chiffell*: *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, one of the Ancestors to great *K. Henry*, hee, that after he had conquered a great part of *Italy*, bare away the renowned victory of *Ravenna*, trampling (vnder his feete) all the forces of *Spaine* and *Italy* coniuied against him. *Odet de Foix*, Lord of *Autrec*; the Captain *Bayard*; the Lord of *Chamont*; *Louis de la Trimouilles*; *Guillaume* and *Martin du Bellay*; *Charles de Bourbon*, Constable of France; *Frances de Bourbon*, Duke of *Anguyen*; *Charles* and *Timoleon de Colfe*, of the house of *Brillac*, and an infinite number more, most honourably remembered by the best Historians.

What shall we say of our Kings *Merenne*, *Chlovis*, *Childbert*, *Chlothaire*, *Charles Martell*, *Pepin*, *Charles the Great*, *Hugh Capet*, *Louis le Gros*, *Phillip Augustus*, *S. Loays*, *Phillip* the third, *Phillip le Bell*, *Charles* the first, turnamed the wise, *Leues* the twelfth, *Frances* the first, and the valiant *Henry* the fourth, father to the King now reigning?

On the contrary, *Trogus*, speaking of *Spaine*, saith. *Int. mta. feculorum serie, nullus illis Dux magnus, prater Viriatus fuit.*

What famous
Captaines
France hath
yielded from
time to time.

Godfrey of
Bullen, King
of Ierusalem.

One of the
best Soldiers
that euer
France bred.

Famous war-
like Kings
of France.

Trog. Pompein
lib. 4.

Virianus the
hardy Luffi-
man.

*qui annos decem Romanos varia victoria
fauguit. Adeo feris propiora quam homini-
bus ingenta sunt. In longi successu of ages, they
never had any chiefe Guide for warre, beside
Virianus Luffianus, who laboured the Ro-
manes for the space of ten years. So that (saith
he) they came neerer in nature to savage
beasts, then to men. And addeeth further,
that they followed such a Captaine, ra-
ther by occasion, then out of any iudge-
ment, hauing not made any election of
him.*

Strabo in Lib. 4.

*Nor can there be desired a better, and
more certaine testimony of valour, and
generous nature in the French, then that
which Strabo deliuereth in these words.
All those people whom we terme Gaules, are
Maritall, courageous, & ready of the helmes
to fight: And yet notwithstanding, they are
very simple, and no way wicked or euill in-
clined. Heereeto he addeth. That they bring
nothing to the fight but vertue and courage,
without any craft, superchery, or brauery.
And although (saith he) they are full of heat
to fight; yet are they (for all that) capable
to understand reason, and easie to bee per-
suaded. Willing to undertake the quarrell,
for such as they see to be iniuriously wronged
and offended.*

In Lib. 8.

Copias habet
in Gallia bel-
licose confectas, lo-
dices, pedites, &
contra Galla-
los homines ap-
tissime que
in hisse, qui
per totum
non per d. Lum
d. m. are cor-
euerant.
Cicero in
Philip. 5.

*The Author of the Commentaries on
the warre which Caesar made in Affricke,
be it Hirtius, be it Oppius, or wholoener
else, saith. That the Gaules were men open-
hearted, and no way deceiuers, vsing to fight
by vertue and not by subtilty or fraud. The
same Strabo auoucheth in another place,
saying: They are all warriors, and principally
good Knights. for the best Cavallerie of the
Romanes, was composed of the Gaules. The
Romanes alwayes made most especiall
account of the Gaulish horsemen, for
Caesar found himselfe to bee best serued
with them. And Cicero hearing that the
gouernment of Transalpine Gaul should
be giuen to M. Anthony, cryed out. *Est
enim opinio decretum aliquem M. Anton.
Gallum vltimum quam Plinius obtinet:
Quid hoc est aliud, quam hosti arma largiri
primum neruos belli pecuniam infundere. De-
inde equitum quantum velis? Can any
thing else be done heerein, but only to thrust
Armes into the hands of an enemy? First of
all infinite summes of money, which are the
nerues and sinewes of warre: And next, as
many men well horsed, as he would haue with
him. This passage is sufficient, whereby**

to conceiue and certainly obserue, the
wealthy treasures of France, and the opin-
ion held thereof.

*The exercises of these people, spake
fully the matter of war so much by them
affected, alwayes louing a manly & cheer-
full disposition of the body, and contain-
ing grosse corpulency: so that they con-
demned (in very great fines) all such yong
men, whose bellies exceeded the ordina-
ry measure of their girdles, according to
the auouching of Strabo. Moreover, the
French haue bene reputed to surpass all
other Nations, in these two noble and
warlike exercises, hunting, and ryding
great horses. Hunting, which is nothing else
but a lively image of warre, and an assidue
meditation thereof, as Xenophon saith. Egin-
hard, the nursing-child of Charles the
Great, and his Secretary, writing his life,
speakeeth thus. *Exercebatur assidue equita-
do ac venando quod illi gentilitium erat, quia
rex villa in terris natio inuentur que in hac
re Francis posset equari. He exercised him-
selfe daily to hunting, and to mount on horse-
backe. Wherein (saith he) he relished of the
whole Nation. For there is not any people in
all the world, that can heerein surpass, but
only may endeavor to equall the French.**

*But before I can finish this discou-
rse, concerning the warlike vertue of the
French. I cannot forbear to say some-
what of that which they performed on
the day of * Nicopolis against the Turkes:
where a man may well say, that a small
handfull of French Gentlemen, excelled
(in prowesse) whatsoeuer were reade in
Histories, of all the braue exploits in war
that euer were done. Not Leonides of the
Greekes at the Thermopylae, nor Caudinus
of the Romanes in Sicily, is any way fol-
lowy comparison with them: the history
followeth in this manner.*

*Charles the sixt reigning in France, the
King of Hungaria sent Ambassadors vn-
to him, entreting that some succor might
be afforded him, against Baiazeth's first,
Emperor of the Turkes, the most remark-
able warrior that euer was of the house
of the Ottomans. The King consenting
thereto very gladly, many Lords & Gen-
tlemen of France prepared themselves to
be seene in this voyage, to the number of
about a thousand or twelue hundred. A-
mong others, there was the Conte d'Eu,
Contable of France; the Conte de la*

The exerci-
se of the Gal-
licople de-
red their de-
clination to

Strabo in
lib. 4.

Hunting and
riding great
horses.

Xenophon.
In vita Car-
Magni.

The greatest
river in Eu-
rope, rising
out of the hill
Armoda in
Germany. In
Illyricum it
receiveth too,
other rivers
into it, where
it is cold iller
and there is
broadest.

500 hundred
French Lan-
ces set vpon
200000 Tur-
kes & their lances

A far vindi-
cent army
of Turkes to
meddle with
so few of the
French.

Frailty of
valour.

The hill
of the few
used French
on the day
of fight at
Nicopolis.

*Marche, the Lord of Concy, the Lords of
Trimonville, and Iohn, Conte de Nevers, son
to the Duke of Burgongne, who was chief
Commander. When they were ioyned
with the king of Hungaries army, hauing
past the river * Danubius, they bare away
(in assault) the honor of diuers Townes:
and at length came to lay siege before
the City of Nicopolis.*

*VWhile the greater part of the Army
besieged the City, Enguerrand Lord of
Concy, taking with him five hundred
Lances: made vp into the Countrey, to
seek some enemies that they might fight
withall, and it is credibly reported, that
(verie nere vnto them) there was a troop
of Turkes, of about twenty thousand in
number. Now, albeit this multitude ex-
ceeded their finall companie beyond all
measure: yet notwithstanding, they re-
solved to grapple with them. And hauing
first of all drawne them beyond a wood,
wherein there was an ambuscado; they
came and charged them in the rere. The
fight was (for all that) cruell, and of long
continuance, wherein the French, al-
though they were so few against so great
a number; yet they did performe won-
ders that day. So that in the end, the
Turkes being disheartned, faintned ex-
traordinarily, & more then fifteen thou-
sand lay slaine in the field.*

*Some short while after, Baiazeth be-
ing come with a dreadfull Armie, con-
sisting of more then three hundred thou-
sand fighting men: they advanced them-
selves to deale with the enemies armie,
being not worthy to be termed any num-
ber, because they were (in all) but seauen
hundred, when they beganne the fight.
The French small troops, made a good-
ly fight to behold, being all well armed
and appointed, in rich glittering and gor-
geous Armors, wanting no coit of golde
and siluer, and brauely mounted on gal-
lant horses, most sumptuously barbed &
caparioned; so that such as saw them,
might well haue termed them an Armie
of Kings. But (beyond all the rest) vvith
what force, ardour and courage they
fought, although they were meerey shut
vp, and round railed or ringed in vvith in-
numerable enemies. At the first on-
ly, they wholly defeated and ouerthrew the
auangard and first battell of the Turke,
bearing them on stil before them, euen to*

the verie midst of the bodie of the maine
army, where was Baiazeth himselfe.

*Many there were, who pertourning
meere miracles of manhood in fight, cleit
or hewed out their passage thorow the
prease, and very thickest of all the Turkish
Army, compelling them to make them-
way, both for going on and returning
backe again, euen to two or three severall
times of enforcement. And yet no one
man among that poore small troop, who
seeing the vnauoydable danger of death,
was desirous to take hold on any aduan-
tage, or shew so much as a countenance
of retiring, albeit their enemies (gladly)
offered them many meanes. All resolved
to loose their liues, but yet the enemy
bought them at very deere rate, filling
the field vvith mountaines made of their
dead bodies: euen till such time as the
fight hauing held a great deall of the day,
the most part of the French lying dead
on the ground, and the rest (a very small
number) wearied vvith killing the Turkes,
and pierced through vvith wounds being
ouervvhelmed vvith multitudes, were (in
the end) taken prisoners. But it was ge-
nerally held for truth, that if the great bo-
dy of the Hungarian army (being well-
neere the number of an hundred thousand
able men) had seconded them, or vied nee-
uer so little resistance, in making; but a
shew of vvithstanding the enemy, to hin-
der the French from being so enclosed;
(by any forwardnesse in redeeming them,
and not fearefully fly away on heaps thro-
rough the valley, as the Hungarians most
cowardly did, suffering themselves to be
murthed, vvithout any offer of fight) the
day had remained to the Christians. And
I dare speake it, that the power of the
Turkes, which afterwards so great enlar-
ged it selfe (meerey throw our diuifi-
ons) had then bin vterly ruined from the
top to the bottome.*

*Then you plainly perceiue, that of
this small troope of resolute Champions,
the greater part of them lay dead in the
field, hauing made a slaughter of infinite
enemies, more by fifty times then they
were, and fought to their latest drop of
bloode; but verie few of them remained
prisoners. But on the next day, Baiazeth
going himselfe in person, to view the field
of battell, and take acknowledgement
of the dead, when he found that for one
French*

Most admi-
rable corage &
manhood de-
liuered appa-
rently by the
French, and at
a time of most
extreme triall.

Great negli-
gence in the
armie of the
Hungarians,
to faile the
men vvich
fought for the

But few priso-
ners taken of
the small
French compa-
ny.

Balaizeth had but little joy in his deare victory, desiring to deale no more with the French.

Frenchman flaine, whole heapes and piles of Turkes filled vp the field, and all his Army left in such pittifull condition, he took it so desperately, and entered into such outrageous choller, as beeing vnable to confider on his losse, or take any means for contentment, hee commanded a passage vnto death thorough the army, of all the prisoners, except about some twentie of the greatest Lords: as the *Conte de Nevers* the Generall, and others; who being knowne, were saued and put to their ranfomes. *Balaizeth* complaining on so fadde a victory, which cost him so deare, could not depart thence but very pensively; and in plain truth, such another overthrow would absolutely haue confounded him altogether.

This may seeme sufficient for the valiancie of the French. But som may obiekt, that such warlike people, accustomed to liue among Armes and Martiall exercises, should bee voluntary disdainers of matters appertaining to Iustice, acknowledging no other right then that of Armes. *Forbear* (said *Pompey*) till to morrow, to alledge your Lawes to vs, who haue our swords by our sides. This is quite contrary to the French, who are no way to be lesse commended for their iustice then for their valor and excellency in actions of armes, and haue euermore bene accounted to be true louers of Iustice. *Agathias* a Grecian authour, who liued more then a thousand yeares since, hath prayed and commended the French for their Iustice. *Whereof* (saith hee) *they are verie desirous, as also great louers of their Country.* He further addeth, *That because they possesse a most assured estate, they haue (as their victory and support) many goodly principles engrauen in the hearts of their Kings and People.* Why then let mee vndoubtedly tell yee, that among all other Nations, the Gauls & the French haue most highly cherished and loued Iustice, and haue alwayes religiouslie honoured it, yielding themselves thereto, and making continuall exercise thereof, without any passion.

And not to make repetition of an infinit number of goodly institutions, and diuers examples of their Iustice, it may well appear by this notable custome, which both Greeke and other ancient authours haue obserued among them. To wit, that if any one haue slaine a Citizen or Bourgeois, he hath no other infliction but banishment; whereas, if hee commit the like offence on

the person of a stranger, he is punished with death: for the paine is augmented in consideration of the stranger, to whom the more easily the injury may be offered, so much the more (they hold) that the offence which he hath done, ought to be feverently punished and reuenged. It may be thought somewhat hard, that a stranger should be fauoured and defended, more then a Citizen. To cut off which difficulty, we see by the diuine law, ordained on the strangers behalfe, that he is so oftentimes repeated and defended, that a man must very carefully keepe himselfe from harming him, and that iustice must be rendered him equal with a Citizen. And questionles it may be truly said, that (euen at this day) there is not any country in the world, where a stranger is more humanely entertained, lesse offended, and more defended in all right of iustice, then among the people of France.

In like manner, we finde by probable histories, that (very often times) Princes and straunge people haue referred their differences to the iustice of France, as well of the Kings, as of the Parliaments. Among other, the reputation of their Iustice in King *Dagobert*, was spread so farre into strange Nations, that the Hungarians, the Sclauonians, and other people neighboring about, desired him to be Iudge in their differences. And more, the Sclauonians said, that if ever he came into their country, they would acknowledge & obey him, as if he were their King.

Furthermore; let it neuer be said or imagined, barbarism at any time had entertainment among the Gauls. Continually they were most human, hauing milde and well polished spirits by nature, & being aduantageously shaped or fashioned for the study of all arts & Sciences: especially they studied eloquence in such sort, that the elder *Cato* in his originals cited by *Christus*, hath rendered this testimony of them. *That they were quick conceited & industrious principally in two things; in the Art military, & in well speaking.* The proof hereof appeared in that *Hercules of Gauls*, so much renowned by our forfathers, figured in such fashion, that from his mouth hung dangling downe at his tongue, manie small chaines of fine gold, wherewith he tied & bound the people by the eares, leading them whether so euer he pleased, & with their

A strange more fauour and defend: then a Citizen by the law of God.

Strange people & people: laue referre cases in Court to the Iustice of France. *Suetonius*, cap. 22.

No barbarism at any time among the Gauls.

Charlus, G. Marquis, indubious & indisputable testimony: angelic.

Concerning matters belonging to Iustice.

Plutarch in his *Pompey*.

Agathias in l. 1.

The French great louers of Iustice.

A notable example of Iustice among the French. *Stobæus*.

Wounds of more power then weapons.

Suetonius in his *Cicero*, lib. 2. cap. 30.

Iuuenal, in Sat. 10.

Say. 15.

An answer to a false conceited opinion.

Suetonius de *Claudio* Rhetor.

Suetonius de *Vell. Gramm.*

their owne good wills, free from all constraint. Declaring by this figure, what precious account they made of well speaking, and what power wordes had: no lesse (but rather greater) then that of Armes, to subdue people, & cause them become obedient willingly.

Vnder the Romane Emperors, there was a combate of eloquence in the City of *Lyons*, fought in Greeke and Latine; wherein, such as were vanquished, gaue the prizes to their victors, and were constrained (besides) to write in their commendation. And as for such as performed no matter worth the esteeming, they were bound (by necessity) to wipe out what they had done with a Spunge, or with their owne tongues; except they better affected, to be either beaten with rods, or throwne headlong into the River. Wherto may be referred that which *Iuuenal* saith.

Pallast ut nudis prestat qui calicibus anguem, Aus Lugdunensem Rhetor dicturus ad arā.

And the same Author makes mention also, concerning the Eloquence of the Gauls, which they instructed vnto other people.

Gallia caudicibus, docuit sacunda Britannos.

I am enforced to extend my selfe somewhat further in this discourse, by making report of a few more testimonies; to overthrow the false conceited opinion of those, who haue esteemed, that the people of France (in their first times) were not addicted to Sciences, erudition, nor the study of Letters, wherein they are very greatly deceived. For on the contrary, it is plaine to be proued, that (as in all other things) so therein also they haue most singularly excelled, and taught the same to the Romans. He that first instructed the Art of eloquence or well speaking in Rome, was one *Lucius Plotius*, a Gaul borne; vnder whom *Cicero* (beeing then but young) was some yeares with his Brother *Quintus* also. And about the same time, or not long after, another Gaul was highly renowned in Rome, named *M. Antonius Gnipho*, beeing endued with a mighty spirit of singular memory, and infinitely skilfull and eloquent, as well

in Greeke as in Latine, and verie liberal (wherefoeuer he came) to teach what he knew. So that for these goodly and commendable qualities, hee bare such sway in those times, as his house was much frequented by the very greatest Romaine Lords.

It cannot be denied also, but that the great Oratour *Cicero* went often thither when he was Prætor. But that which (aboue all other) may make him most Famous, was, in being Teacher to the great Dictator *Cæsar* himself. Surely, not without some especial providence therein, to the end, that this Prince might hold wholly from Gaule (not onely the encreasing and establishing of his Greameffe) but also this honor, wherein (not a jot lesse) hee excelled, then in actions of armes. Gaule hath euer since kept her selfe in this reputation. *Quintilian*, who was a Spaniard, made great reckoning of the eloquence which was taught in Gaule, and about the declination of the Roman Empire, *Symmachus* Gouernour of Rome at that time, in one of his Epistles, sayeth; *That if he would performe any worke worthy of memory, he must go of necessity, and dreine it out of the Gaulish knowledge and elegance.* The same man also acknowledged, *That whatsoeuer was in him, either of eloquent or polished speaking, ought the due thereof to the aire of France, where hee had learned them.* And in another place hee saith, *That Mount Helicon, sacred vnto the Muses, was transported from her owne place, into France.*

Saint *Hierome* writing to a certayne Father, who was very carefull for the institution of his sonne in well speaking, saith; *Post studia Galliarum que vellestissima sunt, misit Roman non parces sumptibus, ut vbertatem Gallici nitoremq; sermonis grauius Romanis conduceret.* After (saith he) he hath performed his studies among the Gauls, where they are most flourishing; for sending him vnto Rome, make no spare of expences, to the end, that the abundance, delicacy, and luster of the Gaulish language may be seasoned with the Roman gravity. The same author sayeth in another place, *That France is fertile in Orators.* In another place also he saith: *That shee hath alwayes abounded in most eloquent men.* As illustrating vnder that title, *Quintus Montanus* in the time of *Augustus*, afterward relega-

A Gaule was schoolemaster for eloquence to Cicero and Great Cæsar.

Quintil. in lib. 10. cap. 9.

Symmachus in lib. 2. Epist. 34. Gallicane facundie huiusmodi requirit.

In lib. 8. Epist. 66. Gallia dardus Heliconis.

S. Hierome ad Rusticum Monachum.

Poem Epist. 2. ad Galatias.

Corn. Tacitus in Annal. 4.

Tacit. eod. Lib. Eufeb. in Chron. Quint. in lib. 9. Trog. Pomp. lib. 45. 46. 47.

Nazarius and his learned Eunomia.

Claudian in Reb. Galla.

Ausonius in Mosell.

Dreydet, Vauates, Jubages, & Bardes. The learning of the Bardes.

Strabo in lib. 4.

relegated or exiled into the Islands *Baleares*. *Domitius Afer* of *Nismes*, who came with great charges to Rome, being generally renowned for the chiefeft Orator of his time, and esteemed so highly by *Quintilian*, that he acknowledged him for his Master. Next, the father of *Trogus Pompeius* the historian, of the house of the *Vocontians*: who kept in his hand the ring of the Emperor *Caligula*, as beeing the keeper of his feales. Then *Gabinianus*, *M. Aper*, *Julius Florus*, *Julius Secundus*, verie famous Oratours vnder *Vespasian*, and many more whom I omit, to come to more moderne times, wherein *Aquitaine* only hath more furnished Rome with Senators and Orators, then all the rest of the world beside.

A testimony heereof was the Learned *Nazarius*, Author of some Panegyrics, yet remaining with vs. And that which is more admirable, was the daughter of this *Nazarius*, named *Eunomia*, the miracle of her age, who was not a lot inferior to the very worthiest Orators. Beside an infinite number of others, mentioned by the authors of those feuerall times, too troublesome for vs to rehearse but one halfe of them. Heere to appertaineth the writing of *Claudian*: That *Gaul* with her Learned Citizens, did ordinarily guard the Emperor, and serued him in the most part of his affairs. Moreover the greater part of the Roman Senate, and a number of the Magistrates beeing great and famous persons of that age, are especially noted to bee Gauls. So that wee may very well auauch that, which *Ausonius* sung in his *Mosella*: *It is no longer Rome, that only made shew of her Caues, in regard that Gaul did euerie way equal her.*

Other Sciences also haue carried as full saile there. In the first times thee had her *Drydets*, *Vuates* or *Eubages*, & *Bardes*, of whose learning we haue yet lesse some remains and memories. The *Bards* composed in Verses, and conferred to all posterities, the names and commendable actions of vertuous men, as puer sufficient to animate the very dullest corages. The *Eubages*, called also *Vuates* by *Strabo*, applied their studies to the contemplation of celestiall things; as also vnto Naturall Philosophy. As for the *Drydets*, they are sufficiently famous, and although wee haue spoken to good purpose of them in

the former booke of the ancient Gauls; yet some especiall things there omitted, may the better in this place be remembered in larger manner.

They instructed and taught about all things else, that mens soules wer immortal: which is the foundation of all religion, and the very strongest bond of human society. They discoursed also on the stars, and of their course and motion: also of the greatnesse of the world, the earth, the nature of things, the power of God; & gaue instruction in all these to their youth. This is auouched by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Mela*, and *Strabo*, who say, That the most of them held the world to be immortal. An opinion surely (after many great disputes and alterations) found to be most true by the verie best Philosophers and Diuines, framing a distinction thus.

Assuredly, the world is of eternal and incorruptible matter, in regard of the celestiall part, which receiue no alteration, neither shal receiue any at their consummation: but by s^c aduinction of light and whole perfection. But what is vnder the caue of the Moone, composed and mixed with Elements for the vse of man, shal perish by fire, and returne into their first essence and Elementary quality. The course of heauen shal stay, and by consequent, al motion and corruption cease; according as it was held by *Peter Lombard* long since Bishop of *Paris*, & called *Master of the Sentences*; and with him all the Theological Scholasticks, and the Angellicall Doctor, *Thomas Aquinas*.

They beleued also, that (one day hereafter) the water and fire shal haue Dominion; whereby we may perceiue that they had notions comming neere to truth and our beleefe, albeit altered and confuted. For that which they conceiued of the water, they saide was already come, and for the matter of fire we doe credite the like, & expect the consummation of the world thereby. Why then it is no matter of maruell, if hauing imparted their knowledge to other people, *Aristotle* should confesse, That Philosophy receiued her originall from the learned Gauls, whom hee calleth *Semnotheans*, and auoucheth France to bee the *Mistresse of Greece*. All the Gaulish Philosophers were in such reputation; that the people conceyued the goodnesse of the yeare, the happinesse and honor of their

The immortality of the soul taught by the Drydets.

Marcellus in Lib. 4. cap. 14. Pompeius lib. 1. 1. 2. Strabo in lib. 4.

Corn. Tacit. in lib. Agricol.

A distinction of the world immortal.

Corn. Tacit. in Annal. 3.

Orat. Eumenius de Scholasticis.

Pet. Lomb. Sentent. dist. 2. de Apo. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Lib. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Ausonius in Mosell.

The encrease of Schooles & universities for Learning in France.

Arith. in lib. 1. 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Strabo in lib. 4.

their times, to consist in the multiplicitie of them.

This shal suffice to shew, that such men were not well informed, as haue written, that the French did not adiect themselves to Sciences; considering, that they haue alwayes continued in the exercise of Letters and Learning. And for that purpose they had (from time to time) many famous Schooles, established for the instruction of youth. *Marseilles* equalled *Athens* in learning; so that very oftentimes the *Romaines* sent their Sonnes to that Academy, rather then to *Athens*, as it is reported by *Strabo*, who wrote in the time of the Emperor *Tiberius*. We reade moreover, that the Emperour *Augustus*, sent thither *Julius Antonius*, the youngest sonne of his Sister, to study there. And *Tacitus* reporteth, that the probity, integrity, and knowledge of *Julius Agricola*, his Father in Law, came by the nouriture & instruction, which he receiued at *Marseilles* in France.

About the same time, *Aufine* also became famous for the study of letters and liberal Arts, whereof wee haue the testimony in *Tacitus*. And againe, after these publike schooles, who were established by the Emperor *Constantius*, father to *Constantine*, who to that purpose sent thither the Orator *Eumenius*. There is a Law in the Code *Theodosianus*, of the Emperours *Valens*, *Gratian*, and *Valentinian*, wherein is declared, that there were a great number of Townes in France, which flourished by the excellency of Masters, Oratours, and Grammarians, in the learning both of Greeke and Latine. Among which towns also, were them of *Bordeaux*, *Tholouse*, *Narbonne*, and many other. *Ausonius* likewise speaking of that *Bordeaux*, sayth, That then issued from the hand of one only Doctor, Neitor *Minervius*, a thousand Famous Advocates or Councillors at law, swiue as many Senators or graue Statesmen.

These Fountaines of all erudition, haue not dried vp in France vnder the reignes of their Kings, but rather haue encreased and abounded more and more, by multiplicity of Schooles, publicly established in many other Citties; wherto they since haue giuen the right of an incorporated body or vniuersity. And by this occasion, such Vniuersities, in fauour of the studie of Letters and Sciences so founded and

erected, haue bene endowed and adorned by diuers Kinges, with goodly great priuileges and particular fauours. Among which, that of *Paris* hath extraordinarily surpassed all other in the world. To her, as to the Queene of Learning, refers the affluence of people from strange Nations, there to learne the Sciences, and especially holy Diuinity. This is as the Faire, Mart, or Market of the whole world, for the liberall Arts, and for instruction in all Languages. This is as a Nurfing Orchard of good plants and ingenious spirits; in all verue and faire erudition: from whence hath bene selected (like swarms of Bees) learned men in infinit numbers, that haue dispersed themselves, and meereley peopled most parts of the earth. Also it hath bene the module and originall, whereby all other haue taken example, not only for France it self, but likewise for all Europe.

Pope *Innocent* the third, made such estimation thereof, that from thence he selected all those men, whom hee intended to aduance to the Bishopricks of Christendome, and other dignities in the Church. Beside, it appeareth by good & sufficient testimonies of other Vniuersities, for more then three hundred yeares since, that the studies of *Paris* haue bene the Foundation (in great measure) of the Church. *Stadium Parisiense esse fundamentum Ecclesie*. And euermore it hath bene the chiefeft in opposition against heresies, to combat and ouercom them, euen lo soone as (at any time) they began to grow. Infinite victories and triumphs hath the crowned her selfe withal, in so famous a contention, whereof I spare to make any report; because they are no lesse carefully then elegantly set downe by the Lord *Loyell*, in his Tract of the Vniuersity of *Paris*. Vv herein also hee hath most learnedly obserued, the true institution of that Vniuersity, against the vulgar Fables which haue bene noyed thereof. There are likewise many other Vniuersities, founded, and established in diuers Citties and Townes of France, as in *Tholouse*, *Bourges*, *Orlean*, *Angiers*, *Poitiers*, *Cahors*, *Mont-pellier*, *Nymes*, *Caen*, *Nantes*, *Rheims*, &c.

Also from France, and all her Schooles, haue proceeded men as learned and excellent in all kindes of Sciences, as in piety and

The famous Vniuersity of Paris, & great resort of scholars thither.

The affection of Pope Innocent 3. to the Vniuersity of Paris.

Paris the conqueror of infinite heresies.

A great many of Vniuersities founded in France.

France hath
yielded great
plenty of learn-
ed Bishops.

S. Hilary, by-
shop of Poi-
tier.

S. Sulpi-
cius
Seuerus.

Pontius Pau-
linus the Se-
nator.

Ruficus,
Phocadius,
Prosper, Ale-
xandrus.

3 archbishops
of Vienna.

S. Germaine,
byshoppe of
Auxerre.

S. Gregorie
Florent, Arch-
byshop of
Tours, com-
pared to S.
Gregory Na-
zianzen.

and probity: and as this Discourse would require whole volumes, so yet it would exceede possibility to name and re-count them all. There have beene many wise & learned Byshoppes canonized for their sanctity of life, who have established Christian religion in many Countreys, and suppressed monstrous heresies, dispersed in many parts of the world. As S. *Hilary* Byshop of *Poitiers*, the true confounder of the Arian heresie, where-with the Church was too much tormented, euen at the beginning of her increasng. Saint *Sulpitius Seuerus*, whose learned writings lets vs yet sufficiently see his piety, and painfull endeours together, as the Arch byshop of *Bourges*, that liued vnder the reigne of King *Gontran*, and also a more ancient Priest of *Aquitaine*, of equal standing with S. *Hierom* and S. *Martin*, with whom he was very familiar, & who wrote his life.

Pontius Paulinus, who being a Senator, descended of a great family, and infinitely rich, gaue all his goods to the poore, & becoming an Ecclesiastical person, was afterward elected byshop of *Nola* in *Italy*. Of the same country of *Aquitaine*, were also S. *Ruficus*, S. *Phocadius*, and *Prosper*, *Alethius* the Priest, so much commended by S. *Hierom*, for his sanctity, eloquence, and learning. *Ecdicius Autius*, and *Mammertus*, instituter of the Rogations, Arch byshops of *Vienna*: S. *Sidenius Apollonaris* Byshop of *Auvergne*; S. *Lupus* byshop of *Troyes*; and S. *Germaine* byshop of *Auxerre*, who settled and assured Christian religion in England. *Eucherius* Archbishop of *Lyon*; *Salustius* and *Gennadius*, priests of *Marcellus*, and S. *Vincentius* Monke of S. *Honoratus* in the Isle of *Lerins*. And since the Monarchy of some later Kings, S. *Rhemizius*, and S. *Gregory Florentius*, Archbishops of *Tours*: who is compared by *Fortunatus*, an ancient Christian Poet, to S. *Gregory Nazianzen*, as giuen to the East, and by *Gregory the Great*, Pope, giuen to the South, as he for France was to the West. It was at the same time, when Pope *Gregory* (hauing scene at *Rome*) nor only admired him, but did him so much honor as could bee deuiled, *Arnold*, Byshop of *Metz*, *Hincmar* Archbishop of *Rheims*, *Lupus* Abbot of *Ferriers* in *Gallia*, *Arnold de Liffieu*, *Fulbert* & *Tues*, Byshops of *Chartres*, *Sugerus* Abbot of

S. *Denis*, S. *Bernard* Abbot of *Clermont*; *Peter Abbaylard*, of whom there went a Prouerbe in his time, that there was not any thing in all the world, reaching either to the highest heavens, or to the lowest bottome of the profoundest deepes, but they were all familiarly knowne to him. Also *Peter Lombard*, byshop of *Paris*, so admirable in the profession of Diuinitie, that (euen to this verie day) all Christendome acknowledgeth him for her Maister.

Hee should neuer make an end, that would take on him to recite all the great men of France, not onely such as haue preceded them of these times, but infinite numbers beside; whereby may bee iustly said, that Learning and the Sciences, not onely receiued their ancient flourishing splendor in France; but also haue imparted themselues (as before) to all other regions of the earth. There hath bin heretofore (beside all them formerly named) one *Eumenides* of *Marcellus*, a most wise Philosopher, who (among manie other things) made a very feruorous inquisition, & learnedly wrote on the originall of *Niles*. P. *Tertentius Varro* (surnamed *Atacinus*, of his Countrey in *Narbonne* Gaul, on the riuer of *Aux*, now called *Audax*, which belongeth it self into the sea at *Narbonne*) much renowned among the Roman Poets, for making foure bookes of the *Argonautiques* affaires, diuers Epigrams, and the Sequanes warres, recited by *Pliny* in many places, as also by the Grammarian *Priscian*.

Heere we may not forget the Philosopher * *Philonius*, so highly renowned vnder the Emperor *Adrianus* reigne: a native of *Arles* as *Philostrophus* reporteth in the discourse of his life. *Nazarius* the Orator, and *Latinus Pacatus*, Author of the excellent Panegyricke of *Theodosius*. About the same time flourished *Rutilius Numatianus* a Poet, and *Anonius* of *Burdeaux*, most worthy the name of a Poet, since the dayes of *Augustus*: diuers namelesse workes of his haue bene found, and (for their especial deservng) haue bene attributed to be *Virgils*. Hee was chosen for Schoolemaister to the emperors *Gratian* and *Valentinian*: for it was an ordinary course in those times, when there was any necessity of learned men, eyther to instruct the Emperors sons, or the great

Peter Ab-
lard a famous
man in
learning &
teaching.

Eumenides:
Marcellus
excellent
philosopher.

* A famous
user in Na-
bonne.

* Hee was
let to Diu-
inity by
being a
man of
theologie
Grecian.

Aufonius
Schoolema-
ster to two
Emperors.

Strangers that
haue learned
their best
knowledge in
France.

The opinion
of au. is wor-
thy strangers
concerning
the French.

In the Scaliger
in Exord. lib.
5. c. 2.

Scaliger his
elevation
concerning
the French.

test Lords of the Romane Empire, they were secht fro France, as we read in many places of the workes of *Symmachus*, then Gouernour of Rome, & who sucked (himselfe) the milke of the Mules of France.

I forbear to speake of those strangers, who by becoming there learned, haue honored their owne countries; though re- spiring first the sweet ayre of France, and borrowed a beame from her bright splendour, to giue some lustre thereof to their places of birth. In breefe to speake truly, it is as difficult a thing, to name all the famous persons that haue flourished in France, as it is easie for other people to make a shew of all such as they haue had, which would rise to a far inferior number. Moreover, many great persons (being strangers there) hauing diligently surr- ayed the spirits of the French, haue found them by experienced iudgment, to be full of life, subtilty, proper & prompt to all occasions, cleare sighted, and piercing into the Sciences; thinking it very convenient that whereas some haue esteemed the ancient Gauls to be light and mutable, they should rather say, & very iustly, that they were tractable, apt and ready to performe any thing imposed on them whatsoeuer.

Of this minde was *Julius Caesar Scaliger*, an Italian, a man most learned and iudicious, who speaketh in this manner. *Ilud est compressis aduertentibus non esse cum animo- rum mobilitate coniuncta fidei iacturam. Gal- los enim vides ad omnia momenta vel euen- tum vel disciplinam promptos paratos, ver- satiles: ut semel quicquam vel visum vel au- ditum, illico apud eorum ingenia & deponit & amittit nouitatem, in eo ipso penitus exci- plo videntur nati atque educati. Qui animo- rum vigor ignem, maturaque celritas nulli alij nationi data est a natura. Quod in- cubere felicissime esse dant, quod proficiunt gnaviter exercent: mercaturam, artes, arma, litteras, eruditionem, subtilitatem, candorem, eloquentiam. Omnia tamen gentium atque nationum, fide sunt maxime integra & consti- ti. It is a matter that well deserueth to be no- ted or considered, that the defect of faith is not alwaies conioyned with the mobility and lightnesse of spirit. That it must needs be so, I see that the French are prompt, ready, and tractable at all moments and occasions, be it eyther for the diversity of accidents, or be it for the Sciences: and that in such sort, as so soone as they haue scene or heard any thing,*

immediately it leaseth all novelty with them, and carrieth no such matter of newes in their mindes, for it seemeth as instantly bred and borne with them. This hot and fiery vigor of vnderstanding, and this promptitude with maturity & iudgement, hath not bin giuen by nature to any other Nation. On whatsoeuer they purpose a resolution, they supply the elues thereto very happily, profic therein most speedily, and exercise it carefully: either Mer- chants, Artes, Armes, Letters, erudition, subtilty, affability, freedom, and eloquence, or any thing else. And yet notwithstanding, among all nations, they are the most upright, & intirely constant of their faith and word.

Moreover, as there is nothing that doth so much civilize and sweeten manners the study of good letters, & to win know- ledge in the Sciences, which do beget in our soules all humanity and courtesie, and expellesh all rudenesse in carriage: euen so is it very true, that there are none more gracious and humane, then the French, especially towards strangers. The mildnes that is inwardly, and lodged vp in a french mans heart, maketh plaine outward shew and appearance in his countenance. In his forehead he carrieth a naturall franchise, and freedom in life and ciuill conuersa- tion: all laid downe euidently, without dissembling any thing, or vying any cunning or flattery. Good iudgement was made hereof by the emperor *Julian*, who said, He thought himselfe most happy, to meet with such good natured men, so facile & fel- lowly, & yet (neuertheless) without flattery.

It is a world of time since the Gauls had no mean reputation, for entertaining curteously, and liberally welcoming strangers among them. *Diodorus* the Sicilian highly commended the courtesie of the Gauls in this point. And *Tacitus* hath written particularly of the Germans, that came from the Gauls, and had meereley learned it of them. And when the French name began first to appeare, *Salustius* of *Marcellus* gaue them the vertue, to be kinde to strangers. About all, this people hath alwaies helde Religion in singular recommendation, as being a foundation of vertue: & they haue continually bin deuoted to diuinity, euen when they had no true knowledge thereof. *Cesar* saith, *Gallia admodum dedita religioni- bus*. And *Livius* describing the siege of the Gauls at the Capitole, saith, that a man of the house of the *Fabij*, being cast down fro the

The French
are naturally
addicted to
singular qua-
lities.

Note more
benigne and
kinde to str-
angers than the
French.

In the Scaliger.

Diod Siculus in
lib. 5.

Corra. Tacitus in
lib. 5. c. 2.

Livius Caesar in
comment lib. 6.
T. 1. c. 1. Livius in
lib. 5. c. 2.

* One of the
first Hittites
in Rome.

See attention
Gallia maritima
admiranda, seu re-
ligione etiam
militaria
hanc, quicquam
negligens gent
est.

Admiranda
Gallia maritima
admiranda, seu re-
ligione etiam
militaria
hanc, quicquam
negligens gent
est.

The Gauls
made Judges
of the Dona-
tists schisme.

Optatus Mile-
tani Lib. 1.

Sigismundus
in Hist.
de Regibus Ital.

the top of the Cittadell: without dread-
ing any thing, went to Mount * *Aventine*,
to make an annuall and solemn sacrifice
in his family, and returned to the Capi-
tole thorough the midst of the enemies.
They looked vpon him, without any vio-
lence or assailing, & suffered him to passe
on; Being assembled at such resolution, as at
a miracle: were it through respect and reue-
rence to Religion, whereof (saith hee) this
Nation is very carefull.

But after that the bright beames of the
Gospel began to shew their splendour, it
is hardly to be credited: with what feruor
of soule this people embraced it, with
what veneration, and (euenvpon heapes)
voluntarily presented themselves to death,
to resist the zeale of their affection to
Christian Religion, and seale with their
blood the sincerity of their faith. On the
other side, saith *S. Ierom*, *Spaine* sometime
brought forth Geryon the dreadful monster.
Heretics haue swarmed in most part of
the earths quarters: Gaule only hath conferred
her selfe in the truth, without denouing her
selfe. But hath abounded alwayes in great
personages, learned, and holy in life together.
Arianisme had infected all Christendome,
only France hath continued pure: for her
Bishops carefully employed their paines,
quickly to stifle those heresies & schismes,
which grew too troublesome to the church.

Whē it came so to passe, that the schisme
of the *Donatists* exalted it selfe, and many
partialities, quarrels, and harreds by parti-
cular persons were intermingled: the Bi-
shops that were in the faction with *Dona-
tus*, required of the Emperor *Constantinus*,
that Judges might be sent from the *Gauls*,
onely for their piety and learning. Wher-
vpon the Emperor granted vnto them 3
Bishops, *Rhetimus* of *Autun*, *Maternus* of
Cologne, and *Marianus* of *Arles*: who went
to Rome, and together with Pope *Milite-
der*, hauing exactly lookt into the matter,
decided the cause, and condemned (by
their sentence) the error of the *Donatists*,
as it is reported by *Optatus*, one of the Or-
thodox Bishops of *Africa*, who hath left
vs in writing the history of this schisme, &
gaue his helpe to the suppression thereof.

In the year *VCCLVIII*. Pope *Stephen*
the third, entreated *Pepin* King of France,
by his expresse *Nuntio*, that he would send
him the very learnedst Bishops of France,
to the ende, that by their authority, hee

might reforme & re-establish the church,
which he performed accordingly. Wher-
by is plainly discovered, in what esteeme
and account, the learning & piety of the
Prelates of France hath alwayes bene.

According to this purpose of ours, it
may be very truly maintained, that *Gaul*,
among the Prouinces most towards the
West, did first receiue the Christian faith,
next vnto *Italy*; being brought thither in
the first birth and infancy of the Church.
For ouer & beside the Apostle of France,
S. Dionysius Areopagita, who is said to bee
sent thither by *S. Paul*: it is certaine, that
one named *Crescentius*, the scholler of *S. Paul*,
did first of all preach the christian
faith in *Gaul*, and there performed the of-
fice of a Bishop and Pastor: as is to be ga-
thered from *S. Paul* himselfe, from *Epiphani-
us*, *S. Clemens*, *S. Ierome*, & *Eusebius*, who
report, that he was sent thither by *S. Peter*,
and that there he dyed. I for aside what
our Annallists haue recounted of *S. Peter*
and *S. Phillip*, that they came thither. But
I may not omit what is said by *Epiphanius*,
that *S. Luke* came into France, and there
declared the faith of Iesus Christ.

All that can be imputed to the ancient
Gauls, concerning the acte of religion, is,
that they sacrificed men. But this manner
of sacrifice was not particularly to the
Gauls, they hauing dealt no otherwise
therein, then was vied (well neere) by all
other people. The like is reported of the
Scythians in general, and *Mela* nameth
to be the *Essedones*. The *Carthaginians*,
whē there hapned among the any plague
or famine, or any other publike affliction,
they made their recourse to this supersti-
tion, & ordinarily bloodied the Altars of
their *Hercules* with humane sacrifices, yea
they would sacrifice their owne children
to *Saturne*. *Strabo* saith, that the *Lusitani-
ans*, a people of *Spaine*, would offer vp their
prisoners in war. And *Seneca* declareth,
that the *Masilians*, a people of *Greece*, &
well educated, would feed a man very im-
measurably for some space of time, then
they would conduct him through their ci-
ty, charging him with accursed execrations
& imprecations; and in the end they
would sacrifice him, to expiate their pub-
like offences, and to lay on him the pen-
alty of all their sins. Among the *Grecians* it
was very common, not onely during the
Trojan warre, of *Iphigenia*, sacrificed at

Gauls
sacrificed
Christians
next to
Italy

Plutarchus
lib. 1.

Quintus
Dionysius
lib. 1.

A Timotheus
ver. 10.

Epiphanius
lib. 1. c. 16.
Dionysius
lib. 1. c. 16.
Eusebius
lib. 1. c. 16.

Anthonius
in Iuliano
Gauls
sacrificed

Plutarchus
lib. 1. c. 16.
Dionysius
lib. 1. c. 16.

Plutarchus
lib. 1. c. 16.

Strabo
lib. 1. c. 16.

Seneca
lib. 1. c. 16.

The Gladi-
ators or Fenc-
ers of Rome

Sacrificed
the *Grecians*

the gate of *Anlis*; but likewise of *Polux-
en*, in the Land of *Troie*. Long time af-
ter, *Themistocles* (a little before the day of
Salamina) by command of his diuinitors,
caused three noble Persians to be sacrific-
ed. And about the same time, *Xerxes*,
King of *Persia*, offered twelve men in sa-
crifice. Many examples more are there of
the *Grecians*, declared more at large by
Plutarchus. What thinke ye then of the Ro-
mans? Were not they addicted to the
same superstition, and vied the like sacri-
fices of humane oblations? Wee finde it
faithfully set downe, that they sacrificed
two *Gauls*, a man and a woman, to their
Tutelary or household God. I cannot ima-
gine what should be the reason, why they
chose their offerings to be of that people,
rather then of any other; if it were not in
this respect, that they supposed they shold
present a more acceptable sacrifice (in so
doing) to the God of their City, then to
offer any other people, whereby he might
be offended, because once they had con-
sumed Rome in cinders, and therefore they
might bee judged the more able (after-
ward) to ouerthrow the whole Empire.

Plutarchus reporteth, that they caused
some of the *Gauls* to be buried alive, dur-
ing the Consulship of *Marcellus*, by rea-
son of a Gaulish warre which had hap-
pened to them, and whereof they stood in
fearfull doubt. And that afterward, euē
till his time, they would haue celebrated
the like bloody anniuersaries, which
might not be permitted (it may bee for
the immunity) and all the world to see
it. The like was put in practise at Rome,
soone after the dismal day at *Cannas*: &
the Emperor *Domitian* likewise sacrificed
two: They had a *Supiter*, surnamed *Latiolus*,
to whom they made offerings of human
blood, and of the liues of men. This *Ter-
tullianus* saith was ordinarily done in his
time; and *Lactantius* and *Eusebius*, who li-
ued soone after vnder the first Christian
Emperours, do ascribe as much.

The often & frequent spectacles, among
the *Gladiators* or Fencers, were they: any
thing else, but even a cruel and bloody sa-
crifice of many men. Nay, which was most
detestable, to cause them kill one another
for other mens pleasure? They were not
any small number of one or two, but ordi-
narily five hundred, a thousand, two thou-
sand, and three thousand: and it hath bin

observed, that at such times, ten thousand
haue bin thereto exposed. Let *Cicero* then
and *Plutarchus* cease to reprove the *Gauls*
with this custome, seeing that they them-
selves, both *Grecians* & *Romans*, haue ob-
served the same. Nay, the *Grecians* did far
worse, for wēt contenting themselves with
such sacrifices, they would needs know
what good meate it was to feede on hu-
mane flesh, and as *Pliny* hath left written,
to taste of all the parts of a man. If it was
ill done to sacrifice a man, how much
more detestable was it then, to serue in
his flesh for food to the table? As for *Ci-
cero*, I pardon him very willingly, for that
which he said in one of his pleadings of the
Gauls: because it was to serue his own
cause, and for the reproofe of witnesses,
which made whatsoeuer he saide the lesse
considerable. Contrariwise also, as him-
selfe hath written. He may soone deceiue him
selfe, that thinks out of mine Orations and
Pleadings, to deriue any available authority
of my opinion, or else a forme of testimony, by
that which I haue said: because (saith hee) it
was the cause that spake and not I. And yet
if wee obserue more neerely, what *Cicero*
hath said concerning this case, wee shall
perceiue that the *Gauls* made glad sacri-
fices of malefactors, as thinking such an
offering to be most agreeable to the gods,
as (sacrificed) there could bee none more
proper, then the iust punishment of wicked
persons. And yet notwithstanding,
sometimes they were constrained to goe
so farre as innocent folke; merely for the
defect of other: because this opinion was
noted in them, that the Gods could not be
pleased, for the life and safety of one man,
but by offering to them the life of another.

Howsoeuer, they deserued herein no
imputation of blame, because what they
did, was by superstition, the excess of true
religion, notwithstanding it for any error, to
offer to God what might bee most accept-
able; which made them to present him
with so noble a creature, the only perle
of all other, and so consecrated to him the
most precious oblation of all oblations:
wherin they are the lesse rasable for their
custome (though indeed euell) yet not pro-
ceeding so farre as others; as the *Grecians*,
who selfe voluntarily into Atheisme. Among
Gods people, we see that *Isaiah* fell
into the same error, vnder the shadow of
a vow & deuotion: albeit I know very wel
that

Cicero in Orat.
Pro Roscio

The *Grecians*
would feed on
the flesh of
man.
Plin. lib. 28.
cap. 1.

Cicero in
Orat. Pro
Cluentio.

Int. Cicero in
Com. Lib. 6.

A good and
worthy opini-
on of the
Gauls justice

Superstition
thought to be
the excess of
true religion

Concerning
the vow made
by *Isaiah* for
his late
daughter.

that the Hebrew Text hath no other carriage, but that he offered to God, no more but the virginity of his daughter only, & that this is the opinion and interpretation of the most learned Rabbins. I passe over the abominable idolatries of the *Jewes*, to the Idoll *Molech*, who practised the very same. Yet what hath bene said, might (perhaps) favour of some signale and sensible apprehension, or preface, that man could not be faued, but by a man himselfe: And that one day, man should bee redeemed, and brought into his former condition, by the blood and passion of a man. This haue I set downe in their excuse, it being a zeale proceeding from religion, when as then they walked in darknes, destitute of any knowledge of the true God.

Now, forasmuch as I haue heretofore indifferently vsed these words, *Gaule* and *France*, *Frenchmen* and *Gaules*, as being no other then one and the same thing, whereof some may conceit very strangely; I hold it convenient, & suitable to our purpose, to deliuer a sufficient reason therefore. That which our Ancients had named *Gaule* or *Celtic*, was afterward designed by the name of *France*. Likewise, the Kings of France haue long time commanded, in all those parts which were tearmed the ancient bounds of *Gaule*, betwene the *Rhine*, the *Alpes*, the *Pyreneans*, and the Mediterranean and Ocean Seas. These were the ancient limits of France, which also by sea-sons, and vnder certaine Kings, haue extended themselves a great deal further. But if any parcell thereof be at this day dimembred or cut off, that may not change the true appellation of things. Considering, that such distraction is nothing but the acte, the right alwaies remains in his perfect integrity. And as for the French, it will be auouched, that they are one self-same people with the *Gaules*, on whatsoever side search be made, and the truth set downe of their originall.

I may not flay my selfe heere, to fight with the false opinion of such, who thinking to make the *Gaules* the more honourable, would haue them to be descended from the *Troyans*, because it hath bin already done by others. But it is a point so cleare and apparant, that there is no man (now adayes) so filly versed in letters: but plainly knoweth, that they are altogether meere fables and fictions. There hath bin

another opinion, and pursued by many, who imagineth the French to be come forth of *Allemagne* or *Germany*. And according to this conceit, there shall be no place of distinguishing the French with the *Gaules*: because it is most true to say, that *Germany* hath bene peopled by her neighbor *Gaule*. So in making the French to come from thence into *Gaule*, is to returne them backe to the place where they receiued their originall. For it is to be credited, that Prouinces which are the most temperate, haue bin the first inhabited, & after that men are encreased in multitude, they then make their recourse to more remote places, which are of ruder quality, and more subiect to cold. Beside, *Cæsar* himselfe (long since) testified, that the *Germanes* or *Allemaignes*, called the *Gaules* their Brethren: for the similitude of their manners, and the customes of both these people, reported by our ancestors, may instantly make faith for this their fraternity.

Others would fetch them from the *Pannonians*, as it is reported by *S. Gregory of Tours*. Now it is very certaine, that the *Gaules* did sometimes people both the *Pannonians*: especially at that time, as *Brutus* made warre in *Macedon*, and throughout all *Greece*. And the Geographers, as *Stephanus*, *Arrianus*, and *Strabo*, do nominate the *Celtes* among the people of *Pannonia*. There is yet another opinion, the truest and most certaine, and yet notwithstanding little enough knowne. For oftentimes (saith an ancient Writer) it cometh to passe, that the originall of great people is as much unknowne, as that of our greatest *Rivers*. This is that which hath bin obscured by diuers passages of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, *S. Gregory of Tours*, and other neighbouring Authors, concerning the beginning of this Monarchy: that the French came from *Sicambria*, and that the *Sicambrians* are many times taken for the French.

Now we are to note, this *Sicambria* is not that *Sicambria*, which some haue vniuallly seated in *Franconia*: but it is described by ancient Geographers toward the North, wholly ioyning to the riuages of *Rhine*, as well on the one side, as the other. But more principally towards the place, where that goodly streame falleth into the Sea: a place of very difficult access, by reason of the great Marishes thereabout. *Suetonius* maketh mention that the Emperor

perous *Augustus* caused those valiant *Sicambrians* to passe on further into the firme land of the *Gaules*, and namely, that he gaue them * *Batavia* to dwell in. This he did, some way to content them, and to hinder their courses: as also to serue his owne turne with this warlike Nation, being vpon the extremities or vnnorth parts of *Gaule*. And beside, we read in *Tacitus*, that there was daily at the Emperors seruice, a *Sicambrian* band or Cohort, highly esteemed for their valiancy.

Heereby we may know, that they are defended of the same country with the *Gaules*, and it is to be credited, that these were the people onely, which neuer came into subiection of the Roman Empire, in the time of *Cæsar*: in regard of the difficult places, and badnesse of the country which then they held. This *Sicambrian* people, knowne & renowned by the name of French onely in the time of *Gaius*, vnder *Posthumus*, one of the thirty tyrants, about the yeare of our Lord, CCLXIX. could not keepe themselves alwayes in their Northerly corner or angle of *Gaule*, such as (at this day) *Holland* and part of *Friesland* are: but they made their extendure into neighboring countries, & continually there tormented the Romanes in *Gaule*, after whose liberty they longed first to time. And part of them passing into *Gaule* among the Romanes, were there highly esteemed, and came to vndertake the cheefest charges, as we may reade of many of them, in *Ammianus Marcellinus*.

Part of this people also, namely they that were transported by *Augustus*, continued (for long time) in obedience to the Empire, as appeareth by many examples, and Histories let downe by diuers Historians, which I may not heere recite, because (for the most part) they haue bene diligently collected by the Lord *Faucher*, in his French Antiquities, where this true opinion is approoued, by the passages of *Lozimus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *Procopius* and *Zonarus*. At the fall of that great Empire, those inuincible *Sicambrians*, *Frances*, or *French*, accustomed to make ordinary courses into *Gaule*, perceiving the inuasion of Northerly people, as the *Alanes*, *Vandales*, *Bourgnignons*, & *Goths*, they could not endure, that their ancient country shold remaine any longer so subiect, neither by the tyranny of Romane

Magistrates, nor by the inuasions of barbarous people. Hereupon taking apt occasion, they proceed on further into the midst of the *Gaules*; where they were receiued (in open armes) by their olde mother, and by the other *Gaules*, who ioyning with them, shooke off the yoke of the Romanes, & expelled also the strange Nations, had so insolently intruded on the.

From thence forward, both one & other named them *Frenchmen*, as being but one people by originall. Nor can it be conceived, that the *Sicambrian* people shold be enemies to the *Gaules*, but rather called by the as their fellowly brethren, to helpe in their enfranchizing, being receiued with the liking of euery one: as these places of *S. Gregory of Tours* do sufficiently shew. *Inter cæcū iam terror Francorum resonaret in his partibus, & omnes eos, amore desiderabili cuperent imperare, &c.* Also in another place: *Multi ex Gallijs habere Francos dominos sumo desiderio cupiebant.* Moreover, it is to be seen in many places of the histories, written by the same *S. Gregory*, that the *Gaules* were neuer trod downe by the French; but admittred in publike charges, & took part in their honors, not as a conquered people, but as companions, friends, and associates, and as making but one people. In regard whereof, a man may vse the names of *French* and *Gaules*, & *France* and *Gaule*, being but one and the same thing. And the country euermore inhabited by the same people originallly, being neuer thence expelled, nor subiected.

A country the most happy, the most fertile, the most abounding in all things, and the most agreeable with the world, & least incommodious. The people dwelling therein, the most martiall; & warriors at all times, that the Sunne neuer beheld better. By others also commended, for all those good and vertuous qualities, wherewith any humane spirit can be adorned, quicke, apt, & ready to whatsoever they apply themselves, with moderation, curtesie, and humanity, as none greater can be desired. The happiness & felicity of this Land, together with so many commendable qualities of the people, haue bene published (in some measure) by the Poet *Buchanan* of Scotland, when at his returne from *Portingall*, coming backe into *France*, he made these verses, which I thought fit here to insert, to serue for a conclusion of this discourse.

The Authors opinion of the *Gaules* superfluous, & his excuse in their behalfe.

How ancient *Gaule* became afterward to be called *France*.

Confusion of adjectives may not alter matters of truth.

That the French shold be descended from the *Troyans*.

That the French shold be descended from the *Troyans*.

The *Sicambrians* long esteemed the best of *Gaul*.

The *Sicambrians* long esteemed the best of *Gaul*.

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The *Sicambrians* long esteemed the best of *Gaul*.

*Ieiuna misera teſqua Luſitania,
Glebaque tantum fertiles penuria
Valet longum. At tu beata Gallia
Salus, bonarum blanda nutritrix artium,
Caele ſalubri, fertili frugum ſolo,
Vmbroſa colles pampini molli coma,
Pecoroſa ſalvus, rigua valles fontibus,
Prati virentis picta campos floribus,
Veliſera longis annuum decurſibus,
Piſcoſa ſtagnis, riuulis, lacubus, mari,
Et hinc & illinc portuoſo litore
Orbem receptans hoſitem, atque orbis tuas,
Opes viciniſim non avara impetient:
Amara villis, iuta muris, turribus
Superba, ſectis laeta, cultu ſplendida,
Viciuſa modici, moribus non aſpera,
Sermone comis, patria gentium omnium
Communis, animi ſida, pace florida,
Incunda, facili, Marte terriſco minax,
Invicta, rebuſ non ſecundis inſolens,
Nec ſorte dubia, fraſtra, cultrix numinis
Sincera, ritum in exterum non degener.
Neſcit calores lentis aſtas torridos,
Frangit rigores bruma flammis aſperos,
Non peſtilentis pallet Auſtriſpiritu
Autumni, aquis temperatus ſtatibus:
Non ver ſolatis annuum repagulis
Inundat agros, & labores eluit.
Ni patrio te amore diligam, & colam
Dum riuo, ruſus non recuſo viſere
Ieiuna miſera teſqua Luſitania,
Glebaque tantum fertiles penuria.*

CHAP. III.

*Of the Maieſty, Dignity, and high Eminency
of the Kings of France: And what infi-
nite actions of Honour they haue done
from time to time, to renowne the glory of
that kingdome.*



IT is not yet ſufficient, ney-
ther maketh it vp a perfect
felicity, that France ſhould
bee filled with ſo much
wealth and commodities,
as the earth can any way yeeld: alſo that
the people are ſo generous, endued with
ſo many commendable qualities, beſide,
moſt humane and acceptable conuerſation.
If all do not correſpond to this pro-
ſperity, and that the forme of her eſtate &
good government, is not the main height

of all this happineſſe. Wherein it may
well be ſaid, that France hath bene as gra-
tiously fauoured by heauen, as in al other
things whatſoeuer. There hath neuer
beeene ſeene ſo many ciuill warres and fa-
tions, for change and alteration of the
State, as hath often happened in many o-
ther Princes. After ſhe had once taſted
the Monarchall Government of one on-
ly naturall Prince (which all the greateſt
Philophers, ſuch as were brought vp in
free citties, haue confeſſed to be the beſt)
ſhe neuer found any change, neyther did
it euer make offer of itſelfe, or any way
propoſed.

France well may boaſt this in com-
mon, with a great part of the people of
the world, that ſhe is a Monarchall eſtate:
but yet this is more particular to her, that
ſhe hath ſuſtained no mutation for ſo ma-
ny Ages; but hath beeene inuolubly al-
wayes conſeuered in her owne Royall eſ-
tate and government. And it may as tru-
ly be ſaid, that her Kings haue excelled as
much about others in the world, as France
itſelfe hath gon beyond all other Lands.
Then to come to the point of her Kings,
and of their Greatneſſe and Excellency:
it reſulteth firſt of al, from that which hath
beeene diſcourſed heretofore. Becauſe
there is no man, but will tearme that king
potent, rich, and redoubtable, that com-
mandeth ouer a country ſo fertile & well
furniſhed: and he will alſo vouchſafe, that
Kings commanding a people ſo vertuous
and generous together, muſt needs be Pa-
ragons in generoſity and courage, yea, &
true models of all vertue. Moreouer, what
other Kings can make their vaunt, to haue
ſo goodly, ſo opulent, and ſo happy terri-
tories, and to command ouer ſuch a peo-
ple? In like manner, what Land can ſay,
that it hath had like Kings, and ſo great
in all reſpects, as they of France haue bin?
This in general, and the touching of
this point thus were ſufficient, without
need of any further inquisition: becauſe it
is euident to the eyes of all men, euen as
what hath bin related in our former chap.

But to diſcourſe more particularly on
their other prerogatiues. Firſt, it is a mat-
ter moſt conſtant and certaine, that the
Kings of France are Soueraigns in their
State, holding their kingdom but of God
onely, and by the Sword: this needs no o-
ther profe, becauſe it is granted without

The Mon-
chall gov-
ernment of
naturall Prin-

France as
ſubiection
ration on im-
permeſſe.

The Kings
of France
their gov-
ernment.

The Kings
of France
truly Sou-
eraigns in
their State:
their Sou-
erainty has
continued
hundred

dition. Alſo, they haue bene in this poſ-
ſeſſion, not onely for exceeding the me-
mories of men, or for three hundred yeares
tearme more then ſufficient, for eſtabli-
ſhing ſure and inuolubly a Soueraigne
eſtate, as maintained *ſeptah*, chiefe of the
Iſraelites againſt the *Ammonites*, but alſo
for twelue hundred yeares. There needeth
no other teſtimony then that of Pope *In-
nocent* the third, who ſpeaketh it expreſly
in his Decretall, *That the King of France*
*acknowledged not any Soueraigne, in tempo-
ral occaſions.*

This was it which made ſo ſuperfluous
impertinent, inept, and idle, the diſputa-
tion ſo much canuaized amongſt the Do-
ctors Imperialiſts, to witte; *Whether the*
King of France were ſubieſt to the Empire,
or no, and whereabout the Doctors diſ-
puting vainly, contraried themſelves, and
ſufficiently ouerthrew their owne iudge-
ments. *Peter Iellaga*, an ancient Spaniſh
Doctour, in his treatiſe of a Prince, & *Old-
radus* an Italian Doctour (the cheefeſt of
his time do maintaine; *That the kingdome*
*of France acknowledgeth not, either by ac-
te or right, any Prince of the world.*

The Emperours themſelves alſo, haue
aunouched as much; declaring by diuers
actes, That the King of France is Soue-
raigne, & that he depended not on them
in any faſhion whatſoeuer; which will be
more amply handled, in a place fitter for
the purpoſe. To as filly effect was that,
which Doctour *Lopez Madera*, a Spaniard
hath written; *That the Kings of France doe*
take their Title, by a conſeſſion made vnto
them by the Emperor Iuſtinian, according to
the recitall of Procopius. But a man can ſet
no ſure footing, on that which is ſaide by
a ſubieſt to the Empire. And beſide, ſoon
after, *Iuſtinian* himſelfe could ſay; *That he*
quitted whatſoeuer hee had pretended to the
Gauls, becauſe he held not there any thing.
And in other places, he ſpeaketh not of al
the Gauls, but onely concerning them of
France, and the neighbouring Landes,
which the *Goths* held before, & which he
pretended appertaining vnto him, by his
conqueſt made of them. VVhich Landes,
the *Goths* hauing made ouer to the Kings
of France, *Iuſtinian* approved the conſel-
ſion, and on that conſideration, departed
with all his rights and pretentions.

The French do not ground their grants,
as the ſame *Lopez* did for Spaine, on the

grant which he pretended to be made by
the Emperor *Honorius*, to the Gothe *Ala-
ricke*. They deriue their title from higher
place, and not from the Romaines: who
had no other right, but an vniuſt inuaſion
by Armes. For theſe are the Gauls, name-
ly, ſuch as enfranchiſed themſelves from
the Romaines, and that by meanes of the
French, their auncient Columnes and
Compatriots. And therefore it is appa-
rantly ſeene, that they haue no way vſur-
ped by nouelty, but rather haue regained
their firſt condition and liberty, as being
reduced to their primitive nature. A mat-
ter very favorable, and a reaſon moſt im-
pertinent among the Ciuill Lawyers. In
like manner, what was more tuſt then that
which the Romaines caried away by force
of Armes, and was taken again from them
bv the very ſame meanes? But this is in-
fallible, that the Kings of France are Soue-
raignes, knowne to be ſuch, at all times
and euery where, without any controuer-
ſie, or fruſtulous contradiction.

It cannot bee ſo ſayde of many other
Kings, and namely it hath called in que-
ſtion the King of Spaine. For Pope *Gre-
gory* maintaineth in his Register, that
Spaine is parcel of *Saint Peters* patrimo-
ny, and is to make prouiſion for his Lord:
hauing thefore inueſted a certain Count
or Earle of all that which he had conque-
red from the Moores. In conſequence
whereof, by report of their own Spaniſh
writers, *Ramirus* the firſt, King of *Arra-
gon*, payed a tribute to the Popes: which
his ſon *Sanchio* after continued to Pope
Alexander the ſecond. And ſince this ſub-
iection to the Romane Church, as from
feodatories, it hath beeene acknowledged
by other Kings.

VVe read that *Peter* the ſecond, King
of *Arragon*, beſide acknowledgement of
feodality, ſubmitted & rendered his king-
dome, by ordinary cenſuall (to Pope *In-
nocent* the third) of two hundred and fifty
peecees of Arabian Golde, which had free
courſe then, as appeareth by the Registers
in the *Vaticane*, which were extracted and
ouer-written by *Ciacconius* a Spaniſh au-
thor, who wrote the liues of the Popes, &
by diuers hiſtories of Spaine.

In like manner, the Realmes of *Sar-
dignia* and *Cyprus* doe depend vpon the
holy See, and the inueſtiture of the ſame
in the *Vaticane*, which was made by the
Pope

What it is
that maketh
the full felici-
ty of any king-
dome.

The Mon-
chall gov-
ernment of
naturall Prin-

France as
ſubiection
ration on im-
permeſſe.

The Kings
of France
their gov-
ernment.

The Kings
of France
truly Sou-
eraigns in
their State:
their Sou-
erainty has
continued
hundred

Cap. Per contra-
rium. Quia ſu-
ſtinetur.

Per ſu-
ſtinetur. In
ſu-
ſtinetur. In
ſu-
ſtinetur. In
ſu-
ſtinetur. In

Oldradus
Conſultus.

Lopez Mader.
In lib. Excellen-
tiae Eſpagn.
cap.

L. Si P. nat. & n.
Patrius in Pater-
ni, De P. 2. ff.

In l. 1. ff. de
P. 7.

Swiccia in lib. 1.
cap. 11.

Ciacconius
Regiſt. P. 1. nat.

Pope to Peter the third, King of Arragon. In consequence whereof afterward, *Jaques of Arragon*, did homage liege at *Valencia*, betweene the hands of the Legate, in the year, MCCCLIII.

I finde also, that *Ferdinand and Alphonfus*, Kings of Arragon, did make faith and homage, in the year MCCCCXLV. The Islands of the *Canaries*, and *Cape du Verd*, are held in the same sort, and I reade, that *Lewes of Spaine* was inuelted, and redired faith and homage to the Pope, in the year MCCCCXLIII, being charged to pay to the Apostolicall Chamber, four hundred Florins of gold; whereof *Petrarch* also maketh mention. And as for the East *Indies* and *Perru*, it is very certaine, that Pope *Alexander* the sixth, in making partage of that which was newly discovered, betweene the kings of *Castile* and *Portugall*: reserved expressly to himselfe, the full power and souerainty, by consent of both the kings, whom afterward he constituted his vassalls, in all acquies & conquests by them made, or that should be made thence forward, as the *Spaniards* themselves haue written. In like case, pope *Julius* the second, gaue to *Ferdinand* the sixth, King of Arragon and of *Castile*, the kingdom of *Granada*, which hee had conquered from the *Moorers*: with this charge, to hold it of the Roman Church, in faith and homage.

All these feodall acknowledgements and subiections of the estate of *Spaine*, as well in generall as in particular, are no matters of novelty. For before them, and during the reignes of the *Goths*: the kings alwayes payed tribute to the holy See, in acknowledgement of souerainty: vntill that a tyrant named *Pitiza*, a little before the ruine made by the *Sarrasins*, refused to pay it. And afterward, by the generall inuasion of *Spaine*, hauing bin wholly discontinued; Pope *Gregory* the seventh complained thereof in his Register, as is well obserued by the worthy Cardinal *Baronius*. Which may be the cause, that each particular king, beginning to strengthen himselfe against the oppression of the *Sarrasins*, would returne againe to the duty of this submission, and ancient subiection.

On the other side, it is found recorded, that the kingdom of *Castile* is in Fief to *France*. For *Henry* the second, King of

Castile, submitting himselfe to *Charls* the first, king of France, promised as well for himselfe, as for his successors, to be vassall, and to hold his kingdom of *Castile*, of the Kings of France, by a treaty in the year MCCCLXIX. which is kept in good forme in the Treasury of France. This king of *Castile*, being expelled thence by his Brother *Don Peter*, was at length re-established there againe, by power from the king of France, vnder conduct of that valiant knight, *Bertrand de Guescline*, Constable of France, notwithstanding all the efforts of the English, banded to the contrary.

There is another notable quality, which is no meane advantage vnto the Realme of France, in that it is, and euermore hath beene successiue hereditary, and not electiue. And like as by generall custome, in all succession in the Realme, death seizeth on the liuing: euen so this taketh place, & is obserued so much the more certainly, for succession in the State. Not vnlike compared to the golden branch in *Virgill*, which being pluckt away, another springeth vp instantly, so that there is neuer any detiallance.

Pro anulo non deficit alter.

Whence arose the common saying among the French, That the King neuer dyeth. Because that there is alwayes (naturally) another of the same kinde, who (without any controuersie or difficulty) succeedeth at the same instant in the others place. And when as France happeneth to be over-trailed and pressed by potent enemies, euen to the losse of her King; yet it causeth no confusion or disorder, neither giueth any advantage to the enemy, or can be (by such an accident) vlturp vpon the State. It hath beene proued (to the cost of some) like vnto a reuiuing Hydra, not to be surmounted; or rather as a Phoenix, that reuiuet another out of her selfe. Also, that the Kings of France were truly bred of an immortall race, neuer parting from hence, to returne to the true place of their celestiall and diuine originall; but they left a successiour, who (in the same moment) is made King, without any other formality.

But to render their succession the more assured, & (therby) the kings immortall, it hath

Concerning them that are of the blood-royal in France

Baldwin in cap. Defendo Mar. dicitur.

The kind of France by blood succession, not by electi.

Agathis in Lib. 1.

In End. Lib.

Virg. in A. lib. 2.

The kinge uer dyeth a France.

Such successi- on not alwayes in Spaine.

Compassion concerning the kingdome of France inuolued or after another

A people in Spaine, betwene Gallia & Portugall. Molina de Hispan. prim. lib. 2. c. 2.

hath alwayes beene receyued in France, that such as are of the blood-royall, although they or hee should stand farre off by a thousand degrees: yet notwithstanding, if there be not any other that is nearer, they or hee are called to the succession of the kingdom, and possessed thereof, only by the others decease, without any other contradiction; which hath beene well obserued by *Baldus*, an Italian Doctor, and hath euermore bene so continued, euen to the person of the King nowe happily reigning, to bee descended from the King, called *Saint Lewes*. *Sic in Francia morietur toto domus Regia, extaret vna de sanguine antiquo, puta de domo Bourbonie, & non esset alius proximior, esto quod esset millesimo gradu, tamen iure sanguinis, & perpetua consuetudinis, succederet in Regno Francorum.* Item *Guliel. Benedicti*, in Cap. *Regnatus in ver. duos habens*, Num. 78.

Agathis the Greek, who wrote in the time of *Iustinian*, obserued the same also, saying, Amongst the French, Children take the kingdom, by succession to theyr Fathers. And in another place, hee saith and reciteth, That *Theodebert* King of Metz, being deceased, his sonne *Theudibalde*, or *Thibault* succeeded him, although hee was but an Infant. But (saith hee) it was the Lawe of the Countrey that called him thereto. Assuredly a most wise institution, especially, for the representation of succession to infinite ages: to obuiate disorders, inconueniences, and ouerthrowing an Estate, which may happen during a vacancy, and when the successor is vncertaine.

Before I passe any further, I may heere tell you, that such succession in a kingdom hath not alwayes beene in Spaine. And there needeth no other prooff thereof, but the confession or acknowledgement of Spanish Authors; and particularly, of *Lopez Madera*, who wrote in the Spanish tongue, and yet but little for the dignitie of the Kings of Spaine. For we find, that the Kings were ther established by election, not only during the kingdom of the *Goths*; but also, after that they were ruined, and in the inuasion of the *Sarrasins*. *Pelagius*, king of the *Asurians*, & (after him) many other his successors, came by the very same meanes, as is exactly approoued by *Molina* a Spanish Authour. In a word, all that *Lopez* produceth, is, that

the Kinges were electiue: but yet, that none were at any time elected, excepting that they were of the Family and House- Royall.

The contrary appeareth, by the certaine sequel of Histories, and namely by the Councils of *Toledo*, who permitted, that the election should be made indefinitely of all persons; except of Slaves, strangers, and others, that were not of the race of the *Goths*. Wherein (it may be) an equiuocation is made, when as *Lopez* sayth, *Decadem gente*: the interpretation beareth, Of the Family and House-Royall, and not of the Nation of the *Goths*, as the Councils vnderstand. Therein also were many constitutions, for the honour and conseruation of such as were of the race of the precedent Kings: it being a matter necessary to assure them in this manner, because there were other Kinges of their house. For whom there needed no such prouision, nor search for such assurances, if the Kings should haue beene successiue. But yet much more by the fifth Council of *Toledo*, there is denounced a curse and excommunication against such as shall come to the kingdom of the *Goths* otherwise then by election. As we read in *Ritius*, one of their owne Historians, that *Bamba* a labouring man was made king of Spaine by Pope *Leo*, and approved by the election of the people.

It neuer hath bene so in France, where the right of succession hath euermore bin inuolubly kept: There, the Race-Royall which surpasseth the rest in greatnesse and vertue, are borne and destyned to reigne.

Nor was it without good cause, that in Greece they made so exact an inquisition and search for such as were of the Linage of *Heraclides*, and of the *Acadides*, to make them Kings, Captains in warre, and Governours of estates. *Plato*, and nexte to him *Aristotle*, are of opinion, that Monarchy is indeede the best forme of Government: Were it not as a dream (say they) to find a good king. As thinking it a matter impossible for a humane spirit, in so great a fortune, affluence of so many goods and delights, and such liberty without contradiction, and in so supream a power, to keepe in, and command ouer his owne passions. *Plato* addeth, Wee line not in the Commonwealthe of Bees, where naturally one

Cic. Tol. 6. 47

The Kinge to be made by election, & not succession.

Cic. Tol. 1. 5

Ritius in lib. 1.

No such creating of Kinges in France.

A worthy custom obserued in Greece.

Plato and Aristotle.

An excellent comparison of Plato.

Isles in the Ocean, foure hundred miles from Spaine, and learned the fortunate Isles.

In Lib. 2. c. 1. The East Indies & Perru

The Pope giues a king his owne by conquest.

Vitiza theyr tribute refused to pay the Popes tribute.

Baronius in lib. 1. c. 17.

As held by homage, vpon promise of assistance in war

is bred much greater and better, to command our all the other. And yet the very same happeneth to the French, whose Kings come from their very birth, more great (not of body) but of courage, generosity, and vnderstanding, then all the rest borne and esteemed (by heaven) of another nature, then any common person to reign.

We could we but a little consider the great difficulties and inconueniences, which are noted in an electiue estate, by reason of such forme of election, we should the better know, what an advantage, excellency, and prerogative France hath. In an estate electiue, the death of the Prince hapning, there is an *Interregnum*, during which time, it falls into "Anarchy, which causeth disorder, vnruinesse, and confusion; whereon ensue infinite euils, murders, afflittes, violence, and thefts. As hath beene well obserued in those elections, made for the Kings of *Thunis*, & the Soldanes of Egypt by the *Atamellukes*, Nay, and hath sometimes happened at the election of Popes, in *Sede vacante*.

And which is yett farre worse, the *Interregnum* sometimes lasteth for many dayes, because, beside vnder-handed suites and made factions, there is a naturall inclination to dissention in men. As hath oft bene scene to happen in the Empire of the East, after it yeelded it selfe to be electiue: And in the Realmes of *Hungary*, *Polonia*, *Bohemia*, *Denmarke*, and *Sweden*. During these *Interregnums*, nothing hapneth but schismes, diuisions, and many menaces of diuers persons, which ordinarily do draw on ciuill warres, every one courting to haue a Prince of his partaking, or as he would haue it.

It hath also bene obserued in the Empire of *Germany*, that many Emperors haue bene elected, vntill they haue had seuen or eight at a time, as after the death of the Emperour *Fredericke* the second. And there could no sufficient remedy be found, for the establishing of a Government, that might haue commanded in the meane while; because about the election of that Governour, there grew on still the same inconueniences. And perhaps it might haue so fallen out, that the Governour being seized on the estate, would attend no other election, as some haue done heretofore: finding but few men, that will render vp so great an engagement;

& a thing to attracting, he reputing himselfe iust in all things, if he can keepe such dignity from violation.

Moreouer, it cometh so to passe sometimes, that such as haue the right to elect Princes, will deliuer forth some apparances of credence to them, yet to haue them murdered and massacred, if they please them not, or else by corruption leaue them and elect some other. Hereof the Romane Empire can furnish vs with sufficient examples; and that it neuer was more calme, then when her Princes came to the Empire by succession. On the contrary, when the election was in the Soldiers hands, they set the Empire to sale, and filled all the State with rapines, thefts, murders, cruelties, and barbarous brutishnesse. When an Emperour pleased them not, were he the most vertuous man and the best Prince in the world; they would massacre him, without any difficulty, and establish another; as it befell to the good Emperour *Pertinax*, after whose murder, they caused it to be published through the City, that the Empire was to be sold to the fairest offerer.

In like manner, they murdered *Alexander Seuerus*, one of the best and vertuous Princes that euer was. And so they dealt with *Probus*, *Traianus*, and many more, as may be gathered by the sequell of Histories from time to time. Yet this is not all, each Legion and each Army made his Emperour all which (in the end) had their throates cut, after cruell ciuill warres: the poore people enduring all this while, infinite miseries, and there are obserued (in that time) will neere thirty, among whom there was two women.

These inconueniences were ordinary (anciently) in the estate of *Spain*. *S. Gregory of Tours* saith: *Sumptuosissime habent delectabilem consuetudinem, ut si quis eis de regibus non placuisset, gladio cum adpetere; et qui libuisset animo, hanc sibi statuerunt Regni.* The Gothes had taken this detestable custome, that if any one of their kings did not please them; they would murder him, and establish whosoever falleth into their fantasie, to be their King. This he wrote concerning *Theodas*, *Theodeysiles*, and *Agilas*. And in Germany, after that this order of election got footing there, there were eight or nine Emperors slain; as *William* of *Holland*, *Raoul*, *Albert*, *Henry* the

seuenth, *Frederick* the second, and *Leues* of *Bawaria*, &c. beside them that haue shamefully bene expelled from the Imperial Throne. And of fifteene Sultanes that reigned in Egypt, seauen were murdered.

VVith these wee could ranke many equally, and equally worthy, growing onely through hatreds and discontentment: from whence haue proceeded diuisions and seditions; so that the choise and preferring of one man, hath prouoed the viter contempt of another. And questionlesse, it will be very hard for him that hath bene refused, intirely to be obedient to him with whome hee hath contested for the royall authority, as his equal in house, reputation and merit.

Happy France, and truly happy, where to God hath giuen the grace, to breathe but one acceptable libertie, vnder the sweet command of thy naturall and successe Kings: which hath bene thy warrant from ruine, dangers, & deadly tempests, and hath kept thy State alwaies flourishing, yea, in full strength and vigor.

Amongst other inconueniences that may be met within an electiue estate, this is one: A Prince electiue will neuer be carefull of the state, which he holdeth but by entreaty, or at other mens liking, but of his owne family. For knowing well, that he cannot leaue the kingdome to his children, he makes his profite of the publike purse, deriuing and turning it to his own particulars, by venditions and other alienations. According as *Rodolphe* of *Habsbourg* did, who comming to bee elected Emperour, by the fauour of his Master Elector, the Arch-Bishop of *Magunce*; founded & built vp the house of *Austria* vpon the ruines of the Empire. Euen so farre, as to sell at prices of money, her fiefdomes and Seigneuries to Cities of *Italy*; as to *Florence* for six thousand crowns, and to *Lucas* for ten thousand, and so to other in like manner. Which prouoed to be the end of the kingdom and command of the Emperors in *Italy*: in regard whereof, he was highly blamed by all the Historians of those times, and by such as haue written euer since.

I forbear to speake of many other Emperours, who practised in the same manner, and alienated the hereditary patrimony of the Empire, Cities, Townes,

Territories, and Seigneuries, as well in *Germany*, as in *Italy*, and other places. And by this meanes, diuers Principalities established, and great cities franchised, beare now no more but the bare name of sovereignty for the Empire. Also it is to be credited, that a Prince doing what he can, will ouerthrow all, yet not to spite turly: but will mingle (as one saith) heauen with earth, but he will make his issue to succeed, so strong and mighty is this passion. Few or none are found to follow the example of *Moses*, who knowing and acknowledging his sonnes to bee incapable to command the people of *Israel* after him; rather chose to establish another, as preferring the weale publike, before affection or charity to his owne. It is recorded, that the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, promised an hundred thousand crowns to each one of the Princes Electours, to haue his sonne *Wenceslaus* elected emperour; and being vnable to pay them, hee was constrained to giue ouer to them the ordinary reuenues of the empire in payment.

The case is quite contrary in France, where the inheritance and patrimony of him that cometh to the crowne by succession, accrue and reuinieth it selfe (by the same meanes) to the crowne. In regard whereof, the Kings haue not two Kindes of inheritances, the one particular, and the other publike for all cometh of one and the same nature, & all is made publike. Wherein is discerned the full effect, of that which the emperour *Antoninus Pius* said to his wife. *Seeing* (sayeth he) *that we are come to the Empire, wee haue lost that which we had before.*

But although this kingdome bee successiue in this manner, by the iuuile custom of the country, rather the by hereditary right yet notwithstanding, women, and the descendants of them in that kind, neuer haue bene, neither euer can be admitted, no not in the defect of Males. VVithout reason, some enemies to the French name, and enuious (to speake truly) of this prerogative; would strue to call in doubt the *Salique* Law, which reiecteth women from succession in the kingdome, saying, that the originall thereof is doubtful and vnertaine. As if a man can desire a better and more certain prooffe, then the success and possession of so many hundred yeares, since the fer-

The difficulties and dangers in a state electiue.

*People with out Princes.

The kings of Thunis, Soldanes of Egypt, and election of some Popes.

The Empire of the East, comming electiue, & the kingdomes of diuers countries beside.

Concordious election in the Empire of Germany.

Great estate and dignity is not easily parted withall.

The Roman Emperours fall warred of her committes and calumnies.

Eminency brooketh no competitor.

The felicity of France.

The Emperour Pertinax murdered.

Alexander Seuerus, Traianus, Tacitus, & many more Emperours murdered.

As we well worth the observation.

Rodolphe of Habsbourg Emperour, & what great indignity he did to the empire.

S. Gregory, Two libels, &c.

Kings of the Gothes murdered.

Emperours of Germany slain.

The hereditary Patrimony of the Empire alienated, and nothing but the bare name remaining.

The herall promise of the Emperour Charles the 4.

No two kinds of inheritances in France comming to the crowne by the King.

Capitulation in this vita.

No female succession in France, according to the Salique Law.

led establishment of that estate. That law hath bene engraven, not in Marble or Copper, but in the hearts of Frenchmen and alwayes certainly kept.

Lopez Madera the Spaniard, seeing that the like could not be in Spaine, and that the dignity was much lesse, to couer the defect, and bring some shadow for it, labourerth to prooue, by stretching out a long discourse, that the succession of women is very naturall. This carryeth good reason in matter of succession for Patrimony in particulars. In which case (neuertheless) we can shew, that the succession by right (well nelle of all people) hath alwayes bene referred to the Males: who are as firme pillars and Anchors of assurance to great Families. But in the succession of a mighty estate or kingdom it were a mockery for the French to imagine, that the maintaining of womens succession could be the better. *There is verie great difference* (sayde the Emperour Adrian) *betweene the search of an heire of my patrimony, and a success for in an Empire.*

Moreover, it were superfluous to goe seeke for the original of this Salique Law, and enquire any further, when or how it was made; because it appeareth of a certaine vse, and that it hath alwaies bin kept by the French. Law hath no force, if it be not by custome, which is the very strongest Law of all other. And it may well be sayde, that it is a right of great authorities, when it hath bene obserued so strictly: as there is no neede of reducing it to a law by writing.

It is no written Law, but borne with them, neither haue they inuented it, but sucked it from nature herselfe, who gaue it them by instinct, & so instructed them: which not only the French, but most part of the people of the world, haue likewise most religiously obserued. If we look vpon royall and imitation of government generall in the world, by the Soueraigne vnitie, from the very first birth, that is to say, when the world tooke beginning, we shall find, that the first fathers of families gaue command in their houses themselves and not by their wiues, and that the male children succeeded them in the foueraignty of the Family, whereas the Daughters passed to another house, without hauiing any part there.

Whence came it, that all people (in

the first ages) were governed by Kinges, (not of many Prouinces) but of a Citie, or small territory onely, which had bene before but the inclosure of a father of a Family? As is to be seene, as wel in holy Writ, as by the ancient histories of each Countrey. That which great Aristotle faithfully interpreted of nature, hee hath well acknowledged. *In the beginning* (saith hee) *Townes and Cities were governed by Kinges, as now adayes people and strange Nations are. For they were composed of people, that liued vnder Royalty: each Family being governed by the most ancient.* So women could not come to the Royaltie, neither hold part in the succession of particulars. Contrarywise, Fathers of the family receiued commodity by rich gifts and presents which were given them, by such as made request for their daughters: as wee read in holye Writ, of the Father, Mother, and Brethren of Rebecca, the wife to Isaac, and as (at this day) it is a common right among all strange people, as well of the East, west, and South, where it is obserued in the same sort.

Aristotle reporteth, that the ancient Greeks did buy their wiues: whereof (as yet) we haue the testimony of Homer. But since the prime simplicity & good nature of men forsooke and gaue them ouer, iustice and peace withdrawing themselves: while in this truly Iron Age) all began to grow more strong, without any right or iustice, and that ambition (a most pestilent disease) ranne currant in the hearts of men: that goodly order became peruerced and ouerthrowne: when the most mightie, such as the Scripture reporteth, as of Nimrod and others, of *Ninus, Sesostris, Nebuchadonazar, and Cyrus*, troubled the quietnes of their neighbours, and invaded their lands. So, on the ruine of a great number of small estates, mightie Empires and Monarchies grew to bee grounded, and gaue command both in length and largeness.

In this inuasion, confusion, & ouerthrowing of kingdomes, as also particular and naturall Principalities, some also mounting vp against their Soueraignes; in stead of naturall Royalty, brought estates to popularity or Oligarchy. Afterward in regard of these disorders thus happening, the greater part of the people being not willing to liue so: became at length contray-

strained to render themselves to their own nature, & return to the good government of kings, to enjoy their former iustice. To the end that the weakest might bee in as safe security as the strongest, and y which pertained to euery private person, might peaceably be possessed, and defended by their kings, against the violence of neighbors: which were the two principall functions, that incited wading people to reunite & submit themselves to kings. Wherin Aristotle also hath placed the definitiō of royaltie, to wit: *As well to render iustice, as to defend the subjects from inuasion of enemies.* Such were the Iudges that governed the Estate of Israel, before the establishment of kings. Wherto is referred that which Herodotus said: *That the Medes would haue Dioces to kee their K. to the end to render iustice.* Be it then, that we regard the first original and naturall institution of kings, or be it the establishment of great Monarchies: yet it is doubtles, that women neither could or can be any participants. And as for the last institution of kings, for recourse of people, to the ende, they might be defended against violence, & to enjoy iustice: we plainly perceiue, this could neuer agree with the naturall disposition of women, because the vertue of pudicity rejecteth them from those functions, of iudging people, & defending them by Armes. And if in popular and Oligarchall Common-weals, women haue alwayes bin barred from government, and entermied with the publicke affaires: by much stronger reason then they ought to bee frō Royaltie, in as much as that forme of State is more excellent then the other. It hath bin obserued throughout all the Monarchies, euier pursuing the right of nature. And during fabulous times, if ther be found a *Semiramis* among the *Assyrians*; yet that breaketh not the rule. Considering the story it selfe saith, that to bring her purpose to passe, she disguised herselfe in the habit of a man: and was taken, not for *Semiramis*, but for her Son *Ninus*. And thereby it appeareth, that the *Assyrians* did not willingly endure the dominion of a woman, as *Lopez Madera* fondly supposeth. Contrarywise we reade, that that caused the ruine of their Monarchy, was, when *Sardanapalus* (their last K.) imitating the manners, fashions, & behavior of women, offended men so much, that by a iust indignation,

for so many men to bee subiect to such a woman, who had no more but the forme of a man; they revolted from him, and constrained him to kill himselfe.

Women then are not capable of succeeding in the kingdom of France, as we haue already approued, that in ancient times (ordinarily) they were not. For out of the fabulous times, there is obserued only a Queene of *Saba*, and a *Cleopatra* in Egypt, and so few beside; that their rarity declareth, how contrary a thing it is, violent, and extraordinary to nature. Since the declination of the race and Empire of *Charlemagne* only, we haue seene in some parts of the Welt, where valour & virility hath failed or relaxed: foueraigne (words and scepters conuerted into distaffes, and by the succession of womē, many the like indignities haue met together in one body. This was that which rayled the houses of *Spaine* and of *Austria*, to the greatest they hold: a kinde of encreasing vnknown before, in any other house or foueraignty, because there was no right at all.

When then the Spaniards demand of the French, the prooffe and foundation of the Salique Law; it is fit for themselves to shew the original and beginning of the right for their feminine Crownes, seeing France hath kept the vse of Antiquity, & they haue saile to change among themselves. Which hath bin heretofore obserued and discoursed, by *Seigneur Lesclapier*, in his Treat of the right of Nature: where he sheweth, that by the right of nature, women stand exempted from succession in the Realm of France. I remember the answer which *Licurgus* made to one, who discouraged, that the government of many was the best forme of an Estate. *Bring it first of all* (quoth he) *into thine own house.* In like manner, to such as will maintain the government of women in kingdoms and great Empires, especially in France: a man may well say, let them begin that establishment in their owne houses. It is by good reason saide, that there is neyther beginning nor writing found for the Salique Law. It is a Law of nature, borne with men, and not written, as Aristotle saith: *That whosoever is by right of nature, & by right of people, is not written at all.*

Wherto I may adde moreover, that it is the common right of inheritances, which ought by stronger reason to be obserued in

Women not capable of succeeding in the Crowne of France.

Soueraigne Swords and Scepters changed to Distaffes.

The defence of the French for their Salique Law.

A witty answer made by Licurgus.

Aristotle lib. 1. de Reg. 2. c. 4. Hic notandum est.

M Roy.

Lopez Madera in his 8. Page. lib. 3. c. 2.

The wife saying of the Emperour Adrian.

Law hath no power but by custome.

The Salique Law bred and borne with the French.

A comparison of the worlds first beginning.

The happy condition of liuing vnder kings.

Aristotle Politic. lib. 1.

Herodotus lib. 1.

* Some to Phisones.

Concerning the last institution of kings.

Aristotle Politic. lib. 1.

The beginning of this Iron Age of the world, against the Primitive iustice but first founded.

Yng. Vrap. 12 lib. 1.

Concerning Semiramis among the Assyrians.

Lopez Madera in his 8. Page.

Of Sardanapalus.

Royalty, as being the last and most eminent title of inheritance, and whereon dependeth all the other. So then this right, so naturall, hath euermore beene exactly kept in the estate of France.

Beside, the ancient lawes of the *Salians*, will not permit, that any part of *Salique* land or inheritance (that is to say, of lands distributed to the French, in their entering to the *Gaules*) shall come into the hands of women: but willeth, that it bee wholly left to the males. The same is also ordained in the law of the *French Riparians*. If this then took place in the succession of particulars, that the lands assigned vnto the French warriors, for recompence of their traualles, and to serue for defence of the Country, should not fall (as one faith) from the Lance to the Distaffe: by how much greater reason then ought we to esteeme, that this should be obserued, in the estate and succession of the kingdome of France, as the sequell of her owne Histories maketh knowne, that it hath bin at all times so held and practised there?

The great *Louys* or *Chlonis* had foure Sonnes, who by custome (then) receiued and diuided his Monarchies equally. *Childebert* the eldest, was king of *Paris*; *Chlothaire* of *Souffins*; *Chlodamere* of *Orleans*, and *Thierry* of *Mets*. *Childebert* had two Daughters, the one named *Chrodefinda*, and the other *Chrosberga*, as appeareth by the Charter of exemption, of the Abbey of *S. Germain des Prez*, and by that which *Fortunatus*, Bishop of *Poitiers* hath written in his Poems, who addeth, that King *Charibert* was Tutor to those two daughters. Neuertheless, neither of them succeeded in the kingdome of *Childebert* their Father: but without all further dispute, it was *Chlothaire* their Vnkle, as hath in like manner bin obserued by *Agnatius* the Greeke. Afterward, *Charibert* the son of *Chlonis*, had three daughters also, without leauing any male-childe: the one was married to a king of *Denmark*; the second named *Berthebeda*, of whom *Fortunatus* made an Epigram; and the third, called *Chrodielda*, entred Religion in the Abbey of *S. Croffe* in *Poitiers*: so that none of these daughters succeeded their Father, but *Sigebert*, brother to the deceased king, & that without difficulty or controuersie.

Now if there had bin any means or subiect to worke vpon, it is not to be thought,

that the king of *Denmark*, who had married one of the daughters, could otherwise haue bin remoued. Or if he had bin impeached by power, at least he would haue complained, & the authors of those times could not forget to make mention of it. But they not making any account of the daughters, do report, that *Sigebert* succeeded his brother *Charibert*, according to the custome of the Country. *Gonthram*, King of *Bourgogne*, brother to *Charibert*, had but one only daughter, named *Klothilda*. And yet notwithstanding he inuested and inhiuted his Nephew *Childebert* in the kingdome of *Bourgogne*, to enioy it after his death. It is not here to be objected, that hee did it for any ill will he bare to his daughter, or because hee would disinherite her: For by an adle of accord or agreement, made with his Nephew *Childebert*, transcribed at large by *S. Gregory of Tours*, who liued in the very times, he stipulated great Lands and Seigneuries for her, declaring well therein his fatherly affection; but because the law of France hindered her succeeding in the Crowne, he aduantaged her otherwise as he found the best means to do. The same may be confirmed by the testimony of many strangers, who do agree in this point, that women are not to succeed in the kingdome of France: the names of whom, as also their authorities, haue beene (for the most part) noted, and collected by a learned man of this time, in an Epistle which he hath written concerning this subiect.

Adgerus, Bishop of *Liege*, in the life of *S. Landaalde*, written by him in the year *VCCCCLXXX*, faith, *Francorum Regni a sui principio semper per infatigabile, &c. Maximū autem accepit incrementū & firmū sub eo sancta Dei Ecclesia statum, cum Chlotharius Rex IVSTA SVCCESIONE, Chlodoueo quartus Monarchiam singulariter trium regibus regnorum. The kingdome of France fro her beginning, hath euermore bin inuincible and indefatigable, &c. But the holy Church of God hath taken a great and firme encreasing in that State, when as king Chlotharius, the fourth Son of Chlonis was Monarch BY IVST SVCCESION of three kingdomes. He faith by iust succession, and yet notwithstanding, *Childebert* had left two daughters behinde him.*

Albert of *Strasbourg* reporteth in his Chronicle: *In Francia nullus per foemineam lineam*

The ancient custome of the Salians, by which the crown was to be inherited by males, is here observed.

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Chlonis was Monarch of three kingdomes.

Albert Strabus in his Chronicle.

linea successisse dicuntur. Neuer hath any person succeeded in France by the line of womē.

The Emperor *Charles* the fourth, Son to *John*, king of *Bohemia*, in his life it is thus written. *Eodem Anno obiit Carolus Francorum Rex relicta uxore pregnantē, quæ peperit filium. Et cum de consuetudine regni filia non succedant, prout in est Philippus, filius socii mei in Regem Francia. That year (saith he) died Charles, king of France, leauing his wife great with childe, who was deliuered of a daughter. And because by the custome of the kingdome, daughters are not to succeed: Philip, Sonne of my Father in law, was made king of France.*

Froissard, a partaker with England writeth thus. Then after the death of *K. Charles*, the 12 Peeres and Barons of France assembled themselves together at *Paris*, with all the speed they could make, and gaue the kingdome (by a common consent) to *Mesire Philip de Valois*, and took it from the *Queene of England* & her Son, who was left Sister germane to king *Charles*, by this respect and reason; because they said, that the Realm of France was of so great nobility, as it ought not go by any means to a Female. And indeed, the *Q. of England*, and *Edward* her Son, would not go to the contrary: but acknowledged *Philip de Valois* for legitimate succellour to the kingdome. And that which is more, *Edward* voluntarily did him homage, in regard of the Dutchy of *Guyenne*, and the acte of homage was deliberated and aduised by his counsell of England.

Now as concerning that which hapned some while after, warre being moued betwene the two kings, for another cause and enmity excited among the, that *Edward* tooke on him the Name and Armes of France: this was only done by the inuention of the *Flemings*, who saide, that they could not aide him, except he would qualifie on himselfe, the name of King of France: because they stood bound by oath, not to beare Armes against the *K. of France*, on paine of paying two millions of *Florins*. So that in taking Armes for him against *Philip de Valois*, and to quit themselves of that payment; *Edward* gaue them a discharge and quittance, as being *K. of France*. And yet notwithstanding, the *K. of England* made difficulty of vnderstanding it, hauing attempted war vpon another subiect, as being Vicar of the Empire, and for recouering the towne of

Cambray, which the King then held. But in the end, to haue the helpe of the *Flemings*, & their allies, who were most important vpon him: he was induced to take the title of king, & the Armes of France, as may more particularly be seene in the sequell of the history set down by *Froissard*.

Eliuan de Garibuy y Gamalloa, a Spaniard, speaketh of the very same, saying, *Porque Philip Conde de Valois descendida de la corona Real por linea masculina: fue coronado por Rey di Francia por virtud de la Ley Salica. Al Rey Eduardo por descender de linea de muger, exluyeron de la successiō Real, &c. Aunque todas ellas razones de Eduardo, enaden y escluyeron los Franchescos Ley Salica, que en estos dias y tomando grande rigor y fuerça pararon los siglos futuros. Because Philip, Count of *Valois*, descended of the Crowne Royall, by the masculine line: he was crowned King of France, by vertue of the *Salique* law. For king *Edward*, he being descended by the Mother's line, he stood excluded from the Royall succession, &c. And all the reason alleged by *Edward*, were euaded & excluded for the French, by the *Salique* Law, which in those daies was in great force, and continueth also for future times.*

Doctor Baldus on the *Pandecks* faith, *Filia Regis Francorū non succedit in Regno, ex rationabili consuetudine Francorum. The Daughter to the K. of France, succeedeth not at all in the kingdome, by a reasonable custome among the French. Which is also confirmed by Doctor Petrus Iacobi, on the Books of Fiefs or Inheritances, & many other Doctors. This may (by good right) bee registered among the honors, dignities, & preeminences of France. And such as content against it, as willing to impugn such a Law, or call it in doubtfull question; do slenderly conceiue, that the state of their owne Country could neuer pretogate, nor attribute vnto it selfe such a pretogate.*

The King of France hath also this great aduantage above others, that he is not on ly Soueraigne, but likewise absolute, with full power & authority truly Royall: which is not common to all Princes, although they be Soueraignes. There are very few or none, but are restrained, either by lawes, or by assemblies of the generall Estates: who therefore cannot tearme themselves absolute, being so subiected, & their power limited. The perfection & height of a royall estate, is, when the Prince or

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daineth

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Baldus in lib. 3. D. De Successor.

Petrus Iacobi. Tit. ex quib. caus. vassal. in Feud.

Another great aduantage of the king of France.

The perfection of a royall estate.

A connexion of the Lawes of the Salians with that of the Riparians.

From the Lance to the Distaffe.

The 4 sonnes of great Chlonis, all kings together.

Fortunatus in Poem.

Agnatius in lib. 3.

The three daughters of Charibert.

Inuit Carolus & c.

Froissard in lib. 1.

The Queene of England and Edward her Sonne.

King Edward the third took on him the name of king, and quartered the Armes of France.

King Edward of England Vicar of the Empire.

Art. in Peint.
lib. 3. cap. 10.

Eccles. 8. 3. 4.

The honour-
able disposi-
tions of Alex-
ander & Ce-
sar in their
action, of
warre, and o-
therwise.

The absolute
power of the
Romanes
Dictatour.

The wife say-
ing of Metel-
lus Numidicus

Two other
considerati-
ons well de-
scribing ob-
servation.

daineth all by his owne will, doth what he would, without any restriction, and being no way answerable for any of his actions. This was the reason, that *Aristotle* elegantly named such an estate, by the name of *tyranny*, as one would say, *Full and perfect Royalty*. And wife *Solomon* speaking of a true king indeed, saith; *He will do what he ever pleaseth him. Where the word of the king is, there is power, and who shall say unto him, What dost thou?* This is also of no mean importance for the good government of an estate; be it to relucme more certainly on the affaires; be it to keepe counceils & designs secret; be it for facility, promptitude, and speedines of execution. He that hath such power, especially in actions of war, as the two great warriors *Alexander* and *Cesar* had, may sway the Empire of the world. One of them being demanded, how in so short a time, hee had made so many famous conquests: *It was* (quoth he) *by neuer deferring occasion, or rising remissness.* And the other was so prompt & ready, as many times he was at his iournies end with his Army, before any newes was heard of his comming. Yea, and in such fort, as enemies felt his figning, before they tooke aduice for his comming. Nor can this be done, if a man depend vpon another, in any manner whatsoever; & the his power is not absolute. The Romanes tooke good acknowledgement hereof, being wont in their very greatestt affaires, & dangers of the estate, were it in peace or war, to create a Magistrate, whom they called Dictatour, with such full power & absolute authority. In breefe, for the gouernement of great estates, and likewise of great affaires, the account can neuer bee well rendred, except it be to one man only. Otherwise, a Prince, although a Soueraigne, can neuer say, as *Metellus Numidicus*, and as it was after vsed by king *Lewes* the 11. *that if he thought his shirr knew his counsell, he would tear it from his backe and burne it.* He that is truly an absolute king, may well vse the aduice of his counceill, in such affaires as present themselves; but in an arrest and resolute, what seems good to himselfe. The excellency of that kingdom, as also of her kings, resulteth yet from two other considerations. One is the long continuance of the estate: a certain prooffe, as well of her good government, as of the supreme and celestiaall fauor. The

other, is the antiquity of her race of kings: for to speake truly, there is not any more worthy, no nor more generous blood in the world. Who can in all the kingdomes through the *Vniuersitie*, shew another the like estate, as firm and stable, as hath continued for 1200. yeares? Who can nominate such a nobility & ancientnes of race, so fairly approued, and in so long succession of so many kings. Since the year 440. according to most certaine History, *Meroveus* planted the foundation of that Monarchy, and established it to the *Gauls*: & euen to this instant, the estate hath bin alwaies maintained, and valiantly stood against all violent assaults. In such fort, is the more it hath bin attempted, yea, in very dangerous extremities; then found she herselfe strongest, and more flourishing then before. There is not any thing comparable to such a succession of kings, in all other Realmes, as it will be easily verified.

Moreover, the noblenesse, dignity, and greatness of that royall race, hath received no diminution by those two changes, which historians haue there obscured. Let not *Lopez Madera* alledge then, that such changes hapned, because France would not admit the regiment of women. For if we regard the side & line feminine, though the succession be not therein; three races finde themselves all vnited with the other. The second of *Pepin* with the first, as some Chronicles of those times do proue. And that of the *Capets* which is the third, and reigneth at this present happily with the second, as *M. Guillaume de Nangis* hath deduced the Genealogy. The which Pope *Innocent* the 4. in his Decretale, speaking of king *Phillip Augustus*, full well acknowledged, when he aouched that king to be descended of the race of *Charlemaigne*.

But beside this, there are other faithfull Authors, who do declare, that the second race is ioynd to the first, by the males side, proceeding from father to sonne, that *Pepin* was descended in direct line by the males, of *Chlogion*, K. of the French, before *Meroveus*, as issued from *Altericus*, one of the sonnes of *Chlogion*. And as for the third race, the true originall thereof, was in that noble and so ancient house of *Saxony*, & of great *Vuitichind*, king of the *Saxons*, who made himselfe Christian with his people, & came to dwell in France, in the time of *Charlemaigne*. He was descended of *Signardus*,

Long continuance of the State & Antiquity of race

The first plantation of the Monarchy by Meroveus.

Two changes noted by the Romanes concerning this

Cap Nauli De Justinian spud Grægo.

Pepin descended of king Chlogion by the males side

The third race of the house of Saxony by king Vuitichind, and that descent.

Signardus, who was made Duke of the *Saxons*, in the year VCXXXVI. At such time as *Dagobert* was king of France. Be hold the certain succession, *Vuitichind* the great had another Son cald *Vuitichind*, & that *Vuitichind* had another *Vuitichind* 3. who had to *Sonne Rupert* or *Robert* the *Strong*, Count of *Auion*, he being slain against the *Normans*, in the time of *Charles* the Bauld, king of France, and Emperor.

That *Robert* the *Strong* left his Son *Otho* or *Eudo*, who was Tutor to king *Charles* the *Simple*, and afterward crowned king; as also was his brother *Rupert*, Father to *Hugh* the Great, Count of *Paris*, *Sonne* in law to the Emperor *Otho* the first. And by this marriage of *Hugh* the Great, was born *Hugh Capet*, established king by the Nobility of France, through default in the legitimate line of *Charlemaigne*, in the year VCCCCLXXXVII. Since which time, the kingdom hath alwayes beene in the hand of that generous and flourishing Lineage, excelling still more and more, and reigning to perpetuity.

Next hereunto, there commeth also to our consideration, the admirable and heroyicall vertues of the kings of France, which hath mounted their glory vp vnto heauen, & made them known through all the Cantons of the earth. But to forbear the most ancient warriors, the affright & terror of the Romanes, *Afcaricus*, *Gaisa*, *Marcomir*, *Sunnio*, *Mellaubodes*, and *Chlogion*: what a warrior was *Meroveus*, the founder of that Monarchy in *Gaule*? This was the man, who (in despite of the Romanes, and such a mingle-mangle of barbarous people, scattered and dispersed by the *Gauls*) planted there his Standards, and made himselfe absolute Lord of one part. And as for *Attila* king of the *Hunnes*, that caused himselfe to be cald, *The scourge of God*: he came to rauage France, as hee had done all other Prouinces, where hee had past. The wife *Actus*, Governour to what then remained of the Romanes in *Gaule*, was perwaded, that he was not able, nor all the barbarous people releagued with him, to endure the furious and fearefull shock, of that huge thunderbolt of war. But made his recourfe to the vertue of the French, and to their great *Meroveus*, to fight against the furious entrance of the *Hun*. V. herin behad good success, for the pride of *Attila* was sooner rebat-

ted on the *Cathalman* plaines, by great *Meroveus*, who put to the edge of the sword, that dreaded masse and number of enemies.

Alas, there is no roome here, in a work of no larger circumference, to recount the goodly deeds, and actes heroyicall, well deseruing eternall memory, of all the kings that haue reigned in France: for many great volumes can hardly containe them. So high an ascending subiect, deferred to meete with such Writers, as can as worthily set down in writing, what these kings did boldly and vertuously performe. Beside, the abundance of matter, and dignity of the subiect, would afford them fearfull of ground, and trouble them with a thousand difficulties. It is a subiect much more great, then the wars and encounters of petty Townes and Villages in Greece, banded the one against the other: which neuertheless, by the learning & eloquence of such, as haue attempted to write thereof, are become so much celebrated, and thought worthy of immortality. But Frenchmen, who haue established this Monarchy, contenting themselves with the glory and honour of well doing, care little for any pride of the Pen, adding themselves rather, to execute high & hardy enterprises, the to set down in writing those of others, much lesse of themselves.

Neuertheless, though destitute of such exquisite meanes, whereby to mount to immortality: yet it hath so well falne out, that all their faire actions haue not bin verily buried, nor forgotten. But in stead of a worthy Histori, admiration hath thrust into the mowthes of all people, to know and speake of them; disfluering it so from hand to hand, euen to such as dwell in the remotest Climates, familiarly acquainting them with their manners. And in dedee, there are to be found more testimonies of French vertue, in the Histories, Memories, and Annals of strangers, then in their owne. I will therefore leaue that labour to others, that can better acquit themselves thereof, if I touch any thing, it shall bee but in my passage along, and onely to make a light demonstration.

It hath bin obserued for an ancient saying, *That all the good kings might be enclodged within the Beazallor Collet of a small king.* But this saying cannot hold in France, hath euermore met with good kings, most

This labour euer little to containe the famous action of the Kings of France.

The Greek wars not comparable with them of the French.

Admiration (in stead of a fitting histori) hath made the French generally famous throughout out the world

An ancient Adage concerning good kings.

Chlovis or
Louis that
drove the Ro-
mans quite
out of Gaule,
& made the
Goths to flee
beyond the
Pyrennean
Mountains.

The meeting
of the two
armies, where
King Chlovis
slew Alarick
hand to hand
in fight.

The Emperor
Anastatius.

Childebert
Sonne & suc-
cessor to
Chlovis.

excellent and most vertuous: having bin alwayes happy therein, as in all other things. I will call then vnto you diuine spirits, & generous foules, who haue sometime swayed that Monarchy; to the ende, that being put on by your inspiration, I may, if not worthily sing your merites, yet (at least) figure forth to life some par of them.

Next to Great *Meroneus*, who first established himselfe in France, repulst the *Hunnes*, and ouercame King *Attila*, the horrore and the whippe of the world, account is to be made of that *Chlovis* or *Lo-uis*, who possessed himselfe throughly of the *Gauls*, and vterly exterminated the Romanes name. This was the quayer of the Romanes and Germanes, and he that expulst so quickly the *Goths* beyond the Pyrennean Mountaines, and made them thinke, that hardly could they get ground enough to flee away vpon, or where to hide themselves from his victorious arm. The *Goths* hauing offended him many times, and broken all agreements made: this Prince vnderooke war against them, to chastise them, and purge the *Gauls* of such a people, as eagerly followed the error of *Arius*, and laboured to plant it euery yeare.

When as the two Armies were met together, somewhat neere to *Poitiers*, the battaile was giuen, wherein the *Goths* were wholly ruined, and driuen away in rout. Historians do adde hereto, that the King of the *Goths*, being named *Alarick*, was met withall in the fight by King *Chlovis*, and fighting hand to hand, hee smote him downe dead to the ground. This is the selfe-same Prince, who (first of all the French) embraced Christian Religion, whereof both he and his successors were alwayes afterward true protectors and defenders. He was the most redoubted of all the kings in the world, and of whom the Emperor *Anastatius*, *Theodorick* the *Ostrogothe*, and the *Visigoths* of *Spaine* made no meane account; were it in admiration of his vertue, or were it for feare, they thought themselves very happy, to haue peace and friendship with him, seeking it by diuersity of Ambassadors, & by plenty of most exquisite gifts.

His Sonnes *Childebert*, *Chlothaire*, *Chlodamire*, and *Thierry*, as heires to his crowne, and likewise to his valour and pi-

ety, made themselves admirable & dreadful to strangers. *Childebert*, induced thereto, by horrible persecutions inflicted on the Orthodox Christians, as also by the bad and vnworthy viage offered to his Sister, by *Almarick* her husband, King of the *Visigoths* in *Spaine*, who seuerly maintained the *Arrian* heresie: passed with his Army into *Spaine*, quailed & ouercame the powers of the *Goths*, wonne diuers Cities by assault, and at length took *Tolledo*, cheefe of all, ruining it in ranged battaile, where also was slaine *Almarick* their king; returning triumphantly into France, hauing added to his Empire, the very greatest part of *Spaine*. Afterward the three Brethren together, wholly ouerthrew the estate of the *Bourguignons*. And soone after, the emperor *Iustinian*, making warre on the *Goths* of *Italy*, the *Goths* made recourse to *Theodebert*, king of *Mett*, and youngest Sonne to *Chlovis*, who defended them for a good space of time, giuing such prooffe to the *Greekes*, of vertue in the French, that *Iustinian* was constrained to compound with the french, as Historians (on his own side) do testifie.

In this first race, there was also *Chlothaire*, who by his victorious arms, wholly subdued *Germany*, and vanquished the vnconquerable *Saxons*. On a day, the two Armies being somewhat neere each to other, and the *Riuer* *Vifurgis* running betwene them, this *Chlothaire* being on horse-backe and well armed; espied *Bertoldus*, Duke of the *Saxons*, in like furnishment on the *Riuers* other side. Alone & without attending for any other troops, suddenly he crossed ouer the *Riuer*, to encounter and fight with his enemy; who betaking himselfe to flight, he pursued after with all possible speed, and hauing ouertooke him, fought with him, and left him dead on the ground. So returning victorious backe againe, bearing his enemies head in his hand, he found his people much offended, because they had neglected to follow him. He left *Dagobert* his Sonne to be his Successor, a worthy heire both to his estate and valour, as also excelling in piety and deuotion, as many Churches richly founded and builded by him can well testifie.

Hauing finished the first race, wee come to the second, wherein let vs consider first of all, the cheefe man thereof,

Charles

S. Greg. Tur.
in lib. 3. cap.
Aymonius in
2. cap. 4. & 19.

The Emperor
Iustinian war-
red on the
Goths of I-
taly.
Procopius in
2. Bel. Gutt.

Chlothaire
subdued all
Germany
and the
Saxons.

Aymonius in
lib. 4. cap. 18.

Dagobert,
heire and suc-
cessor to his
Father Chlo-
thaire.

Calixtus XI.
in A. 1067.
Tales in lib. 3.
cap. 1.

Charles Martel, Prince of the French; whose name remaineth engrauen (peculiarly) in memorie of all the people of *Europe*, for beeing their conseruator, in warranting them from the certaine yoke and seruitude of the *Sarazins*. It was then when the *Arabian* *Sarazens* (holding all *Africa*) passed into *Spaine* with very final troops: where finding but slender resistance, the *Spaniards* and *Goths* bequeathing themselves, as ingulft in all pleasures and delights, and no way addicted to the exercise of Armes, became immediately Masters of all *Spaine*. This victory and conquest drew on thither Millions of *Moors* and *Sarazins*, and in so great number, that *Spaine* being no longer able of comprehending them, they made account of pasing further on, euen to run thorow all *Europe*, and quite to exterminate Christian Religion.

Into France they entred with a most dreadfull Army, lacking and spoyling all that they met with, and passed on so farre as *Tours*, seeming, as if there were no force or power great enough, that could resist or stay the course of their conquests. All people and Christian Princes, were full of feare and terror, and (in a worde) *Europe* had vterly bene vndone: if this *Charles Martel* had not then bene present neere or before the City of *Tours*, making there a barre of his body and French forces. Hauing giuen them battell with so few French as then were with him: hee ouercame and merely hewed them in pieces, to the number of three hundred, threecore, and fiftene thousand *Sarrazins*. After this, being aduertised that there were yet other great troops, towards *Aquibona* and *Auignon*; hee went thither to finde them, & in another daies good successe, wholly ouercame them, & left not a man liuing. So that it appeareth by iust records, that there were slaine in all, seuen or eight hundred thousand: in regard whereof, the fir-name of *Martel* was giuen him. Thus did he dissipate this dangerous tempest, wherewith all Christendome was threatned, and ready to be confounded.

This also gaue good ease to the *Spaniards*, who were scattered in *Spaine*, fled & hidden in the *Asturian* mountains. So that he might wel be named, & in good right, the *Buckler*, *Hammer*, *Sharpe sword* and

Rampier of Christendome. But for him, *Europe* had now bin the feate of *Calixtus* and *Miramolines*. In stead of adoration giuen to the true God, the name of prophane *Mahomet*, and his execrable *Alcoran* should haue bene here preached. The *Saxons*, who were Pagans then, and not capable, but to giue offence to a peaceable king, by their reuolts and wonted seditions; could they haue bin any hindrance? The Germanes, diuided into many small Principalties, and gouerned (for the most part) by the kings of France, could they haue resisted? In Italy there were but the *Lombards*, who in the space of a most two hundred yeares, could not become Masters of all Italy, neyther conquer any more but a part, which their first king *Alboin* obtained at a clap, euen when they first entred. The rest was so miserably tormented, by the courses and piracies of the *Sarrazins*: as the poore inhabitants knew not where to hide themselves. The Empire of *Constantinople* remained, hauing worke enough to do, to keepe herselfe within her owne small bounds and limits: beeing pursued by the *Arabes* and *Mahometanes* of the East. Questionlesse, the Christian name had bene extinct, had it not pleased God to serue himselfe with the victorious arme, and courage innumerable of this French Prince, to conserue his faithfull seruants to glorify his name.

This was the same Prince, of whom it was said, *That hee affected rather to command Kings, then to bee a King himselfe*; which was engrauen on his Toombe in these teames.

Non vult Regnare, sed Regibus imperat ipse.

Thus initiated by the *Virgil* of France.

This was Great Martel, Prince of the French, Not King in name, but a Master of Kings.

Much more to be esteemed heerein, then he that saide, *Hee affected rather to command them that had Golde, then to haue any himselfe*. Because the palseion and feruour which is borne to honor, and which seateth it selfe willingly in the souls of the most generous; is much more quaint, tickling and violent, then is the desire and thirst after riches. The reputation and valour of this great *Martel* protector of Christen-

Aymonius con-
tinuat. in lib. 4.
cap. 57.

Christendome) being such, the Church hauing no other prop nor succour, every one fixing their eyes on him; Pope Gregory the third sent him the chaines of Saint Peter, and the keyes of the Sepulcher, committing himselfe and the whole Romane Church into his protection, to be warranted, not only against inuasion of Sarrazens, but also against the continual courses of the Lombards, wherewith hee had bene afflicted beyond all extremitie.

*Pepin, King of France, son to Charles Martell, wonne not a ior lesse glory by his haughty deeds of Armes. This was hee that danted the Aquitanians, and them of Bavaria, ouercoming them in diuers batailles, and likewise the reuolted Saxons. Soone after, being called for succor by Pope Stephen, to defend the Romane Church (vexed more then euer) and oppressed by Astolpho, King of the Lombards, he went with all diligence, & constrained Astolpho (who felt his power not equal to his) to flye, and shut himselfe vp in Pavia his Capitall City, where hee besegged him, and could not raise his siege vntill hee hadde made an aduantageable composition for the Pope, with whom he left many French souldiers for his further assurance. This composition being afterward broken by the perfidie of Astolpho, Pepin returned thither againe, and besiedged him the second time; compelling him to surrender the Exarquate of *Rauenne*, and many other places, which he gaue vp to the Romane Church. And returning home into France, hee found there the Ambassadors of *Constantine*, Emperor of *Constantinople*, who bringing him many goodly presents, came onely to request his alliance.*

But what can we speake of more admiration, then his sonne *Charles*, to whom (by good night, and for his high deserts) the whole Vniuersie, by one consent gaue the fir-name of *Great*? Hee attempted, maintained, conducted, and brought to end, ten or twelue seuerall warres, all of most great importance & difficulties in all kindes; as well in regard of the places, as for the great multitude and strength of the enemies, against whom hee warre to deate. First, against the *Aquitaniens* and *Basques* or *Gascogons*, a mercurious strong people; yet after many outrageous, hee

ranged them vnder his obedience.

Next, another warre against the Lombards, who hauing violated the Articles of peace; which had bene couenanted with them by King *Pepin*, Father to this *Charles*; they infested and tormented the Romane Church, without the least breathing or respite. Which was the reason that this Prince, as pious and iust, as valiant, vnderooke (according to the ordinary vse of the French Kings) the defence of the holy See, ouercoming & ruinating the Lombards from the toppe to the bottom. He also besiedged *Didier* their king, tooke, and led him captiue into France, where ended the kingdom of the Lombards in *Italy*, and whereby he augmented and enlarged his owne estate. Thus hee purchased rest to the Pope, and beside enriched the Romane Church, giuing it no meane part of his Conquests, and increasing the patrimony of *S. Peter*.

Hee attempted warre also against the Sarrazins, passed into *Spain* to fight with them, where he soyled them in many encounters, enforcing them to hide themselves in Towns, which hee besiedged and wonne away from them, so that he conquered a great part of *Spain*, chasing the Sarrazins thence, and continued warre alwayes ther afterward against them, which gaue no small ease vnto the Spaniards, who were mightily oppressed and ouerburdened before.

Then he made an expedition into *Italy*, against the reuolted Lombards and *Italians*. Many the like into *Germany*, against the *Bavarians*, the *Danes*, *Bohemians*, *Sclauonians*, and *Vuinides*, all warlike people, and whom hee conquered. Also against the *Hunnies*, an vndaunted people, after they had gotten habitation in *Pannonia*, vnder the conduct of *Attila* their King: yet he vanquished them, and hewed them in peeces in many fought batailles, plucking out of their throats the spoiles of Europe, which they had enjoyed and triumphed ouer for so many yeares. And there he found such wealth and abundance of riches, as the very simplest souldiour in the Camp, was wonderfully rich for euer after.

Furthermore, he had no meane meddling with the *Saxons*, against whom hee had warre for the space of three and thirtie yeares: they being a people that could neuer

His warre against the Lombards, and bringing them King prisoner into France.

His warre against the Sarrazins in Spain.

His warre against the Saxons for 33 yeares.

neuer liue nor abide in quiet, reuolting incessantly, especially when they knew this Prince to be farre off from them, & troubled in some other places. Hee added to his owne estate *Gascogny*, a great part of *Spain*, *Saxony*, and the *Pannonias*; restraining to powerfully the ordinary courses of the Sarrazins, as all Europe liued quietly vnder his reigne. Beside, hee was so redoubted, loued, and admired altogether by forraigne Kings, that *Aaron*, Califfe of the East, who held (well-neere) all *Asia*, and was feared by all the greatest Kings: sought for his friendship, and sent him rare presents at diuers times, auouching him to be the most worthy King in the whole world. And although this Califfe was rude and harsh vnto Christians, that dwelt in his countries; yet notwithstanding, he forbore to persecute them, in consideration of *Charlemagne*, to whom he gaue the City of *Ierusalem*, by sending him the keyes thereof, as also them of the holy Sepulcher.

The Emperours of *Constantinople* also did so esteeme, loue, and honor him, that oftentimes they lent him rich giftes by their Ambassadors, creding nothing more, then to haue any contending in warre against him. In like manner, *Alphonse* King of *Gallicia*, and of the *Asturias*, would call himselfe no other, but with this qualification towards *Great Charles*, His humble and faithfull Subject, wholly to him; *Proprius suus* in Latine, as *Eginhard* hath recorded.

But what can be thought more admirable, or tearmed to bee a matter more rare, then in a Prince that was so stout a warrior, all other ciuill vertues and most humane, should haue an equal meeting together? Singular clemency did euer more accompany his victorious arme. The same *Eginhard* reporteth, that hee could not be enforced to choller, by any occasion whatsoever. Nay, he would neuer yeeld, that one of them which had attempted against his life and State, should be put to death; but onely was contented with their safe keeping. In his victory against the Lombards, hee did not onely pardon *Paulus Warnefridus*, Deacon of *Aquileia*; but also kept him neere about his person, greatly honouring and gratifying him, for the esteeme of his erudition and knowledge.

This Lombard was vnworthy of so great grace, in conspiring afterward with other Rebels, and vling treason against his King and Benefactor. VWho neuertheles, after he had discovered the conspiracy, & surmounted all that the reuolts could do, againe hee pardoned this *Paulus Warnefridus*, being no way willing, that he should be punished for his perfidie and rebellion. Onely hee commanded his retirement, and banished him (for a while) to a certaine place. Afterward hee brake the bounds of his banishment, and fledde to *Ragajus*, Duke of *Benevento*, to excite him also to reuolt. An occasion, whereby the king was councelled, greediously to punish both the one and other for this double treason. Yet the good Prince would lend no care thereto, but iured & pardoned both their liues: onely hee charged *Paulus Warnefridus*, to write the History of the Lombards, the continuation of Europe, and some other works.

This was not only a light punishment, but honourable also to him that had the charge thereof: where, beside a most singular example of clemency, appeared an admirable affection vnto learning, for that onely respect, to loue and honor the man, who had so often falne into treason. Such was the loue & great account which he made of learning; and himselfe, albeit liuing in an age vngracious enough, & full of barbarisme, yet did hee speake Latine elegantly, and his mother tongue so readily, even with naturall eloquence and admirable perswasion: hee vnderstoode Greeke also, but spake it hardly. Beside, he was well seene in all the Sciences, hauing *Alcinus* to bee his Schoole-master. All dinner while, hee caused one to discourse, or reade ancient Histories: where in he tooke no meane pleasure, but moulded thereafter the forme of his owne life.

No lesse was he to bee commended for his iustice, careful for rendering it to his Subjects with all sincerity: himselfe taking knowledge of such causes as concerned any difficulty, vndertaking the defence and protection of VVidowes, Orphanes, and other miserable people, to warrant them against all oppressions of the mighty. Hauing also established many good Lawes and Ordinances, for the rooting vp of vices, and furtherance of iustice.

Good nature in a Prince maye be too much abused by Traitor.

A mercifull iniunct on by a wronged Prince.

His Iustice & vprightnesse to his Subjects

Pepin, the son of Charles Martell.

Aymon, cousin in law, esp. 63

The Lieutenant of the Empire.

Charlemagne Charles the Great, sonne to King Pepin

Aaron the great Califfe of the East.

He was loued and feared by the Emperours of Constantinople.

Eginhard in an. lib. 1. cap. 9

office. In regard of his piety and singular deuotion, hee made sufficient apparance thereof, as remaineth witnessed to this day in strange Countreys, by his wealthy foundation of Churches and Monasteries. He was ordinarily present at solemn prayers in the Church, and at all Canonick houres, euen in the night time. Great care had hee, that diuine seruice should be honourably celebrated, & the Churches well serued, despending great summes of money, to haue them fitted and furnished with all convenient rich Ornaments, and matters to them belonging.

Hee caused
five Councells
to be called &
held for the
good of the
Church.

Moreouer, he was somewhat proud and curious, that the church should be beautified and shining by the probity, integritie, and sanctitie, expressed in the liues of the Ministers, and Ecclesiasticall persons to them appertayning. Being alwayes heerein fo carefull, and for establishment of the better order, that hee caused five Councelles to be called and holden, and collecting the Decrees of them, made the to be published & obserued: holding nothing in more great recommendation, then to see the Church honoured, and flourishing in all holines. He was liberrall vnto all men, especiallie to the poore, as well of his owne Kingdome, whom hee mercifully releued: as also in strange countreies, whereto hee sent rich Almes; alwayes coueting friendship with the Easterne Kinges, to asuage the persecutions of poore Christians.

Charlemaign
could neuer
be rempyed
by a thought
of Ambition.

But aboue all the rest, one thing seemeth very strange, that Ambition could neuer gette footing in the soule of this Prince, although it had bene, and is, a frequent and ordinary disease, in the very greatest courages, and most generous spirits. For, although hee was crowned Emperor of the East at Rome, by Pope Leo the third, vpon the cries and acclamations of the Roman people, who both desired and elected him: yet let mee tell ye, it was so farre from any feare or proceeding thereto in him, as hee knew nothing thereof, neither euer gaue his consent thereto. For Eginhard assureth, hauing heard himselfe to confirme it, that if hee had knowne the purpose of the Pope and people; he would not haue gone into the Church on Christmasse day, in

Eginhard in
Annot. l. 1. c. 10.

the yeare VCCC. when that acclamation, election, and cotation was performed. It was a thing so much against his minde, and whereof hee made such slender reckoning. Hee dyed at the age of threescore and eleuen yeares, hauing reigned seuen and forty yeares. And, at his height of humane felicity, hee left his Sonne *Lewes* his successor, and heyre to his vertues, who for his exceeding great mildenesse and meekenesse, deturued the sur-name of *Pious*, or the *Debonnaire*.

The death of
Charlemaign

In his yong yeares, his Father made him King of *Aquitaine*, where he carryed himselfe in such sort, gouerning so wisely and with such discretion, that such prudence and vertue was highly admyred, especially in those tender yeeres. Himselfe rendered iustice to his subiectes, attending thereon three dayes in euery weeke. Hee vied great iudgement for well choosing men of worth and merite, to vndergoe places of important charge, as Officers and Magistrates. Hee eased the people so much as pssibly hee could, in taking away harde Tributes and Subsidies, and moderating others, euen in the mildest manner.

Charles the
Debonnaire
succeeded his
Father Char-
lemaigne.

And yet notwithstanding, hee was a good Warriour, not onely in defending & safe keeping his owne Frontiers: but also proceeding very farre into Spain, to make warre vpon the inuading Sarrazins, whom hee foyled in many battels, encounters, & besiedgings of Citties conquered by him, hauing maintained and enlarged the lids of his Father *Charlemaigne*, which hee had wonne in Spain. So that by his Vertues, wise carriage and deportment, hee gaue a wonderful contentment to his Father. Hee succeeded him in the kingdome of *France*, and in the Empire of the East. He continued warre against the Sarrazins in Spain, & weakened them in such sort, that hee gaue good means to the Spanishe Christians, to defend themselves against them and to extend their territories farther off. *Marinus Siculus*, who wrote the historie of Spain, declareth the expeditions of this French Emperour, reporting moreouer, that he imposed a tribute on the people, which were conquered and subiected by him in Spain: where he was cald in the dayes of this Author *Romanus Janos*.

Charles was
also a worthy
warriour, con-
quering the
Sarrazins in
Spain.

Marinus Sic-
ulus l. 1. c. 3.

Romanus Janos.

Hee conferred in greatnes the Empire of

His zeale and
deuotion to
God and his
Church.

The 3. race of
kings in France
the first being
Hugh Capet,
of Saxony.

A worthy an-
swer of a iudi-
cious King.

His loue and
charity to the
poore, and ec-
tection of
Churches.

of the West towards Germany, and valiantly imbarred the courtes of the Northerly people, from their manifold inuasions. And neuer could any defect or vice be noted in him: but that he was too good, too humane and debonnaire. His piety, zeale, and deuotion towards God and his Church was such, as neuer in any man was obserued greater. Forty dayes before his decesse, hee tooke no other foode, but the blessed Communion onely, which hee receiued with wonderful humility, and extraordinary contrition: continuing alwayes in prayer, or causing to be sung in his presence and hearing the Ecclesiasticall offices.

Come we now to the third race, the cheefe whereof was *Hugh Capet*, yssued from the house of *Saxony*; who happily reigned, and wisely gouerned his Kingdome, with much piety and iustice. His Sonne *Robert*, with like piety and integrity of life, loued Learning, and was earnestly addicted thereto, that hee himselfe composed sundry Books: and among the rest, he wrote many goodly & pious Hymns, which were receiued, and are yet (at this present) sung in the Church. Of him it is thus credibly reported, & being (at a certain time) mockt by an ignorant Duke, because hee sung in the Church among Ecclesiasticall persons, hee made him this answer: *That he better affected to see a King learned, then an Ass crowned*, making his allusion vnto the Duke, who ware his Dukall Crowne on that solemn day.

Hee was very pittifull, and a great Almoner on the poores behalfe; so that when hee tooke his owne repast, great troopes of poore people were admitted to be about him, whom hee would suffer freely to come neere him, and gaue vnto them that foode which was left there before him, & many other things that they stood in neede of. Nor was hee a iotte lesse liberrall to Churches, in causing many to be builded, founded, and endowing them bountifullly, as also re-establishing and enriching others. There was no want in him likewise of all other royall vertues, maintaining and conferring his estate very wel, and making the people happy, that were vnder his obedience.

I am feigne to passe ouer others, to come to King *Lewes* the sixth, surnamed *Le*

Gras, a true imitator of his Auncestours vertues. Hee employed all his life time, to containe his people in peace and quietnesse, and (according to the durie of a good King) to shield them from oppression of the greatest & most potent Earles and Barons of France, who flood then vpon very peremptory termes. Which made him to attempt diuers ways against them vpon that occasion, and oftentimes expose his life to dangers, preferring the well-fare of his people, before all other considerations whatsoeuer, and so hee well witnessed from time to time.

After hee had chafished and raunged all such as had reuolted, flying from him vpon the like occasions, and was become feared, respected, and obeyed of all the Rebels, as also beloued of all his subiects, the Emperor *Henry* the fifth, being departed from *Germany* with a mighty & dreadful Army, to ouer-run him and his country, he went to meet him nere to *Rhemes*, hauing but a handfull of men with him. But he so affrighted the Emperor *Henry*, and all the potent Army with him, that fearing the valour and inuincible arme of the French, whose courage will giue way to nothing whatsoeuer: he thought it farr better for him to quit the place, & get him gone, then to hazard his estate against so valiant a King, though hee was attended but with so small a troope. And so this Emperor made his retreat, at the very noyle of the Kings comming, whose name (indeed) was very dreadful.

This Prince also excelled in Piety and Religion, vertues proper to the Kings of France: being the true props, supports, and Bulwarks to the Church. For we reade, that in his time, Pope *Paschall* the second came into France for refuge, and to consult with the *Galllicane* church, concerning those differences which hee hadde with the Emperor. And afterwards, the Popes *Calixtus* the second, *Honorius* the second, and *Innocentius* the second, being tormented and expelled by the Emperors of Germany, and brought to great misery, yet succoured in that kingdome, their ordinary retreat and refuge. Hee entertained them honourably, assisting them with riches, respecting them worthily & royally. In the end, hauing succoured them to his utmost power, hee tooke pains to pacify those discords and contentions.

Some-

K. Lewes the
sixth, surnamed
the Grasse or
vig.

The Emperor
Henry the fifth,
with a great army
against Lewes.
Le G. sic, &
retired thence
without striking
a blow.

Vertues proper
to the Kings of
France.

Saggenius in
Ludouic Grosii.

Sugger, Abbot.
S. Omer, from
Mont. Ludasi
Grosli.

Something more I may adde concerning his death, as it is let downe by *Suggerus*, Abbot of Saint *Denis*, his principall friend, and an eye-witnesse thereof. Feeling the end of his life approaching, & the holy Eucharist being brought to him, he arose out of his bed to meete it, falling downe on his knees, and receiving it with great deuotion. Hauing before taken order for al his affaires, and made both profession of his faith, and confession of his finnes, in the hearing of all there present. Afterward, being taken forth of his bed againe, & laid vpon akes dispersed abroad he gaue vp the ghost.

Lewes the 7.
succeedeth
his Father
Lewes the 6.
grosli.

His Sonne *Lewes* the seuenth, called, *The Youthfull*, was a true resember of his Father, hauing ioyned piety and valiancy together. By the counsell of *S. Bernard*, he made a voyage into *Palestine* to helpe it with a puissant Army, against the inuasion of the Turkes. And hauing obtained many great victories against the enemies of the Christian Faith, he returned home to his Kingdome, pressed by the discomforts of Famine, where-with his Armie was very fore afflicted, thorough the disloyalty of the Emperor of *Constantinople*.

Philip Augustus, dur-
ing the Con-
queror, came to
the Crown at
14. yeares of
age.

VVho can sufficiently admire the valor and good guidance of *Philip Augustus*, who (by good right) also carried the surname of *Conqueror*? At the age of foure-teen years, he tooke into his hand the reines of the State, and in that tender age performed all exploits and actions, not onely of valiancy, but also of a great and perfect Captaine; watching & spending whole nights, to execute and accomplish his enterprizes. By which meanes, hee out-stept his enemies, tooke Towns and strong places, where himselfe would be seene in person at the scalado, yea, and at the assault at the breake of day, instead of addicting himselfe to pleasures, whereto his youth might rather haue induced him. He so vanquished his enemies, and chastised rebels in so tender yeares, as if hee had bin another *Alexander*.

The English
incited to
armes, against
Philip Augu-
stus.

Afterwards, the English being prouoked against him, gaue the better and more worthy subiect to his victories: for he conquered and tooke from them all that they held in France, weakening them in diuers battailes, and famous encounters. Also this Conqueror, incited by the same pie-

ty of his Ancestors, made a voyage to the Holy Land; where he fought diuers times against the Turkes and Sarazins, and carryed many triumphes from them. Being returned home to France, he wonne that great day of *Bouines*, neere vnto *Tournay*, which I will touch a little more largely in this place, it being scarcely known, though (indeed) it was most signale and famous. For this king fought in that bartel, against the forces of the Emperour *Otho* the fift, the King of *England*, the Earles of *Flanders*, *Hennault*, and *Bologne*, all coniuured against his estate.

The great
day of Bouines
neere Tournay.

Those Earles being reuoked and leagued with the King of *England*, had likewise caused the emperor *Otho* the fift, to come into France, with a very great and puissant army of Germanes and Saxons. VVith them were ioyned the Forces of *Flanders*, *Hennault*, and other French subiects and vassals, associated with the Earl of *Bologne*. The King went on before with his Army, and met the enemy somewhat neere to *Tournay*, where he had Lodged him aloft in a place for his best aduantage: which the King hauing well perceiued, & that he was frustrate of all meanes for coming at them on that side, resolved to fetch a further course about, and to assaile them on the other side.

The manner
of the business
proceeding
betweene the
Emperour and
confederates,
against the K.
of France.

Being withdrawne to effect this intent, the Emperor *Otho* taking it for a flight, did cause his army to march on with speed to ouertake the King, who was encamped in a village called *Bouines*. There he had intelligence how the enemy was come very neere, and the noyse of their armes gaue appearance, that they would fall in hande presently with them, and charge the reerguard: all which notwithstanding, before hee would doe any thing else, hee entred first into a Church, and there sayde his Prayers.

The English
about to lose
his army in
readines.

Afterward, being armed, hee mounted on horse-backe, giuing order for the Armies readinesse, riding thorough the ranks, for the better disposition of his people; yet nothing at all was done that day. On the morrow morning, hauing againe ranged his Army in battaile array, hee gaue his people a Kingly encouragement, by breecely acquainting them with these circumstances: That they were to fight with one, who was an enemy vnto God and Men, come to lend a strong hand

hand to Rebels, leading an army that had no other wages then sacriledges, spoiles of the Churches goods, and the blood & teares of the poore. Therefore they were to consider, that God had brought them thither, to punish their iust deseruings, & had choosen the French for the instrument of his iustice. Hee further aduised his soldiers, that they should not labor to buckler the bodies one of another: but euerie man to do for himselfe the best he could, without any eye or respect to his friend and companion.

The King of
France first
marcheth his
armie against
the enemy.

Hauing animated them with such or the like speeches, he caused his Army first to march on, assailling and sharply leuing on that of the enemy. The French Chualiers, after they had broken their Lances, came to handy-blowes, fighting with all the heate and valour could be deuised: throwing themselves into the middell of the maine battell, piercing and paking through the thickest battalions, hewing in peeces, and ouerthrowing all that durst meete them. Great was the resistance, & wonderfull deeds of Armes performed on either side. The King was alwaies the most forward man, rushing into the greatest throngs; and where the fight was fiercest, to succour his people. Hee found himselfe enuironed with a huge battalion of enemies, where hee sharply layed about him on all sides, and cleared his passage still as he rode on. But in the end, his horse being slaine between his legges fell downe vpon him; yet he was quickly remounted againe by a French knight, called *Sir Peter de Triflan*, who gaue him his owne horse.

The King's
horse being
slaine, hee
was remounted
by Sir Peter
de Triflan.

Now charged hee the enemy more fiercely then before, his strength & courage being redoubled at the indignation of his fall, nor ceased he with his French Lords, who neerely followed him, vntill he came to the very midd, where the Emperor *Otho* was, he being then very hucly assailed.

The Emperor
enforced to
turne his backe.

Heere did hee meet with many French Knights, who being on foot, some tooke hold on his bridle, others hung about the neck and maine of his horse to slay him, which compelled him to turne his backe. But the Count *Reignald de Bologne*, hee would not budge a foote from the field of battell, but continued there & his followers valiantly fighting, euen to all ex-

tremities, willing (by no means) to yeeld himselfe, till in the end, his horse being slaine vnder him, and hee fore wounded, his throate threatened to bee cut by a *Villaine*, he yeelded himselfe to Lorde *Guarin*, a Knight of Saint *Johns of Ierusalem*, and elected byshop of *Senlis*, one of the principall Captains for the King, saying, *I had rather yeeld my selfe, and be iudged by the King and his Peeres, then to dye unworthily by the hand of a slaue.*

The noble
wordes of
Count Reignald of
Bologne.

So the field of battaile remained vnto the King, as also the victorie full & wholly, all the enemies being broken and scattered, a great part of them slaine, and very many taken prisoners, euen of the chieffest men. The King would permit none to pursue the Emperor, who fledde with the Count of *Brabant*, and many *Germanes* further off then two or three Leagues. Among the prisoners, was *Ferrand Earle of Hennault*, Nephew to the Queen, Countesse of *Flanders*, and Daughter vnto the King of *Portugall*. Shee being a medler with Magical Sciences, would needes consult with her Diuiners, concerning the successe of this Battaille, and it vvas tolde her, *That the King should be layde on the ground, without any Sepulcher: And that Ferrand Earle of Hennault, her Cosine, should enter Paris in Triumph.* All vvhich was true, but farre off from her interpretation.

The Countesse of
Flanders
dies iudged
by her Wi-
gards.

It is also faithfully reported, that the King before the fight, in presence of all his Earles, Barons, and Lords (knowing full well that some were tottering and vncertaine, as being not thorowly affected to him) tooke the Crowne from off his head, and set it vpon an Altar, standing by him, saying in this manner. *If there bee any man heere amongst yee, that thinke more capably and worthily of himselfe, then this day to fight for libertie, being in such danger, both to the Honour and Renowne of France: let him willingly leaue and forsake this Crowne, and that man (whosoever hee bee) let him boldly put this Crowne vpon his head.* Wherat all of them standing amazed, and being moued with admiration and enflamed affections, threw themselves before his seete, saying; *That they were all his humble seruants, and that they would cury one of them dye with him that day, rather then be commanded by any other.*

Most honora-
ble wordes of
the King, be-
fore hee went
to the fight.

Another victory won the same day against the English.

Lewes the 8. Sonne & Successor to Philip Augustus.

Lewes the 9. Sonne & Successor to Philip Augustus.

The victory at Taillebourg on the River Charante in Poitou.

His famous expedition against the Turkes and Sarrazins.

The selfe-same day of this great victory, *Monseigneur Lewes de France*, eldest Son to the King; wonne another against the English, in the Country of *Amou*, at *La Roche du Mayne*, against the King, called *John without Land*. For this double victory, obtayned both in one day, the King rendred thanks to God: and desiring that some mark might remain for a Trophie thereof to all posterity, hee caused an Abbey to be builded neere to *Senlis*, which (in that respect) he named, *The Abbey of Victory*, and endowd it with great revenues.

I can hardly stay at *Lewes* the eight, Son to this King, and Successor in his vertues, wherein he seconded him living, and partaked in many of his expeditions and enterprizes. But reigning so short a time after his Father; I must come to the King, called *S. Lewes*, whose piety, religion, and sanctity of life, hath sufficiently commended him to all men, & acknowledged him by quality, worthy the name of Saint. But that which is to be reckoned as a matter most rare, is, that he excelled no lesse in all other vertues, both Military & Politique. He brought about many warres, wherein still he had a finger, and performed worthy exploits of Armes: beeing most valiant of his person, & a very wise Capraine.

Hee toyled and droue in disorder a great Army, wherein was the King of England, and the Countes *de la Marche*, and *de Lusignan*, at *Taillebourg*, on the River *Charante* in *Poitou*. Where having gotten before, with very fewe people, to winne a Bridge, long time he endured all the stratagems of the enemies Army, which was in number a hundred to one: yet hee performed so much by his valiancy, that his Army had leysure for their passage, whereby the enemies were defeated, a great number slaine, many taken prisoners, some say foure thousand, and the rest were disperfed and driuen to flight.

No where can be found more famous deeds of Armes, or any actions more generouse, then his kingly expeditions against the Turkes and Sarrazins, where he wonne the best in many foughten batailles, hazarding his owne person, and exposing himselfe to all dangers, even in the cheefest heate of fight, running where he saw the enemy strongest, and his owne

followers in any distresse. So that wherefoever he went, hee made all to giue him way, none being able to withstand him; but gave place to the greatnelle of his courage, and strength of his powerfull arme. The Lord of *Jouinville*, an eye-witnesse thereof, speaking of one day among others, vied these very words.

And bee you very certaine, that that day the King performed most high deedes of Armes, more then ever I saw in all the Batailles wherest I have bene present. And one side after the Bataille, that if it had not bene for his person, wee had all bene utterly lost and slaine that day. And surely, I can no other wise imagine, but at the very instant, his vertue and strength was doubled on him by the grace of God. For he feared not a tote to thrust himselfe into the dangers and perils of the battaile: and where he saw his people in any distresse, there he laide most about him to helpe them, deliuering so many blowes with his Sword and Battle-Axe, as none of the Turkes durst come neere him. The Lord of *Courtney*, and *Messire John de Salony* reported to me, that they saw sixe Turkes (the same day) preparing towards the King, and baddely forcibly laide hold on the bridle of his Horse, intending to leade him away. But the vertuous Prince, seeing the danger wherein hee was, strove with all his might, and (in meere height of courage) laide such loadning strokes upon the Turkes which ledde him, so that hee alone freed himselfe from them.

In another place the same Lord relateth, that the king vnderstanding how the Earl of *Amou* his Brother was engirt & hemd in with enemies, yea, and in such extremity, as hee had no meanes to get out from them; hee gallowed immediately to rescue him. And (saith he) without carrying for any man, gaue the Spurs to his horse, his Sword in his hand, & rushed mainly into the battaile, charging the Turkes and Sarrazins heavily, untill he came to the place where his Brother was. But at his arrivall, God knowes what paines he tooke, and how many worthy deeds of Armes hee did: for it is most certaine, that where hee saw the greatest danger, and presse, there he bestowed himselfe without any feare. So that by his admirable provesse, he brought his Brother out of danger, and droue the Sarrazins to flight, chasing them quite out of their owne Host of Army.

Another

Le Sieur de Jouinville, 29. Chap. 3. of his Booke.

Sixe Turkes laide on the Kings Horse, and yet hee freed himselfe from them.

In the 14. Chapter of his Booke. How the Earl of Amou was rescued by his Brother, the Earl of Anjou.

In the 29. Chapter of his Booke.

A very manly resolution in fight.

Damieta won from the Infidels, and three great batayles fought in Egypt.

The King of France elected to be Soldan of Egypt.

In chap. 33. of his Booke.

Another day, speaking how the King was ready to assaile the enemy, & exhorted his followers to all forwardnesse; *His Helme* (saith he) was richly gilded, and in his hand he held a sword of Germanie, readily drawne. But let me tell yee, that I neuer saw a more goodly man then he was, for hee appeared above all the rest, by the height of his head and shoulder: and it is a thing hardly to be credited, how chearefully all the Soldiours were encouraged to the battaile, when they but looked on the King in that manner. So that many Knights, without attending for the King, mingled themselves amongst the Turkes, and there assayed them courageously. The King would alwayes be the foremost, and when he came neere to the Turkes, the battaile beganne so fiercely, as it was a matter marvellous to behold. And that verie day, there were far more worthy actions of Armes performed, as well on the one side, as the other, as neuer had bene observed in all the voyages beyond the Seas. For no man drew a Dart, an Arrow, nor other Artillery: but all of them fought manfully, hand to hand, alpel-mell, one with another, onely by strokes of Swords and Battle Axes. Further hee addeth; That the King did more then meruayles in fighting, and would alwayes bee in the verie strongest of the Battaille.

After the rout and flight of the Turkes, at his descent and taking of *Damieta*, and after the three great batailles in Egypt, betwene the Channels of *Nilus*, where he obtained full victory: if famine, and a certaine strange dis ease (extraordinarily contagious) had not falne amongst his people: it had bene Doomed day vnto the Turkes and Sarrazins, and doubtles, they had bene quite exterminated, both out of Egypt, and the Holy Land. The Infidels so admired the vertue of this Prince, that although he was contrary to them in Religion, and their very feuerer persecutor, yet after the death of their Soldan, it was offered to him, and they would haue elected him to be their Lord. And they had done it, as beeing a matter already resolved on among them: but that some labored to alter this deliberation, by alledging him to be the firmest, fiercest, and most determinate Christian that euer they did know. And they said among themselves; That if their Mahomet had suffered them to seele so many mischiefes as his God hadde let

him (being a King) to taste: they would neuer more haue adored or belueued in him. And yet (neuertheless) some amongst them, onely by the example, and good Life of this holy King, receiued the Christian Faith.

Moreouer, he ordained so well for the state and policy of his Kingdome: that his subiects (beeing before mightily oppressed) liued in perfect peace and quietnes. He vied great wisdom and prouidence in all his affaires, hauing thereby quenched and qualified many troubles and commotions in his kingdome: and by taking away the causes thereof, constrained the Duke of *Britaigne* to acknowledge him, and render such satisfaction as himselfe desired. With very much iudgement also he pacified the differences with the English, and induced the king of England to such friendlinesse, as he became his Liege-man by faith, and one of the Barons of France: so that hee left not any war to his successors, which caused them to enjoy so long a peace.

About all other things, he loued Iustice especially, and was verie careful thereof in himselfe; correcting (by his owne example, and holy Ordinances) such Vices and Abuses as reigned among his Subiects. Hee was such a Louer of truth, that (as the Lord of *Jouinville* saith) He was neuer knowne to falsify his Word. For, it was reported vnto him, That the Sarrazins, in receiuing his Ransome, were discontented with tenne thousand pounds, hee caused more to bee giuen to them.

Neuer could any feare or misfortune disurinish him of reason; but euer more he was thankfull to God in all his aduersities. When he saw his army in danger, by no meanes in the world, or for safetie of his owne person, would hee part from it; but would alwayes abide by his people, and endure (with them) the latest hazards and euents of fortune. Neuer should hee make an end, I would recount the deeds (well deseruing immortality) of this good King. It shall suffice then to say; as the same Lord of *Jouinville* reports of this time. The common people called him true Father; the Nobility, iust Prince, and preseruer of the Lawes; France, her King of Truth; and the Church, her Tutor and defender from oppression.

A King careful for his kingdome, as well in his absence, as presence.

No meane commendations in (loggar a person, whose life was a precious example to all his people.

In chapter 19 of his Booke.

In chapter 16 of his Booke.

Philip the 3.
succeeded his
father S. Le-
wes, who de-
ceased in Af-
rica at the ci-
ty of Thunis.

In the same Schoole was bred and no-
rished *Philip* the third, to whom the good
ly examples, and profitable instructions
of this good King his Father, served as
an absolute pattern and excellent insti-
tution, which he understood so well, and
made profit of in such sort, as, although
he got not so great a name, yet notwith-
standing, he was the most worthy heire
of his Fathers vertues. And albeit *S. Le-
wes* dyed at the siege of *Thunis* in *Affri-
ca*, making warre the second time against
the Infidels; yet this young Prince gaue
so good assurance to the Armie, much
danted by the death of the King; that hee
bare away many famous victories from
his enemies, although they exceeded his
strength in huge multitudes. In the end,
he constrained the king of *Thunis*, to come
humbly, and entreat for peace: render-
ing himselfe, and his Vnckle *Charles* king
of *Sicily* tributaries to him.

Guillem de Nar-
bonne Philip
to him.

Afterwards, returning home towards
France, he passed thorow *Italy*, where he
was entertained with such fauour and ap-
plauses by all the inhabitants, as the most
part came and entreated him, that hee
would take the command ouer them, de-
siring (about all things else) to be gover-
ned by so good a King, so louing and re-
spectiue of his people. Being returned
into his owne kingdome, he maintayned
it in peace a long time; vntill being mol-
lest by the King of *Arragon*, and the
Count de *Faix*, hee vnderooke Armes.
Heereupon he entred into Spaine, where
hauing made war very happily, by assault
he tooke many places reputed impregna-
ble, conquered a great part of the king-
dome of *Arragon*, ouerthrew the *Arra-
gonians* in diuers encounters, and slew their
King, so returning home-ward with Tri-
umphall victory, he died at *Paripnan*.

K Philip en-
tered Spaine,
with an army,
and killed the
Kof Arragon

But one thing may not bee omitted,
that this king most oftentimes did weare
sackcloth, and a shirt of haire, liuing so
holily, and vying such abstinence, that the
Authors of those times were enforced to
confesse, that he rather resembled a good
Religious man, then a King. Yet was hee
a great Prince, & knew well enough how
to gouerne his kingdome.

Charles the 5.
surmamed the
Wic.

Charles the fift, deserueth also to be set
in this ranke of choyse men, being surna-
med of his time, *the Wife*. Onely by his
councell and good aduice, without stir-

ring from his Chamber, he reconquered
whatsoeuer his Predecessors had lost, by
the Armies of the English. His prouident
and well tempered wisdom, did diuers
times rebate the keene edged sword
of valiant *Edward* the Prince of Wales,
and disappointed many of his forward
purposes; so that, notwithstanding his
high spirit, and well ordered Armies, he
gained very little from him, nor yet the
King of England his Father, but what
they wonne one day, they lost againe in
another.

Heere also I cannot omit *Charles* the
seuenth, who comming to the Crowne,
his kingdome (for the most part) was in
the power of the English; but yet recou-
ered it myraculously, as not onely hee re-
gained what he had lost, but also (as some
say) all that the Englishmen did hold in
France, wishing them to rest contented
with their owne Island. And heere me-
thinkes it is very strange, what all Histori-
ans haue reported of those times, that this
king, being toyled & wearied by the long
warres of the English, to him much vn-
profitable, and lesse pleasing: should yet
bee excited by a poore Maide, dwelling in
a village of *Lorraine*, named *Joane d'Arc*.
For she being brought before him, & be-
ing of great resolution, made him manie
faire remonstrances, whereby to entice
and kindle his courage, for the recouerie
of his kingdome, and expulsion of his eni-
mies, which surely could not bee but by
miracle. And it cannot be denied but that
there was a Genius in this Maide, far sur-
passing the natural and ordinary condi-
tion of her sexe. And so much the more
strange, because she served as a Captaine,
conducted the Armies, and fought verie
valiantly, when as occasion serued.

Charles the
much multi-
fied by the
armies of the
English.

Otherwise
called the
Pucelle of
France.

Non hac sine numine diuum eueniunt.

Consider we also *Charles* the eight, his
youngest son, who hauing past into *Italy*, to
reconquer that which the *Arragonians* v-
surped from his predecessours, filled all
the Citties and Townes of *Italy* (at his ar-
riuall, with no meane terror of his armes,
none being found that durst make heade
against him. Euery City submitted to
him, and set open their gates, in mee-
affection and respect, both to the vertue of
the French, and dread of their name; O-

Charles the
son & last
for to Chas
the 7.

thers

"The country
Croatia, be-
tweene Hliria,
and Dalmania

His intended
younge against
Buzeth the
second.

The Veneti-
ans the Duke
of Milaine, &
other Princes
legued a-
gainst King
Charles, and
yet were voy-
led.

A very small
loffe on the
Kings side a-
gainst so great
an Army.

thers for feare, not being able to contest
with them. So that in lesse then fye mo-
neths, he made himselfe Master of all *Ita-
ly*, *Genewy*, *Florence*, *Pisa*, *Sienna* and *Li-
burna*; being all in his power. He recon-
quered the whole kingdom of *Naples*, and
expelled them of *Arragon*, who had vn-
iustly vlsurped there.

The Great Turke *Buzeth* the second,
feared nothing more then to meddle with
him; & questionles, he would haue gon to
assault him in *Constantinople*, wherein hee
had shut vp himselfe in meeke feare, if vir-
gent occasions had not called him backe
to France, making full account to returne
thither againe afterward, to attempt that
great and honourable expedition against
the Turkes, whereunto hee was induced
and called on all sides, & for diuers good
considerations. At his comming back for
France, two maine impediments pre-
sented themselves to him, as well in regarde
of difficult waies and mountaines, where
(of necessity) hee was to passe his Artille-
ry: as for daunger of enemies in such pla-
ces, where they might worke vpon aduan-
tage many wayes; his army being also
much afflicted with famine.

Beside all this, a league was made against
him, by the *Venetians*, the Duke of *Mil-
laine*, and other Potentates, who had leui-
ed an army of 40000. men, to cut him off
quite; but yet hee surmounted all these
difficulties, and passed through the daun-
gers without any losse. The Armie of
40000. men was encamped on the Plaie of
Fornoue, where it was most requisite for
the King to passe, they purposing to lock
him vpe in this passage, to the end, that
they might consume his army, with Fa-
mine, necessity, and miserie, amongst the
Mountaines where he was. The king with
7000 able fighting men onely, affronted
this great army, gaue them battell, passed
ouer the bellies of all them that hindered
his way; and there was slaine about foure
thousand of them, the rest being driuen
to rout, or seized with feare, he sustaining
but very little losse, about thirtie French
slaine, and some threecore Varlets. So
not onely he rescued his army, which hee
led in safety with all his traine, baggage,
Artille, and carriages; but also fought
successefully, and hadde the victory ouer
his enemies, which was a much more ho-
nourable Retreate, then that of tenne

thousand, so highly renowned by the
Greekes.

An example of rare vertue is recorded
of him. At the surprizall of a certaine
place in *Italy*, a young Maid (of most ex-
quisite beauty) flying from his Soldiours,
who would haue violated her honour:
came and threw her selfe at his feete, de-
siring him earnestly, to defend her from
the force and outrage of his souldiers. As
indeed he did; but yet himselfe fel into an
amorous affection toward her, & hauing
her priuate in his Chamber, with full in-
tent to accomplish his pleasure, the Maid
all drowned in tears, humbly desired him
on our knees, supplicating and adiuiring
him in the name of the blessed Virgin, the
vntoucht mother of the worlds Saviour,
whose picture she saw hanging by his bed
that hee would take pity on her, and not
compell her to that, for safety whereof she
had escaped from his rauishing Soldiours,
and putter selfe wholly into his handes.
The King became moued in such sort,
that being transported with loue and pas-
sion, and in the braue gallantry of his
youth, he made a Kingly conquest of him-
selfe, and bedewing his cheeks with tears,
as being much ashamed at his immodest
offer, he would not touch her in any vn-
ciuill or vnchaste fashion, but gaue her
most honourable freedome, with a verie
liberall Dowrie to her marriage, setting
also at liberty both her Parents and Kin-
dred, that were then (at that instant) his
prisoners.

Surely, this was an aile verie strange
and almost myraculous, if wee consider
him to bee a King, in the very vigour &
flower of his youth, victorious: yet
nearly touched with the loue of a May-
den, excelling, and no way inferiour vn-
to any in Beautie, and hauing her whole-
lie in his priuate power. His great wise-
dome, singular iudgement, and infinite
goodnesse heerein appeared; and being
a familiar Prince, hee would oftentimes
say to his Favourite; *That hee had made
choyfe of them, and loved them more then a-
ny other, because he was perswaded of their
honestie, and might safely trust them. On-
ly, hee still feared one fault in them, that they
would suffer him to bee taxed with Auarice,
in being easily solicited and tempted for
accepte: in regard of the credite they hadde
with him; and his owne facility, in granting
what*

A briefe hi-
story declar-
ing admi-
rable vertue in
this King.

Where vertue
and honor is
truly innated,
lust hath the
lesse power to
preuaile.

King Charles
his speeches
to his fauorite

what they asked. But if afterwards, any such matter came to his knowledge, they utterly lost his fauour for euer: for he often entreated them, to continue in the true profession of honour, the onely meanes to keep and preferue his good opinion of them.

The same King also vied to say, *I could wish, that my Court were a Mirror for all my other Subiectes, to maintaine and continue them in doing well.* The sweete smelling saour of this renown, attracted the souls of strangers vnto his loue and liking. So that by very iust reason, the sur-name might bee accommodated to this good Prince, *Of the Lower and delight of Men:* as it was attributed vnto the Emperor *Tiberius*.

His successor *Lewis* the twelfth, made himselfe likewise as famous, by his Conquests of Italy. In the beginning of his reigne, he attempted warre against *Lodouico Sforza*, who vsurped the Dukedome of *Milaine*, which belonged to him. In lesse space then a Moneth, he conquered all *Lombardie*, and expelled *Sforza*, who making a re-entry afterward, and causing the people to reuolt: the King went thither in person; where, after hee had vanquished *Sforza* (whom hee sent prisoner into France) hee reconquered *Milaine*, and receyued the most part of the Potentates Citties, and Common-weales of Italy, which ran (on heapes) to yeelde their obedience to him.

From thence he sent an Armie to the kingdome of *Naples*, which had reuolted after the departure of King *Charles* the 8. Then *Fredericke*, King of *Aragon*, seeing he could not resist him, and being offended at the perfidie of the Spaniards, who he had called to his ayde, and who (neuertheless) would possesse themselves of all: he submitted himselfe into the hands of the King, who vied him royally, and gratified him with the Dukedome of *Anjou*, beside thirty thousand Crownes of rent. Heere (me thinks) I should not endure the malignity of *Paulus Iouius*, who hath set downe, that the King gaue nothing to *Fredericke*, and that he dyed miserably in France. Afterward, war was alwaies continued at *Naples* against the Spaniards, where were performed many goodly exploits, famous combates of enemy to enemy, charges, skirmishes, encounters, af-

A worthy and Royall minde in a King.

Lewis the 12th succeeded *Charles* in the kingdome of France.

The successe of this wars in Italy, and the kingdome of Naples.

Paulus Iouius taxed with vntruth.

faults, and fallies: and where the French had many victories, & the issue of all had succeeded happily, if the enemy had not diuers times abused the King, vnder colour of treaties of peace, appointments, and arrefts. He beleeuing their plighted faith and slender assurances, was sometime the more slacke in succouring his people; so that their perfidious dealing, raysed a Million of enemies, leagued and coniuured against this King, who found himselfe assailed on all sides. And yet notwithstanding, he went away, with honour, hauing astonished and filled with terror, all them that were thus bandyed against him.

He made war vpon the Venetians, in regard of that which they had detained & vsurped, during those wars. He entered into their countries, and with a small troop, & in a place of no aduantage, in the *Giaradada* neere to *Agnadell*, he gaue battell to *Bartholmew* & *Aluiano*, Generall for the Venetians, and wonne the victory: there being flaine about eight thousand of the enemy, many taken prisoners, & the very cheefest Commander himselfe.

Concerning that dayes seruice, two memorable sayings of his are recorded. The one was at his arriual there, when it had bin told him, that the enemy had taken vp *Agnadell*, and he came too late to haue any lodging there, hee returned this reply, *I will lodge vpon their belly, or they shall lodge on mine.* The other, was at his being so neere the enemies Artillery, as it might very easily play vpon the place; he was aduised to walke wanderingly, for feare he should thereby be offended, hee made answer; *Neuer was King of France smitten by a Cannons bullet: And he that is afraid (quoth hee) let him come and stand behinde me.*

Vpon the successe of this victory, those places in *Lombardie*, which appertained to the Venetians, were seized and made vse of by this King: but afterwards, they were manfully recovered by the Confederates, with whom *Ferdinand*, King of *Castile*, was a partaker, quite contrary to the contractes (not long before) passed by him vnto the French King. But the Lordes of *Trimonille*, of *Chamouni*, *Trivulze*, and other worthy French Captaines, rescued them backe againe so powerfully, that they continued alwayes Warriors. In the end, was giuen the bat-

War continued against the Spaniards at Naples.

The warrele made against the Venetians.

Two memorable sayings of the King on the day of battell.

Places in Lombardie, belonging to the Venetians seized by the King.

taile of *Rauenna*, where the French vanquished a puissant Army of *Italians* and *Spaniards* ioyned together. And an entire victory had ensued on the taking of *Rauenna*; but that they lost their cheefe Capitaine *Gaston de Foix*, Duke of *Nemours*, & Nephew to the king, who was slaine by pursuing (ouer-earnestly) the enemies, broken and flying in confusion.

The excellency of this good king consisted not onely in greatnesse of courage and valiancy; but likewise in all other vertues. About all, he was most highly commendable, for loue to his people, to who (notwithstanding all his other serious affaires) he was a Royall ease and comfort: so that this famous name was deservfully giuen him: *Father of his people, and a good King.*

He had as his Successor, Great *Francis* the first, a Prince as valiant as euer the other had bin, and who in his very youth, and at the beginning of his raigne, ouercame the vnconquerable Nation of the *Switzers*, on the hot and dreadfull day at *Marignano*, an enterprize, which had neuer before, or at any time since, succeeded to any other King. A most remarkable thing in this battaile, was, that so young a Prince continued seuen & twenty houres in Armes, without receiuing any sustenance, and spent one whole night in the fildes of battaile, without lying downe or a nod of sleepe.

This was the man that made head against the great Emperour *Charles* the 5. who neuer met with a keener enemy, nor that more disappointed his designs, or euerie way more hindred him. And yet notwithstanding, it is hardly to be credited, with what honor, magnificence publicly and courtiesie in particular, hee entertained in his kingdome this Emperour, his principall aduersary. And although he with-held some of his estate vnwillly, yet would he not demand any reason for it, when he might well haue done it, hauing him in his owne power: but kept inuolubly the faith he had giuen him; and moreover, gaue him all the contentment hee could desire.

To speake no more then truth, hee was naturally generous & Royall, which evidently declared, that hee had no other ambition, then to excell all other men in vertue and well doing. He shall (for e-

The great battaile at *Rauenna*, whereof we shall haue occasion to speake more hereafter.

Francis the first, succeeded to *Lewis* the twelfth.

Of this battell also we will speake hereafter.

He contended with the Emperour *Charles* the 5.

An admirable disposition in a King.

uer) liue commended to posterity, for the loue which he bare to Learning, and to learned men: whom hee sought for euerie where, entertained, honoured, and gratified in all kindes. By which means, he filled France with learning and erudition in all Sciences: but especially the Vniuersity of *Paris*, which neuer was so flourishing, as in his reigne. So that (by good right) he was fir-named, *The Father of Learning.*

Wee may confesse as much of his Sonne *Henry* the second, a Prince truly generous and valiant: who continued warre against the Emperour *Charles* the 5. hauing sustained all his efforts, and stood continually opposite to his greatest enterprizes. But not long after, *Charles* the fifth withdrew himselfe into a Monastery, fearing (as some supposed) the vertue and fortune of this young Prince, leauing the reignes of his Germane Empire, to *Ferdinand* of *Austria*, being his brother, and the kingdome of *Spaine* to *Philip* the second: who soone after made warre vpon the Pope, *Paulet* the fourth, and then this King sent succour to his Holinesse, defended him, & reconquered the places which the King of *Spaine* had taken from him. And in the end, by his entremise, the Pope and the King of *Spaine* were accorded & reconciled.

Occasion now carrieth me, to speake of Great *Henry* the fourth, miracle of the world: who gaue place (in nothing) to the vertue of his Predecessours, nor to the glory of all the greatest Princes and Monarches that euer were, if he did not surpassse them. But my Pen is too feeble, to take so high a flight, it is a subiect ouerworthy, which ought to be referred for the choiest spirits of this age, or of posterity, if any man conceiue themselves capable to vndertake it. For there hath bin some, the very best and skilfullest writers, who being thereto zealously affected, began to attempt the labour: but were constrained to giue ouer and leaue it, becing ouercome with the immense greatnesse of so many high and admirable actions, acknowledging and confessing, that they could not let downe any thing, to equall or come neere so famous merit.

What hand can worthily describe so many wonne battailes, so many Citties and Townes taken (without losing any one)

King *Francis* an entire louer of learning.

Henry the second, Sonne & Successor to King *Francis*.

Charles 5. emperor entred into a Monastery.

King *Henry* the fourth, Father to the king now reigning.

He was reputed to be one of the worthiest soldiers in all the world.

He saved France from an expected and hoped for ruine.

Two ancient words sayings.

Plato in lib. 3. De Legib.

No cruelty observed in him towards his greatest enemies.

one) so many fights and diversity of encounters? Who can figure him, shining in his glittering Armes, in the fiercest and hottest brunts of so many sharpe onsets, combates, ranged batailles, assaults, sieges, and surprisals, making himselfe way wheresoever he went? A true Commander and Capitaine, for counsell and conduct; a most valiant Souldiour, to giue example for effect and execution. Finding all France troubled, the people moued and diuided in parts, by the deuices and fictions of strangers, all Europe (to speake truly) banded & coniuured against him, in very deplorable affaires; he yet gotte the vpper hand of all, dissipated all storms and tempests, saved and preserved France from that ruine, which euery one supposed certaine. All the enterprizes of his enemies, serued but as matter for his Trophies. Looke how many enemies, see how many Triumphs, and as many Laurels in his Helmet, to make his vertue the more illustrious, and fill the soules of his owne people and strangers, with terror, amazement, and admiration, such as cannot bee sufficiently spoken off.

He guided all his intentions with such wisdom, and executed them with so high a courage, that they could haue no other issue but happinesse: and it plainly appeared, that his vertued Fortune by the hand: making truly knowne the ancient saying; *That the wise man disposeth of Fortune*; and on the contrary; *It is to slender purpose, to impute that to accident, which proues to be a mans owne error*. Neuer did any Prince finde an estate so confused and hurried; and neuer could any reduce it to more peaceable calmnes, than he did merely by his vertue, he not only danted his enemies, but (of enemies) they became his principall friends: *A sovereign degree, is the sole perfection of a great Statesman*, according to Plato. His valiancy, height of courage, and addresse to actions of Armes were such, as admitted no comparison therewith: matchlesse clemency even towards such as were his most determinate enemies. No acte of cruelty, neither of reuenge, in the very fiercest fury of warre: neuer was his sword scene vntheathered, but in the hot extremity of fights. His singular prudence, appeared not onely in the managing of war, and when hee was therein very seriously employed; but

also in affaires of peace, whē he gaue him selfe wholly for the good and quiet of his people, shewing at all times, and in all places, that he was an admirable, good and wise king, exquisitely enabled with all perfections. Qualities in such fort incompatible by nature, as since the beginning of the world, they could hardly meet in any one man: in regard whereof, it hath bene sometime said & desired, that two should be taken to make one of.

In breefe, all things were so great and gracefull in him, as scarcely could any one spirit comprehend them: so that (to speake truly) the best that men could do, was to sit downe, and admire them with silence. This was the man, whom not only France acknowledged, & adored as her Conferuator: but likewise on whom the whole world cast an eye, as the true Arbitrator, Author, and Moderator of her quietnes. His right to the crown yielded him to be the cheefest king: but his owne vertues made him confessed, to be the most worthy among all other Princes.

In that then which is said to be the dignity of the French kings, for their rare vertues and great merits; no other people are thought to equall or come neere this. There are certaine vertues, which are termed heroycall or diuine, because they surpass that which is common in men, or of humane vnderstanding, euen as an excessive and hyperbole of vertue. So in Homer, Priamus being desirous to commend the vertue of his Son He Tor, said; *He seemed to be issued not of a mortall man, but rather of some God*. In like manner the Lacedaemonians, when they admired any rare or excellent vertue in any one, they would say, *That he was a diuine man*. Such great personages haue bene noted among our Ancients, whose vertues were so extraordinary: that their extraction was attributed to the Gods, as Alexander the great, and Scipio Africanus: and the very fame heroycall vertues haue bene carraied in the soules of French Kings, euen as being proper and particular to them.

It is a matter as common, as natural, for a man to take Armes in his owne defence, or for his owne private profite, and to reuenge his vnjust wrongs and iniuries. But a man to arme himselfe for another that is offended, to reuenge his cause in zeale of Iustice, without any

Henry the fourth accounted to be the man of arms.

Concerning vertues diuine and heroycall.

Homer in lib. 5.

That which Nature alloweth hardly admitteth any other exception.

Strabo in lib. 4.

The Iustice of the kings of France.

Aristo in Grec. lib. 1.

Iustice & Honour are two good Pillars for a man to build on. In L. Megis p. 155 in grecis, vbi dicitur que sunt D. De rebor. qui sub tutela vel cur. sunt.

The first beginning of Parliaments in France.

any other hope, and to re-establish him where he had bin formerly expelled; questionlesse is a character of vertue truly heroycall, and sweetly fauouring of the diuinity; which euermore hath bene natural to the French. Strabo saith; *That they would willingly grow into choller, and undertake Armes; for such as they saw to be vnjustly wronged, and manifest shames done vnto them*.

The Kings of France haue bene accounted admirable for Iustice, and by an extraordinary affection in them thereto: they haue taken care and paines, to exercise and render it in their owne persons, declaring themselues alwayes equitable Iudges, not onely betweene particulars, but also in their owne proper causes, whē in a doubtfull case, they haue layde the iudgement on themselues, rather then to iniury any other. The Kings of France euer did so, as well when they rendred Iustice in their owne person, as by their Soueraigne Courts, and commendation of very ancient Iustice.

This report and praise of their Iustice is very ancient, for Agathias the Greeke Historian admireth them herein, and seemed to say with great iudgment, or rather by a Prophetical spirit: *That living so, & carrying themselves in the like behaviour to their actions; hee was not able to come to any otherwise, but that their Estate would be alwayes stable & inuincible, & impregnable from enemies; being sustained with so sound bases and foundations, as Iustice and the desire of Honour are*. Among them most recent, Baldus, a famous Italian Doctor, about the year M C C C L. maketh especial reckoning of the Kings of France: which (for most certaine) long time they deliuered in their owne person.

But the multitude of affaires encrescing, and they vnable to bee absent from rendering Iustice to particular persons, except the State should receiue some endamage, distraites, either by the war, or other important charges of the kingdom; they were feigne to establish Parliaments to that effect, and therefore appointed ordinary and sedentary Officers. Before that time, the Estates made their meeting but four times every year, termed in the ancient *Annals* *Conuentus Generales*: wherein assisted the principall Lords of France, and Officers of the

Crowne, as well to discerne and aduise, in what was to be done for the general Estate, as to decide the greatest and most notable differences, happening betweene particulars.

Hauiug then decreed and resolved on their ordinary Parliament at Paris, there was the appointed place for rendering soueraigne Iustice: so that the arrefts and iudgements there concluded, were as if they had bene pronounced by the Kings owne mouth, and thereupon inscribed & entitiled in his Name. They were likewise verified and published, as also Registered by Letters of especial prouision, in the Offices and Dignities of the Crown, with solempne & publike reception of the greater part.

It is also auouched, (that oftentimes) Lords and Princes, being strangers, submitted their differences to the iudgment of that Court, in regard of the great opinion they held of their Iustice. The Emperour Frederick the second, referred himselfe vnto the Parliament of the King of France; in the debate and contention betweene him, & Pope Innocent the fourth, concerning the kingdom of Naples, in the year M C C C L I I I I. The Earles of Nemours, in the year M C C C X I I. disputed there the cause of his Earldome, against Charles de Valois, Brother to Philip le Bel, & won the day. Likewise the Prince of Tarante, in the year M C C C X X. gained there a suite against the Duke of Bourgongne, concerning the charges & expences layde out, for the conquest and recovery of Constatinople.

In the year M C C C X L I I. the Duke of Lorraine and Guy de Chastillon debated there their partages. In like manner the Dauphine and the Count of Savoye, hauiug proccesse together, entered for their Iudges the Court of Parliament, in the year M C C C X C. The kings of Spaine made such account of Iustice in the kings of France, and integrity of their Parliament, that they sent their suites to be considered there. The kings of Castile and Portugall, hauiug made peace together in the year M C C C C I I I. sent their difference to the Parliament, to be there verified, for the more solid and sound assurance: and there it was fully confirmed at their request, and published at the open doores.

The place for Parliaments appointed at Paris.

Differences of Princes being strangers, decided by the Parliament of Paris, and worthily ended to their contentment.

The Kings of Spaine esteemed the Iustice of the Kings & Parliament of France.

The familiarity and mansuetude of the Kings of France in talking with their subjects plain and openly.

We may also account among the fauours and prerogatives of the Kings of France, as an especiall marke of their greatnesse and Maiesty: one thing which is found in few of the Kings & Monarchs of other Nations. Which is, that they themselves doe ordinarily conferre with their subiects, suffering themselves to be seene daily, not onely in publike, but also in particular, vsing privacy, granting easie access to any one: and yet notwithstanding, they are not a iote the lesse reuerenced, obeyed, honoured, and respected, nay, rather much more then some other kings, who by artificiall trickes and mysteries, seeke to haue themselves honoured of their people. Neyther doth this facility in communication, and friendly familiarity, beget any contempt towards them, or diminish the least part of their Maiesty: but rather maketh an addition thereto, causing them to be the more esteemed, in venerable and most happy manner.

The subiect-like affection of the French to their kings and Princes.

This is that which attracteth, & (most of all) winneth the hearts of the French, rendering themselves wholly affectionate, yea, vowed and deuote to their Prince; whom they loue, feare, and honour altogether, each with an entire and cordiall affection, and not by any force or constraint. A matter truly as admirable, as rare, and which the Lord *Suriano* an honourable *Venetian*, and other strangers hauing well obserued, stand not a little amazed thereat, it appearing (naturally) almost impossible & incompatible. Wherein it is no easie matter to say, which is the greatest honour and aduantage, eyther to such kings, or to their subiects: but bee it howsoeuer, it is a great happinesse both to the one and other.

In Italy, the cause of the grandeur of the Kings.

Most part of the kings in this world, at all times haue fought many exterior meanes, by different habites, extraordinary fashions, crafts, secrets, and diuersity of inventions, to maintaine their Maiesty, to make themselves feared and respected by their subiects, and yet notwithstanding, could not compasse it. The ancient *Dei*, beinge elected king by the *Medes*, first a particular man as hee was before, changed into all manner of behauiour. Hee would build a great magnificent Castle, enuironed with many walles, the very sight wherof procured amazement. There

Of the Deities elected Kings of the Medes.

would he thus vpe himselfe, cloathed in garments of no visuell wearing, neuer shewing himselfe to the people, but very sildome and rarely: deliuering Iustice by written papers, & by interposed persons, and likewise all his answers, expeditions, and affayres, euen as if they came from an Oracle.

The kings of the Persians did visually weare a *Tiaras* on theyr heads, a Diadem or royall Head-band, all glistering with Pearles and precious stones, causing themselves to be adored by such as shall see them. And now adayes, most part of the Kings and Lords in diuers countreys, obserue the very same order. The great Duke of *Moscovia* will neuer be seene, but cloathed with a rich Sacerdottall habite, vnder a precious *Paullian*, accompanied with a small choyse number of his Domestiques, so sumptuously appparelled, as one would say, they were an assembly of Gods. The great king of the *Abyssines*, or *Ethiopiens*, is neuer seene at all, he speaketh to Ambassadors, with a Curtaine drawne betweene them, no other sight haue they of him. But when he pleaseth to shew himselfe, hee weares a Crowne richly fashioned, exalted or rayed very curiously, a garment all of beaten gold, thickly beautified with precious stones; hauing his face couered with a veyle of Taffata, for feare lest any should see his face. It is also a rare, and no accustomed fauour, when he lifts the Taffata neuer so little, that any part of his visage may be seene.

The Kings among the Persians.

The great Duke of Moscovia.

The king of the Abyssines and Ethiopians.

The king of China.

The great Seigneur of the Turke.

The King of Monomatapa.

The king of *China* neuer commeth abroad, but keeps himselfe continually enclosed in a Pallace, round engirt with very strong fortifications, and causeth his very Pictures to be adored. The great Seigneur of the *Turkes* is neuer seene, but in a habite wholly different from any other, both for the fashion, as also the vnspokeable riches on him: he dazeleth the eyes of all such as looke on him, in regard of the glorious stones shining on his head, and causeth himselfe to be serued with such Maiesty, respect, & ceremonies, as is most wonderful. The king of *Monomatapa*, is not serued but by men on their knees. There are other, who cause themselves to be serued with strange fashions, and very seruile submissions: shewing themselves sildome or neuer, and speake not a word,

but

The kings of France tuteable to their subiects.

but it is accounted as an especiall fauour. But the Kings of France haue no meddling with these apperences, and exquisite cunning, whereby to support their greatnesse, authority, and Royall dignity: because they differ in nothing (for the most part) neyther in habites, food and fashions, from their subiects, maintaining themselves without any subtilty. And the more they are seene, the more are they honoured, and not only honoured, but also loued of the French: as being borne to reigne, carrying Maiesty in their Fronts naturally, which maketh them venerable, raiseth the people with obedience to them, and crowneth them with continual respect. And although it is no matter rare or difficult for the French, to see their King, because it is so ordinary and common to them: yet as learned *Fudens* hath discreetly obserued, the people runne on heapes, when they heare that the King passeth to any place, reputing it as a happinesse, to haue so fauourable a sight of him.

And in lib. 1. cap. 7.

The kingdom of France hath continued 1200. yeares.

Natural born Princes, primitive and successiue.

Onuphrius Ital. in lib. 4. Imp. 16.

To this great and immense loue of the French towards theyr naturall Prince, may well be attributed the long continuance of that Monarchy, one of her other excellences, that hath subsisted twelue hundred yeares, when few kingdomes esse can say beside. And that which is most admirable of all is, that the kings haue bin of the same race and extraction, without any change but twice, & yet in changing, still it came to proximity and kindred, as we haue already declared. One thing also maketh it commendable, that it neuer bare command of a strange Prince, nor so much as desired it: but alwayes hath bin gouerned by her naturall Princes, originaries, and of the most noble blood, not onely in Europe, but in all the rest of the world.

Learned *Onuphrius*, a famous Italian, obserued it as a matter worth maruaile, saying, that in no other Estate, can be obserued the like felicity. I will set downe his owne words. *Mirum illud obseruandum est, quod cum nulla gens unquam fuit, qua aut externos Principes non admiserit, aut assumptos interdum non expulerit, saepe etiam per summum scelus non occiderit, solis Franci peculiare hoc est ac proprium, nullos unquam externos Reges pati, suos autem usque adeo amare & colere, ut pro eorum dignitate & Maiestate tuenda non operantur sed vitam profundius soleant. Hinc enensis credendum est, ut per mille & ducentorum fere annorum internallum non misceat tribus familiis Reges sortiri sint. Wee must account (saith he) that this is meruailous, albeit there hardly hath bin any other Nation, but hath receiued strange Kings, and after receipt of them, hath expelled them againe, yea, many times massacred them, through some extreme mischiefe. Yet notwithstanding, it is proper and particular to the French, to haue endured no Kings strangers, and therefore haue so loued and reuerenced their Princes, that they not onely employed all their goods and meanes, but likewise laide downe their liues, for the defence of their Dignity and Maiesty. And this may be thought to be the cause, that for the space of about twelue hundred yeares, there hath bene but three families, from whence haue proceeded all their Kings.*

CHAP. IIII.

A Funerall Oration, written vpon the most naturall and continually death of Great Henry the fourth, Father to the King now reigning.

THE *Egyptians*, hauing sufficiently tasted the fauours of *Harpocrates* theyr God; did consecrate the Peach-Tree vnto him, in thankfull retribution of his infinite benefits. The leaves of this Tree are shaped like to tongues, and the fruite doth carry a resemblance of

* The God of Silence. *Plin. in lib. 7.*



hearts:

The greatest
loffe that euer
France sustain-
ed.

The strange
escape of Te-
lemachus, pre-
served from
drowning by
a Dolphin.

A familiar
allusion to the
virtues of
Royall Henry.

Herodotus
in 1. 9. p. 36.

hearts: whereby they would seeme to say, that their hearts should thenceforward ferue that *Harpocrates*, and their tongues be continually buied in celebrating his prayes. O France! wilt thou be lesse thankfull then those people? So many choise benefis receiued fro the cheefest thy Monarchs, can they well escape thy memory, or glide into the depth of bottomlesse obliuion? No, no, wee will not only consecrate the Peach-tree vnto him, but our hearts and tongues ioynntly together, because this is the best offering, remaining in our power to giue him.

Telemachus, the youngest Son of *Ulysses*, sporting himselfe (on a day) childe-like vpon the Sea-shore, by accident fell into the water: but a Dolphin happily came, who receiuing him vpon his backe, did set him safe and dry vpon the land againe. The Father, not knowing how to expresse his gratitude to the Fish, that quickly was carried farre off from him by the nimble waues; to auoyd the foule blemish of vnthankfulness, caused all his Gates to be painted with Dolphins, engraued them vpon his Sword, yea, hee honoured his Seale with a Dolphins Image.

Henry, great *Henry*, a most Christian, Potent, and Royall King, succourd France in a Sea of seditions & dreadfull tumults, and like a gracious Dolphin, receiued her on his shoulders, and set her vp in safety, euen on the shore of a most happy peace, whereof as yet shee enioyeth the benefit. His name shall not onely bee written on our Gates and Wallis, but his greaines, his victories, his mildnesse and paternall bounties, shall bee engrauen on an euerdure Piramide of thankfull acknowledgement, neuer to depart out of our memories. Our eyes, hitherto buied in teares, granting no liberty to our sighing hearts, to let our mouthes memorize his Trophees, and tell the world his counties Triumphs; we do now begin to open the, and now wee would breake the doores of some sad Funerall discourse, in remembrance of his great Maiesty, and excellent vertues.

If *Calisthenes* durst make refusal to *Alexander*, who commanded him to commend the *Macedonians*, alledging for his excuse, that their vertues were so well knowne, and their meritis so great, as hee should not gaine the least honour or re-

putation (whatsoever) thereby. How dare I then appeare in publike, and in this common habite of mourning, to commend the eldest Sonne of the Church, the Father and Patrone of Soldiours; especially in these dull times, when that diuine fire of Eloquence, sometime stolne from the Gods by *Tantalus*, seemes to haue taken her returne to heauen, from whence she came at the first.

There are now no *Cicerones*, nor a *Demosthenes* to be found, no, nor an *Hortensius*. And albeit they were all aliue againe, to ioine their best abilities together in well speaking; yet could they not speake in such sort of that famous Prince, but their elegancy would fall farre short, and infinite goodly things would neuer come neere them, which are no more then due to his happy memory. If then I speake, it is but by appointment, and as feeling a certaine combat within me, between bathfulness and nature. Bathfulness taxing me with shame, to be silent when the whole world cries and complaines; ashamed also, that I cannot ioine my sighes & teares to yours. Nature likewise tels me, that by an indissoluable obligation, I ought to render this duty and seruice, to the eternall memory of my King, my Lord & my Prince. This then may serue for my discharge. The *Epizephyrian Laurence*, in former times, not hauing the commoditie to performe any solemne sacrifice to *Hercules*, according to their vow (because there were not any Oxen, Sheepe, or other Beasts for oblation left in their City, through the length of a greeneous pestilence, which had consumed them all) when their Elders aduised them to take Cowcumbes, Mellons, and some other kindes of fruites, fitting them with short stickes in forme of steere, and then calling them Oxen, Sheepe, and such like Beasts, they threw them into the fire, & so made their sacrifices. Among their neighbours, there was not any but commended their inuention, and gaue cheerefull applause vnto this acte of theirs.

If I haue not wherewith (worthily) to answer the admirable vertues of that Monarch; let me accuse my necessity, and giue you what I can, which (I hope) will be acceptable to you. Or else (if you better affect it) I will imitate those Sauiages of *Florida*, who repuing the Sunne to be their

* Sonne to
Iupiter and
Prota.

No eloquence
sufficient to
expresse his
high decorations.

Casars fun-
erall Oration
for his daugh-
ter Iulia.

1 Reg. 1. 19. 11

* People of
great Greece
to call out the
Promethean
Zepphrum about
which they dwell.

1 Reg. 1. 11.

What ought
the nature of
Monuments
to be.

Blacke, best
bellicent Pa-
nerall pompe

An allusion
on viced
among the
usage people
of Florida.

their God, and seeing him so highly exalted ouer their heads, as it is impossible for them to come neere him: in looking on him, they hold vp their hinds at him, which bringing backe to their mouthes, they kis, deliuering testimony (by this meanes) of the reuerence, honour, and respect they beare vnto him. If I cannot touch (dazzled with his beams) the Sun of so bright a Maiesty, or my tongue shal this day seeme dumbe, in the infinity of his glory: I will yet essay by signes, and shew some what that way, when other helps fayle me.

Concerning the rest, my aime hath no other end, then that of *Casars*, in the Funerall Oration he made for his Daughter *Iulia*: *Præstantes admonerentur quanta iactura ex illa morte facta esset: That the bystanders might be admonished, how great a losse ensued by her death.* For what losse can be greater the ours? A losse which neuer had his like, a losse springing out of our iniquities, which made vs altogether vnworthy to enioy so great, so happy and so dreaded a Prince.

O desiderabilis terra Israel! in excelsis tuis conuerteris est. Quomodo ceciderunt potentates? Quomodo abiit us est Clypeus fortium? Thus did *Dauid* bemoane the death of *Saul*, King of Israel. Thus was a King extolled by a King, being filled with the spirit of Prophecie. Thus did the annointed of God streame forth his teares, in a Funerall Oration for a Prince, slaine vpon the mountaines of *Gilboa*, which he wished might (for euer) continue barren like Rocks, listen the effect of his diuine maledictions. *Nec ros neque pluuia descendat super vos, quia proiectus est Clypeus fortium.* Let neither dew nor raine descend vpon yee; because there the shield of the mighty is cast downe. Behold, how he would haue some sad and lamentable monument to remain there, answerable to an acte so sad & dismal. Monuments ought to agree in resemblance with the things which they signify. What thing could be more horrible then the murder of an Israelite Prince? The Monument then ought to be euerie way as yrekefome and horrible.

In Funerall pompes, wee vie to goe in blacke garments. Dewes doe make the Mountaines verdant, and raine drunk vp by the Vallies, enammels the with a thousand flowers, and giues them such a garment of greene, as is both faire to see, and

maruailous pleasing. Therefore *Dauid* would haue nothing to grow vpon *Gilboa*; but thornes and brambles, that is (among rude Rocks) nothing might appeare but rough thorny passages: to the ende, that such places might bee condemned, as of deeds of horror and darknesse; so likewise to sterility, and wofull perpetuall deuastation. But are not dewes the gift of God? Doth not raine come from the hand of him that is almighty? This, not to receiue these, is a dreadfull malediction. It should seeme then, that *Dauid* inuoked the wrath of heauen vpon that *Gilboa*, the land being subiect to many curses, for the finnes that were there committed. Let neither dew nor raine descend vpon yee, because the shield of the mighty is there cast downe.

Alas! what greater Shield of strength, more generous and mighty, then Great *Henry* the fourth? *Henry*, the Rampier of his people, the Shield of his Souldiers, & the Buckler that defended the heads and hearts of his Princes? He couered them against all their enemies attempts and encounters. Hee serued as an Armour of proote to the French Monarchy, vnder which defence they continually raunged themselves, yea, the Seigneurs and Principalties of many strangers, sheltered themselves vnder that Sunny Banck. Therefore of him may now be said, as sometimes was of *Dauid*: The Lord sought him a man after his owne heart, and commanded him to be a Governour over his people. For if *Dauid* declared himselfe courageous, in the greatest heate of Alarmes and fights; *Henry*, great *Henry*, hath not hee bene (euer where) a true *Mars*, and a true thunderbolt of warre? If *Dauid* were still crowned with victory, because his clemency was acceptable to the God of Armies, & therefore elected him among thousand, to be the Ruler of his people: then may we say, that (after his fights) neuer was found a kinder Prince then great *Henry* the fourth, to whom this Elogium rightly appertained. *Qui in acie compexit superatus est, qui in pace nihil timuit: Euermore a Conquerour, both in warre and peace,* deriuing his victories no lesse from loue, then from power. Vnder which (as *Ennodius* spake in the Panegyrique of *Thierry*, King of the Gothes) *Vidimus euentus optimos de aduersitate generari, so may wee say; That out of greatest extremities,*

Dewes and
raines are the
blessings of
the earth.

No better
shield of de-
fence to any
kingdome,
then a truly
generous
king.

1 Reg. 13. 14.

King *Dauid*
crowned with
many glorious
victories.

Ennodius Pa-
neg. Thier. Reg.
Goth.

we haue beheld the birth of highest and fairest fortunes.

For in conquering the Rampiers of our Cities, at the very same time he won our hearts also, and (by a foueraigne am- plitude of kindnesse) sweetly insinuated himselfe into all our soules, that behelde him so brightly shining in Armes. So that saying was verified in him, which *Agape- tus* spake to the Emperour *Iustinian*. *Im- perium exornant superiores Imperatores, su- perior praestantissime illud illustrare reddidit: That which Empires (in former times) gave to their Emperours; thou thy selfe (O great Prince) hast given to thine, to wit, lustre and splendour.* Thou didst finde it full of quar- rels, seditions, and tumults, thy vnciuill subiects made mad (by what new *Circes* I know not) became enemies to thy crown. But by the right hand of God, & strength of thy martiall arme, thou didst displant their Fortresses, peopled with Spaniards, expelling both the one and other; and from the limits of thy French Empire, thou didst exterminate that proud *Bello- na*, that (without all pity) did cruelly la- bour to teare her in peeces, and quite deu- oure her.

Oh what a goodly day was that, when we beheld bright victory to defend vpon his head, euen glorious and celestiall vic- tory, holding in her hand a thousand Laurels, dispersing them in the fields of so many faire Provinces? Victory was figu- red by the Romans, with a gracious coun- tenance, and two great wings displayed on her shoulders. The Athenians made a mockery thereat, and portraied their vic- tory quite contrary, without wings or any feathers, to the ende, she should neuer flye from them, but alwayes keepe within the girdle of their City walles. *Victory* (Companion to the merits of this great Prince) was of the *Athenian* nature. In former times she had bene full of incon- stancy, first on one side, then on another, neuer long continuing in any one Pro- vince. But at length, she seated herselfe on the *Louvre* of this onely *Mars*, where (first of all) she threw off her wings, neuer to start thence all the time of his Reigne. This was she, that not only made him be- loved of his owne people, but so feared & reuerenced of strangers beside, that they had and held him alwaies in admiration.

Pliny tells vs, that there is found in *Af-*

frica a certaine precious stone, called *Li- paris*, which hath so faire a looke, that all eyes are at a stand to gaze vpon it. Hun- ters there haue no need of sculking bounds for their game, or any Arrowes to kill it, because this stone, laide open in the midst of any field, all wilde beasts (getting but a glimpse thereof) gather together about it, and as amorous of the stones beauty, doe nothing else but looke vpon it. Our Monarch, our great Monarch, was as a *Liparis* in the midst of his French world, the *Ger- mane*, *Italian*, *Spaniard*, *English*, *Swethen*, yea, the very *Turkes*, were all drawne hi- ther by the fame of his vertues, & renown of his Armes, euery one stood at gaze to behold him, nor any one but wished his presence, each one loued & admired him, as a new miracle, or prodigy of valour and greatnesse in the world. In so much, that his presence serued not onely as an orna- ment to this State: but it was also here as an horne of abundance, out of which, all kinds of goodnesse that could flow from a sacred peace, were in a most plentifull affluence deriued from him. The poysons of diffentions could heere no more pro- duce their Gangrenats; the high vnder- standing of the King was too present an Antidote. And as the dried body of a *Ba- siliske*, hung with a golden thred in the midst of *Apollus* Temple (saith *Geoner*) kept it alwayes cleane, restraining (by an hid- den vertue) Spiders from working cob- webs along the pillars and walles: Euen so great *Henry*, liuing in our France, kept it cleane from all the infolences of ene- mies, and suffered no strange Spiders to come weaue their webs of discord within his Provinces. So auailable to this Mo- narchy was his long experience & promp- titude, that he held the affaires (in cyther condition) both of church and common- wealth, in an vpright sway of policy, were it in peace or warre. And so profitable did this people finde their subiection & obe- dience to him, that in all & quite through the body of France, they reuerenced him as their Lord, their Pastor, and Father.

Doe you not know the great vnty which Nature hath planted betwene the *Pinnother* and the *Pinna*? Haue yee not read of the benefit ensuing to them both, by their mutuall concord & intelligence? France hath bene as the *Pinna*, and the King her *Pinnother*. The *Pinna* is that

There are va- rious of the Stone Liparis

All eyes and hearts drawe with admira- tion at the presence of Great Henry

The compari- son allud d to the Realm of France.

Geonerius li- b. 1. cap. 14.

His care of the Church and Common- wealth.

Plin. lib. 7. cap. 14.

Agapetus in *Articula de re- ct. admodum* *franc. de Imperio.*

The hand of heauen eurt supporteth the right of true kings.

The success- full issue of his long trou- ble some wars.

Victory that accompanied Great Henry.

Plin. lib. 12. cap. 7.

A strange co- juring like- wise the Nuber or Scallop, and the Creuise or Crab.

great kinde of Cockle, which we vie to call a *Naker* or *Scallop*. The *Pinnother* is a little creature, in the kinde of a *Crabbe* or *Creuise*, that continually stands as a *Porter*, awayting the opening of the *Cockle*; which he keeps still wide gaping, vntill such time as he perceiueth some prey to enter, which may be beneficiall to them both. For then hee pricks or bytes the *Naker* shut her shell, nor euer (without the liking of this her *Gouernor*) will shee admit any strange creature to come nere her.

Euen so France, referring herselfe to the managing of the King her *Pinnother*, and neuer receiuing any impression but his; she liued with that foode which was apt and natural for her, and by this rea- son, she neuer felt in any of her parts and members, those intemperate vile diseases, that heere tofore bred her to many warres and troubles. A great misfortune is it the, when such a precious Jewell is taken from forth the midst of our Temple, where such a Master and *Gouernor* is carried away from his people. *O decus Israelis in excelsis tuis vulneratus est.* O France, the ho- nor of Israel, glory of the Militant church! *O Paris*, the very fairest among the *Gauls*, or in the world, Metropolitane of the goodliest state in Christendome: thou hast scene him wounded in thy streets, flame in thy bosome, and particed inhu- manely in *excelsis tuis*, in thy places most frequented. O vspeakable mishap! *Quomodo proiectus est Cypreus fortium? How is the shield of the mighty cast downe?*

* *Timanthes*, a most famous Painter among the Grecians, being desirous to portraie a Soldier full of courage, spright- ly in valour, and as fiery as *Mars*: gaue him all the grace that *Arte* could deuise vpon his cloth. But afterward, setting it before his doore to bee seene, hee caused foure Trumpets to sound before the Pi- cture, that the person might appeare the more furious and dreadfull. O deare peo- ple, if I could worthily, and (according to the providence, wisdom, and happines of counsell, that remained in this Prince; I should then set before yee (one after ano- ther) euen all the great and serious affen-

blies, of the cheefest Heads and Captains of war, and of all other states wherein hee preiided. Then shold you see him not like a filly * *Neilor* by *Agamemnon*, but *Agamemnon* himselfe, and (in him) a million of *Neilors*. If you would see his vigilan- cy, & the care he had of his State affairs; I should then set before yee (in grosse) the Ambassadors of the greatest Princes, the Courtiers and Possillions flying from all parts, their packets open, their Secreta- ries standing by, & that magnificent King in the midst, spending many nights to- gether, for the conseruation of them, that soundly slept in their beds at ease. If you would haue a picture from mee, of his mildenesse & clemency; then must I paint a thousand potent enemies, not humbled at his presence, or crowding to his seate, but seated in safety by him, at one and the same Table, in one and the same Caroch, yea, in one and the same bed.

In breife, if it were in me to shew you his valour & *Non-pareill* courage; I shold the here instantly let before yee 50 ranged battailes, with their Squadrons of armed horse, and Regiments of foote, their Pikes aptly placed, the flame and smok inou- dring from Canons, the noyle of Drums, the found of Trumpets, and at the maine of euery battailon, this king encouraging his followers to the fight; and then him- selfe to giue the onser, & (like a true *Mars*) beating downe his enemies about him. Then would you say, that you saw a God armed, the terror of the world, the honour of valiancy, euen where *Casars* and *Alex- anders* might well crowd in, there to learn warlike lessons of him. But oh insignifi- cant disaster! he being dead: *Quomodo cecide- runt potentes? Proiectus est Cypreus for- tium? How are the mighty ouerthrowne? And the shield of the very strongest cast downe?*

Filias Israelis super Saulem flete, quia uictus erat eos cocino in delicijs. Daughters of Israel, weepe for Saul, which clothed you in skarlet with pleasures. Ladies, Daugh- ters, and Wives of *Paris*, weepe for your king, he that clothed you in Scarlet with pleasures, that gaue you these Embroy- derings, Laces, and Bracelets of Gold. Indeed Ladies, peace purchased by the prowess & sweat of this great king, gaue you all these things in great abundance, filled your houses with the beauties of the

* Sonne to Neleus and Chloris, and being well nere 300 years olde, went with the Greeks to Troy.

King Henry the 8. might well be a mir- rour to all the warriors in the world.

* Reg. 1. 24.

Peace is the nursing mo- ther of plenty & abundance.

East, and precious rarities brought from the eyther of the Poles. Rich and poore might eate their bread (fearelesse) with their families, might console themselves with God, and offer the sacrifice of their hearts (at ease) in his Church. Weepe then, weepe then rich and poore, great & small, the inhumane death of this common Father, vnder whom you receyued such infinity of pleasures.

Saul & Ionathas amabiles, Aquilis leui-ores fuerunt Leonibus fortiores. Saul and Ionathan were lowely; they were swifter then Eagles, and stronger then Lyons. Swiftnesse onely in any one subiect is vnprofitable, and strength without swiftnesse is as great a maime, as lazinesse or neglece. Both these were ioyned together in our Prince. What legerity was that, when in lesse then two Moneths, like to a flash of lightening, hee made himselfe feene through the Prouinces of Picardy, Normandy, Champagne, le Perche, Anjou, and Maine? Trayling after him a weighty Army, great store of weapons, Canons, Chariots, and great abundance of other Arilleries. O good God! in how short a time did hee winne more the 160 Leagues of ground, and subiected vnto him (euen in passing along) fiftene or sixtene strong Towns. In diuers other places, what power and magnanimity did appeare in him, euen in his very greatest difficulties, withdrawing the lighted fires from all the parts of his kingdome. There did he shew himselfe like to another Hercules, being fouled in the skin of his constancy and high valour, his most tedious trauailes (which seemed to him but as Dwarfes and Pigmeis) hee strangled and crushed them all, euen as if they had beene so many Mice or Mithrums, that haue no vertue or resistance whosoever. Wherefore O France, we may well say of thee, as it was sometime spoken of the people of Israel. *Quia Rex graditur ante vos, & pugnabit bella vestra. Thou hast now a King that walketh before thee.* He spared not himselfe in marching before thee, and this was the man, ordained to terminate the fights and battailes.

Oh, how many meruailes do I behold, meeting in him all together. Let vs take him in his originall. Albeit he descended fro the loynes of the most happy S. Lewis, by a long extended Genealogy, wherein there is not any but Kings; yet had he no-

thing (in his kinde) more abiect and contemptible, then to be shut vp in the Pyrenean Dens or Grottes, badly followed by his owne, threatened and pursued by extreme accidents, throwne out of his Cradle, and the armes of his Nurse, into the Forge of Mars; wrapt vp in partiality of opinions, which held a high fayle in his time, and yet doth the like in many places of this Realme. They that fed his hopes, to preuaile thereby, deceiued him: others that thought (by such instruments) to ouerthrow him, did the higher exalt him. And perforce must I (in this case) without looking on the pointes of his conscience, commend his morall vertues.

Achilles, the sonne of Aecacus, who was to conclude the Trojans greatnelle, & to ouerthrow their Illium from the top to the bottome, was long time hid vnder the garment of a woman, among the daughters of Lyncomedes. And our great Henry (who was to be a terror to Spain) the prop and support of our French Commonweale, was (in his younger yeares) euen as hidden vnder the habite of a poore & disinherited Prince, in the solitude of the Bearnish Lands and Mountains. But yet notwithstanding, God had (euen then) destined him to be a subiect of his wonders, yea, to the cheefest dignities, & very greatest powers of this Land. God I say, the great God of hosts, Per quē Reges regnant, & hath his hands full of crowns, & bestoweth them where himselfe best pleaseth.

Reade what Job speaks of the Ostrich, & there shall you see this Prince naturally, euen according as description is ther made of her. That Bird (being deprived of wisdom & loue) without couering her eggs, leaues them in the dust, and so loseth all remembrance of them. The world would be quite bereft of Ostriches, if God did not play the part of a mother, and by the beames of his bright shining Sun, make the dust warme about the eggs, and so cause the yong to be hatched, to marryal- lous layre and goodly forme. In like manner, our great Henry was not he forsaken? Left in the dust of disfauour, and neglected all the time of his childhood? God had a care of him, notwithstanding, as purposing to make him an Atlas, for the support of his Church, and defence of this State. So that by beholding him so much abased in his beginning, and afterward so

highly

Some trou-
bles arising
the coultie
his life.

* Troy was
called Illu-
m of Illus, who
enlarged it
greatly.

Job 39, 16, 17

Plin in 13, 14

What God
will haue
be predesti-
ned in despight
all extremities,
shall in the
perish.

highly exalted: we haue great reason to say with the same Job, *Lampas contempta ad tempus statutum. A Lampe, whereof no account at all was made; yet ordained for honour, and to be honoured at the time appointed.* God would bring him by the paths of aduersity, to the highest place of prosperity, and made his trauailes seeme as Mallets, to harden him for such paynes as hee was to endure, for the re-establishment of peace and vnity, in all the diuided Prouinces of France.

In euery estate, afflictions do make the greatest persons, where contrariwise, in the midst of highest prosperities (as standing vpon an ouer-slippy place) oftentimes they soonest lose themselves. We may deduct an example heereof, from a Glasse, vpon whose Christall, Flies can get no footing (saith Plutarch) & yet stand firmly on the borderings about it, because they are more rough and apprehensiu.

Labastur uisida, fabrique tractus barret. Soothe paths are slippery, rougher wayes haue hold.

And from the same ground, it seemeth that Homer fetch his *Moly*, the rootes whereof were blacke, but it bare fruit of most fine gold. So the life of this French Atlas, did shew it selfe (euery where) to be very blacke in the bud, and wholly obscured with aduersity: but therest thereof (euen to his vntimely ending) carryed three Flourers of true gold, in an Azure field of heavenly beauty. Afflictions in him, serued as an apt subiect to * Polydorus and Miron, & hereby to mould, carue & forme the true shape of Vertue; which was the very fayrest and most goodly Statue, that euer could (by Arte) be imagined.

Let vs instantly conceite that happy houre, when we beheld heaueus prouidence to call him from Bearne, and the Banicks of * Garona and (with goodly Ensignes) to shew him the Loire. He being (not long before) sharply pursued, was then sought for in the Grottes, many ray- all Armies (euen then) trusting to his arme: but sent for (soone after) by the K. his brother, Henry the third, whom hee would not forsake at a time of need. Then was it, when France couered ouer with rebellions and Armies against her selfe, was constrained (more then euer before)

to approue the spirit, wife dome, and hand of him, who quickly became her Halcye, to appeale and calme those furious tem- pels.

The blowes began at Tours and at Blois, but within few daies the fiery furie of those Soldiers proceeded through Beaufie, euen to the engirting of Paris: where the execrable and bloody parricide committed on the person of the king, opened him the doore to the whole State. The Princes and French Nobility, both proclaimed and acknowledged him to be their king. Meane while, the troubles en- creasing, and the Armies rent (as it were) in many peeces, behold him (neere hand) as soone shut vp in Dieppe. But like the Steele that strikes on the Flint, to extort thence the liuely sparkes of fire: euen so, the neerer a warriour is pursued, the more splendour is added to his glory.

There liueth a certaine monster in the Sea, vulgarly called the Scia or Sawe of the Sea; in regard of a horne he hath, ser- uing him in stead of a snoute, carrying no meane resemblance with a Sawe. This creature, meeting with a Ship vnder full saile, by diuers times of attempting, doth grow angry thereat, and seemeth to make open warre against it. He passeth and repasseth many times vnderneath it, im- ploying his horne (with his vttermost strength) to sawe, as he thinks, and cut in twaine the keele of the Ship. But in vaine doth he torment himselfe, for so long hee vseth the teeth or razors of his snout, till beating himselfe out of breath in the conflict: at length hee floates on the water with his belly vpward, remaining at the mercy and laughter of the Pilote.

And what great ayt (I pray ye) did so many Armies, as quite couered the plaines of France? They employed all their endcours and weapons in vaine, hoping to sawe in sunder and diuide this State. After all their malicious wrastling with this Soueraigne holy Ship, did they not become ennerued and broken in pieces, by the power of this great King her Pilote? Wherefore we may well say, as Velleius Paterculus said of Cato. *Virtuti quam simillimus, & per omnia ingenio Djs quam hominibus propior; qui non recte fecit ut facere uideretur, sed quia aliter facere non poterat.*

It is not for any ambition, or desire of glory that

Troubles be-
fore the death
of King Henry
the third, who
was murdered
by a Iacobine
Fryer.

Plin in lib. 9,
cap. 17.

A very singu-
lar compari-
son; with a
sawe an allu-
sion.

Malice hath
no greater en-
emy to con-
tend against
then it selfe.

Plut. in vit. M.
L. 16.

The honorable
blew wids of
a family Sol-
dour.

that I fight (would he oftentimes say) but
to maintayne the liberty of my Subjects, and
preferre my Crowne. And euen so did
God fauour his designs, and laide at his
feete (myraculously) an infinite number
of Trophies. Heere *Argues* made her
most signale surrender. There *Turrie* pub-
lished his high fortune. *Dijon*, *Fontaine*,
Francoise, *S. Helena*, and the *Molets* engirt
his browes with a thousand Laurels. And
for the higher pitch of his honours, the
vanquished themselves did (euen then)
reioyce at his prosperity and victories.
He fought not in one place only at a time
but like to a second * *Briarius*, with an hid-
dred hands, and by his Lieutenants, hee
smote as many places together. So that
posterity reading his heroycall actions,
not onely will make doubt to beleue the
all, but rather grossely receiue, or repute
them for fables.

A mighty Ge-
ant, the Son
to Titan, cal-
led of the
Gods *Briarius*

The especial
care of a wor-
thy Prince.

* A people of
Scythia ouer
the Lake of
Mazou.

A hard extre-
mity, when
people are
pitted by
their enemy.

I will leaue them to our Histories. &
to tell ye, that his clemency appearing a-
bout his other vertues, did make him vn-
uerſally both beloued and admired. O
good God! how ready was he alwayes in
helpe and subuention to the oppressed?
How diligent, in finding out for our mis-
eases, both foueraigne, peculiar, & con-
uenable remedies? When I cast mine
eyes on the gaffly Theater of our France,
me thinks I doe there behold that terri-
ble fight betwene *Brutus* and the * *Kan-
thians*, the very cheefest Inhabitants of
Lycia, when they (being besiedged, the fire
getting mischeuously into the crannies
of their walles, threatening their neigh-
bours houses, and the whole City toge-
ther with a generall destruction) in a de-
perate rage and fury, threw on fresh Fa-
gots, made of dried Reedes, the more to
nourish and augment the flame, whereas
Brutus (being their enemy) employed the
vitermost endeouour, both of himselfe &
all his Soldiers, to flake and quench it. He
sate on horse-backe, full of compassion,
effaying by all possible meanes, to take
some good order; and turning him round
about, hee held out his hands to the vn-
happy Inhabitants, desiring them to spare
their owne City, and to saue themselves.

How many of our blinded French
(desperately madded in our last wars) did
the very like? What intended those
Armes, and hostile preparations in the
greater number, but only the ruine of

themselves, and the whole State toge-
ther? And what was laboured (on the
contrary part) by this great King our *Brutus*?
Nothing else, but to preferre his
people, and sild the fires, furiously flam-
ing in the four corners of his king-
dome; yea, to keepe his people from de-
stroying themselves. This was euer
(doubtlesse) the full butt and aime of all
his warres, during which time, and euen
in the very fiercest broyles, hee was heard
to cry aloud in the thickest throngs: O
Frenchmen, *Frenchmen*, saue your selues.
And the blood of them, although they
were in Armes against him, hee did value
at a dearer rate then his owne. An acte
truly generous, and which (afterwards)
made him so much admired, that they
who refused to accept him as their Lord;
threw themselves at his feete, and (in en-
deared loue) called him their gracious
Tutor and Father.

Let *Paris* (onely) stand as a witnesse
of my words, which was seene (almost)
without Subburbs, without Pallace, with-
out Vniuersity, or any other Ornament
whatsoever. The Field of the slothfull
man, and the Vineyard of the mil-vnder-
standing foole, described by *Salomon* in
his Proverbs; Which were all ouergrowne
with Thornes and Nettles, and their Hedges
broken downe, might be compared with it.
Our buildings beautified with Porphyry
and Marble; his Royall goodly places;
his *Louures*; his *Tuilleries*; his new Brid-
ges; his *Arſenall*; the streetes newly re-
decked, and adorned with so many new
deuices of Silke and Tapistrie; the new
foundations of publike Readings: these
are as so many Trumpets, to publish the
loue and vigilancy of this King. Very true
is it then, that his life, so obscured and tra-
uerſed in the beginning, did well resem-
ble a fire, which in the making, and before
it attaineth to any light, doth cast forth
very grosse and thicke smokes: but being
fully kindled, it yeldeth a bright flame, &
giueth no meane delight to the beholder.
We haue seene his originall to be dim-
ly obscured and darkened with the clouds
of enuy. Afterward wee beheld him, not
like *Iubas*: despised Lampe, but shining as
the Sunne in brightest splendour.

An industrious and skilfull Architeck,
labouring his minde with the designe of
an intended stately building, walking a-
mong

A greath
mour in a king
to preferre
his people
paying the
selues.

The Stone
neglected and
relied by the
builders, be-
came the head
corner stone.

The woeful
condition of
Paris during
the warres.

Prouer. 24.
29.30.

A Thracian
captain, sent
to Iphiclus, who
first of all the
Greekes went
on land at
Troy, altho
he had heard
that he should
surely die that
did so. He was
slaine by He-
ctor.

Vertue long
obscur'd at
length deli-
ueth the
brightest light
day.

among the stones in a Quarry, if hee per-
ceiue any one to be of grosse Marble, half
earthy, misshapen, and that hath not (as
yet) felt the Hammer and Chizell, hee doth
appoint that stone to some important
place in his edifice. Euen so God, pro-
claiming (long time) the building of his
Church, did not forget this Prince: but
at the time appointed by his eternall pre-
science, hee took him out of the Quarrie
of darknesse, to make him shine as bright
day, and serue as the Master-pillar to the
whole frame. Behold him then (O myra-
cle) in midst of so many victories and fa-
uours from heauen, prostrated at the
feete of the Church, and no other cryes
were among the people, but *God saue the
King*.

Deare people, from the beginning of
my Oration, I haue feared to fall short, &
my feare is very iust. handling so high a
subject, and so full of meruailes. Yet not-
withstanding, that great goodnes of his
furnished me with courage, and hath hi-
therto vpheld me, in the plenifull field of
his flowing vertues. Wherein I feele so
great a consolation, and such a boundles
liberty of spirit, that my tongue (without
impeachment) hath (in some weak manner)
expressed those things which I con-
ceyued of his praises. But now I feele
my senses arrested by an accident, alas, as
nouell, as it strange and lamentable.

The Poets make mention of certayne
trees, that sometime did grow about the
Tombe of *Proteſilauus*, and they haue at-
tained to such height, that (with their tops)
they could couer the ruine of olde *Troy*;
withered in an instant, and lost all their
leaves. Euen so my discourse could en-
tertaine it selfe vnto this point; but when
I see this great Prince (alas) setting from
his *Louure* in his Caroch, a smal traine,
indeed, without traine; my whole heart
is frozen, my discourse withereth, and
there remaineth no verdure in my words.
A mischeuous assassinate, let loose from
Acheron, created of the stilly driuell fall-
ling from the foule chappes of *Cerberus*,
(to bury our whole France) followes ha-
stily after him. I see the Caroch stayed;
O *Paris*! haplesse City of *Paris*! in excessi-
uis, in one of thy cheefest foure cornered
streets, I see the murtherer likewise stay
there with it.

O God! what issue depends vpon his

boldnesse? Gracious Heauen, thou didst
preferre this great King (before) so ma-
ny times; as against *Barriere* at *Melun*, a-
gainst *Chastell* in his *Louure*, and agaynst
an infinite number more of most perniti-
ous coniuurations. Thy goodnesse (O
Lord) shall it sleepe at this blow? Behold
(deare people) it was our sins that weigh-
ed downe the ballance of eternall Iustice,
for one chastisement. *Auferetur ab impijs
lux sua, & brachium excelſum confringetur.*
The light that shined vpon those Nations, re-
bellious against my Edicts, shall be take from
them, and the strong Arme that defended
them, shall be broken. Yea, and so farre it
proceedeth, that our great God seemeth
weary of further aduancing the Name of
the glorious French.

O Fury! O barbarous wretch! in struc-
ted in the schoole of Sathan; and enchan-
ted with a diuellish Doctrine, that (vnder
the suborned name of a tyrant) would
approoue and maintaine the Massacre of
Kinges. O *Deuill*, and no man, thy parric-
ide hand is not hindered, but dares bold-
ly imploy the vse of that hellish liberty, in
a most detestable sacrilege, against God,
against his Anointed, and against thy na-
tural Prince. O *Suaine*, thou bright day-
bringer, that heretofore vailed thy golden
Tresses, and didst with-hold thy hea-
uently lookes, from the infamous house of
the *Pelopides*, and the enraged abiding of
Buphalus that vnworthy *Romane* Citizen,
because thou wouldst behold no Butche-
ries and massacres: how couldest thou
keep thy Chariot in his ordinary way, but
with one touch of thy hand turned it som
way else, that this day might haue bin co-
uered with darknesse?

Among infect or iniured Creatures,
Bees (sayth *Pliny*) do so much honor their
head and King; as they will not lue after
the losse of him. And among other Ani-
mals, haue wee not (almost) an infinite
number, that haue consecrated their liues
for the defence of their Masters? *Quintus
Curtius*, as one of the fairest ornaments of
his History, brings in the Elephant of *K.
Porus*, which Elephant seeing his Master
on the ground, in the bloody battel giuen
him by *Alexander*: with his trunk drew
him softly out of the crowde (as fearing
to hurte him) notwithstanding all the
points and stauers of Lances, being thrust
into his breist and sides.

Great Hen-
ricke
great dangers
incurre.

teremy 19. 7.

The doſtine
of Marianus
the Lefuine, in-
structing to
kill Kings, by
his authoritie
and warrant.

Plin. in lib.
7. c. 14.

Quint. Curtius,
in lib. 4. c. 9.

Hesiod in lib. 3. cap. 7.

Phil. Comm. in lib. 3. cap. 8.

Some men are more inhumane then brutish creatures.

Tertulian Dial. Ad Reg.

Homer in Illiad lib. 4.

Attributes and titles given to kings.

The offering of king Clovis on the Altar of S. Peter

The *Scythians* also do eternize the memory of a Horse, who seeing his Master slaine, became the revenger of his murder, neuer ceasing, till (with his heels) he had instantly beaten out the braines of the murderer. The Dog of *Hesiodus* is also remembered, because he attained the children of *Ganius*, for the murder committed on the person of his Master.

But that which our owne Fathers haue seene, is much more memorable, of a worthy Dog, belonging to a Groomer of the Chamber, attending on King *Frances* the first. Which Dog, not satisfied with the apprehension of him that had slaine his Master, in the Forrest of *Fontaine-belleau*; but being present (by command of the Prince) he rent him in peeces, before the face of the whole Court, that then were gathered together, to behold this spectacle. O most strange case, that brute beasts shall loue, respect, and reuerence their Kings and Masters, and creatures reasonable (yet without all reason) contrary to Nature, or any instinct of her, shall soyle their felonious hands in the sacred & venerable blood of their Prince.

Tertullian, speaking of Kings; *Secundus* *sancti post Deum* (saith he) *inter quos & Deum optimum maximum nullum est medium. They are next after God, between whom and the greatest God, there is no mean.* *Homer*, by a name more proper, doth call them, *The children of the great God*; as they that do very neere participate in the beames of his diuinity. The *Greekes* were wont to call them, *Basilides* of *Bazis*, which significeth a Foundation. As in the holy Scripture, one of them is called *Femur*, the Thigh, he being as the Thigh, base and foundation, whereupon the repose of the State and people is supported. But to what end are all these Epithites, both sublime and diuine, in comparison of *The most Christian King*, the eldest Sonne of the Church, which Titles our kings attained vnto by infinite merits, euen from the Cradle of Christian Religion.

If Emperours haue done any good to the Apostolical See, what deuotion can compare with that of our Kings? *Clovis*, the first Crown-bearer among so many kings, offered a Diadem of inestimable value, called *Regnum*, vpon the Altar of *S. Peter*: the which Diadem, according as some of our Historians haue written, ter-

ued for the *Tiaras* to the holy Fathers presiding in the Church. What shall I say of *Charles Martell*, who received from *Gregory* the third, the keyes of the Sepulcher, and the Chaines wherewith *S. Peter* was bound? was not this done, as acknowledging him the Churches Protector, and yielding him an honourable summation, for defending that holy Toombe, and excellent prerogatives therto belonging, against the fury and inuasions of the *Lombards*? Against whom, this Prince began to arme himselfe, when at the very first report of his preparation, the *Lombards* yielded, and submitted himselfe to the holy See.

I cannot let sleepe in silence, the piety of king *Pepin*, who went twice vnder the Alpes, to check the insolences of the said *Lombards*, against *Stephen*, then sitting in the sacred seate. There remaineth (yet to this day) an ancient inscription, engrauen vpon one of the Towers of *Ruenna*; *Pipinus plus primus amplificanda Ecclesiam aperuit, &c.* Deliuering testimony to all Christendome, of that Princes gift and liberality to the Church. *Charlemagne*, *Philip Augustus*, *S. Lewis*, many Kings among them, & many others since then, euen vnto our time, haue no way degenerated from this affection, in piety & succour answerable to the former Kings; and their enterprizes were most commendable & perilous, to maintaine the truth, and to confound the *Sarrasins*, *Mahumetists*, and other sects of Infidels. VVhereof matter sufficient is given to our Historians, to make their volumes the more copious, and to *Innocentius* the third, a worthy subject of writing, in an Epistle which he directed *Archiepiscopus & Episcopus per Galliam constitutus*, *Exaltatio regni Francorum est sedis Apostolica sublimata*. And if that execrable and diuellish murderer, had not impeached the course of the great designs, and holy intentions of this King (O France, for whom thou now so iustly lamentest) he had shaken the Scepter of the Turke, and we might well haue hoped, to haue seene our faire Lillies glister in the Church of the Easterne Empire, & once more to haue made the true God worshipped in *Palestine*.

Then, O unhappy Realme of France, redouble thy sorrowes, and reuieue the course of thy teares, as often as thou thinkest

Charles Martell the Churches Protector.

The ancient inscription at Ruenna.

The famous enterprize of many French kings in defence of the truth.

The worth of a leuel is neuer truly valued till it is lost.

Remembrance differ to the true substances.

The inward vertues of a man are his true glory.

remember the death of this Prince. A Prince? yea, thy Shield, and the Shield of the mighty, proditoriously ouerthrowne in the Capitall of his Prouinces. Oh that I could (in this case) according to the manner of a Pegasus, strike with one foote into a fountaine of eloquence, or that the Muses and the Graces meeting together, would giue new motion, or rather new life to my languishing Oration, that I might reach to the point first propoed to my selfe, which was, either to lay open before you the praises of my King, or to let you see his life and heroicall vertues, and how much we are interested in his losse. These two attempts were very great, and if I feele my selfe to shrink vnder the weight of the first, I must needs fall flat the with the charge of the second. *Because the wretchednesse of a priuation can neuer be really understood, but by knowing the excellency of the thing whereof we are deprived*, so said (long agoe) a learned Philosopher.

For as a Play of Comedies, may easily bring forth vpon his Stage, a man of goodly fiew, in shape of *Hercules*, couered with a Lyons skinne, and bearing a long great Club on his shoulder, but yet made light and hollow within, and at this dreadfull appearance, comes nothing neere the vertues and incomparable strength of the true *Alcides*: Euen so an Oratour may easily produce some grosse description of great *Henry*, that most inuincible Prince, giuing him golden Armour, mounted on a gallant Courser, attended with Drums and Trumpets, in midst of a confusion of armed men, a thorny wood of Pikes and Lances about him, and as the last ornament of renown, writing with an Eagles quill (yet lagging weary with circling the world) to make knowne to the two Poles, the admirable battailes wonne by this Monarch, and all this nothing indeed to great *Henry* the 4. This were no other then a meere phantasma, because his inward man, with his principall vertues, remained still hidden the viaticities of his spirit, the heates of his generous courage, and that true countenance of Maiesty, which carried on his brow the loue of his subjects, and terrour of his enemies: these are things that strike dumbe all tongues, and are not any way to be declared. The interest and the damage then, which the whole world endu-

reth by his death, can neuer be sufficiently declared. Euery man by himselfe (from the least to the greatest) may frame out his owne discourse, and finde himselfe immeasurably offended; yet all this is nothing else, but as if each man should point with his finger at his owne heart, and no iudgment to be made, whose paine is the most greenous?

Synganbis, the Mother of *Darius*, her Nieces and other Persian Ladies wept more extremely for the death of *Alexander* (saith the History) then did the *Greeks* and other *Macedonians*. For he was the common bond of peace, and hee being broken, they found themselves (among all them which he had left) the very weakest, furthest off from succour, and most subiect to the iniuries of warre. Without all question, our sorrow hath bin common through the whole State, for this unhappy accident, false vpon the common and publicke head. Our Princes pierced through with griefe, haue (to the whole world) sufficiently witnessed their affections. But great men stand safest on the boord, the lesser serue as poore Pawnes, & they haue the greatest cause to complaine. That great chaine or bond of peace, which vnited together so many kindes of spirits, is broken in the midst; yet peace and vniety (God be thanked for it) doth still remaine among vs.

As an Arrow shot from a good strong arme, flyeth farre through the ayre, not in regard of his owne proper or naturall wings, but by the Archers vertue who (in the loofe) gaue it the vigor of aduantage; euen so our peace as yet continueth by that strength and vertue, which the high understanding and credite of our deceased king gaue vnto her. If we war against abuses, if vices may be cut off, and vertues replanted; wherefore should not this strong bond be new knit againe? But if they encrease, as they do, look then (deare people) for your danger to be nere. The mighty can daily maintaine themselves; but the weak and feeble, they altogether vndergoe the worst, especially when disorders continue.

In this case, the body of a Common-wealth, and that of a beast do carry some resemblance. For as the members (which are found) doe not finde themselves so subiect to rheumes or deflections, but so

Plutarch, in vit. Alexander.

Common affections doe not so neerely touch great men, as they do the meaner sort.

Compassion of a Common wealth into the body of a Beast.

soone

soone as they present themselves, do send them to the diseased parts: Euen fo, in a body politike, those great ouerflowings that engender discords, do not so neerely touch the strongest in the State. Noblemen, as being more robust & powerful, know how to hurle such annoyances behinde them, and then their weight falls vpon the vulgar, who are compoled of slenderest resistance. Who seeth not then that the principall interest is ours? It is vpon vs that this blow is faile. That fatal knife hath ript open our breasts, and hath sucked forth our blood, euen so farre as the very furthest Nations; who wholly affrighted at so damnable an attente, haue testified, that this disaster was in common to them, communicating likewise in our fighes and teares.

But now wee sacrifice ouer much vnto griefe. O France! thou must giue a breathing time to thy sorrowes; thy great Henry yet liueth, God hath not left him after so many victories; he hath rather snatch him from beneath the armes of a temporal peace, to lodge him in his euertlasting rest, & made him change the Scutcheon of his Lillies for an eternal Diademe, the flowers whereof are without number and value, and the glory void of any date or limitation. This life hath nothing in propriety; what any man holds here, it is but as a deposit or pawne, it is but for a shortuallance, and a present of slender continuance. *Spumæ grauelis, quæ a procellis dispersitur, facit the wise man: Fumus qui a vento diffusus est.* It is a highway common to kings & subiects alike; to the haughty, and to the humble. *Omne capax mouet vna nomen.* Death (notwithstanding he is familiar to vs) yet in his passage along, if he hit his foot against a shepherds cottage only, or if a poore labouring man meet with his sickle, these are blowes that moue no terror. But contrariwise, when he smites the greatest into the bottom of a tomb, when he shiuers Crowns in peeces, and breaks royal Scepters with a touch of his Biere, this is that which moueth astonishment in men; this is that wherein they see themselves, euen as in the clearest Chry stall, best representing to the life, the defects of their fraile and wretched nature.

They that haue contemned God at their life time, may take example by *Entelidas*, lost in the loue of his owne peculiar ex-

cellencies: who afterward becoming a knight of *Athens*, tooke a Grasshopper in the fields of *Egretum*, whereby he learned and came to acknowledgment of his lifes thornes. Whereupon he builded a house of piety, in contempt of himselfe; where, in bequeathing all his hopes to God only, hee founded life and saluation for his soule. For, as a goodly Rose in rainy weather (being prickt with a pinne) will send forth a marvellous pleasing fauour: euen so, al the degrees of a great State, being prickt in the death of their King, by the intolerable piercing thornes of bemoaning, do then send vp to heauen the most sweete Odors of infinite prayers, whereby they procure Diuine blessings to descend downe vpon their heads.

This is also the benefite, which (among our teares and laments) we ought to seeke for in our losse, because euen therein God himself hath giuen vs matter, whereby to comfort our selues. Set before your conceits, that great deluge of waters, which (in the time of *Noah*) drowned the whole world. Neuer did heauen before, or since, deliuer so great a sign of anger against the sins of men. And yet notwithstanding, among all the billows and floating of dead bodies aloft on the waters: the height of top of an oliue tree did shew it self, whereof the Doue brought a pretentation to the good old man, as a symbol of grace, carrying an assured testimony, that the ouerflow should soone cease, & the Ark be deliuered from all perils whatsoeuer.

Euen so, in the frightfull deluge of tears, which appeared to swallow vs al vp in the waues, wee haue a sacred Oliue plant, a branch of that royall tree, every way answerable to that holy Doue, verily raised to this purpose by the holy ghost, to bring this aged French State a thirteenth *Lewes*, the liuely image of the great *Henry*, so lately taken from vs. *Lewes* I say, the true Oliue branch sent from heauen, to preface our great mercy; vnder who we are to expect the increasing of al those choise vertues and felicities that wee felt vnder the flourishing reigne of his Father. In behalfe of whom, I may wel (O France) addresse those speeches to thee, deliuered by the wise King *Salomon*. *Beatus in terra, Rex tuus filius est Nobilium: Blessed art thou (O Land) when thy King is the sonne of Nobles.* Happy art thou O France, for thy King

All degrees in a State are wonderfully the death of their King.

In the midst of most violent extremities, God is then ready with his diuine helps.

Lewes the young son and successor to great King Henry.

Ecclij. 12. 13.

CHAP. V.

The Battell of Rauenna: Which was fought in Italy, in Anno, 1512. betwene Gaston du Foix, Duke of Nemours, General for Lewis the xij. King of France, on the one party: and Raymond de Cardonna, Viceroy of Naples, General for the King of Spaine, and Pope Iulio, on the other.



HE Generall of the French Army in Italy, being named *Gaston du Foix*, for *Lewis* King of France, against the Pope and King of Spaine, being giuen to vnderstand that the opposit powers for the Pope and Spaniards were marching onward (according to a former passed promise) for giuing assistance vnto *Marco Antonio* of *Cardonna*, who was besieged by him in the Citie of *Rauenna*; misdoubting some sodaine interruption in his politike enemy, brake vp the sledge, making a retreat for the space of some three miles from *Rauenna*, as it were to meete with the leagued army. That night they made a bridge ouer the riuer of *Rouco*, and leuelled the highest banks equall with the Riuer, for the easie passage of the Souldiers in all places. Afterward the 11. day of Aprill, being then Easter day, the Germane foote souldiers made their passage ouer this made Bridge of the Riuer: but the souldiers appointed for the vaw-ward and middle battell, they went thorow the Foord. As for the reer-ward, being led by *Don Iuo de Alegres*, and consisting of foure hundred bolde resolute men, they remained still on the riuer bank towards *Rauenna*, for better assisting the maine army when neede required, and curbing the Garrison of *Rauenna*, if they should presume to fall forth. But for keeping a Bridge (formerly made vpon *Montano*) hee left a valiant Gentleman, named *Paris Scot*, with a thousand foote vnder his charge.

All things being ordered in this manner, his battailes were ranged in this order. The vant-gard, that had the great Artillery before them, consisting of 700. horse, beside

King is the son of Nobles. For the Father of thy King, descending from so many kings, was no lesse adorned with Vertues, then Crowns: And his Mother on the other side) being issued from so many great Dukes of *Tuscany*, the very beautifull seat of all Italy from the illustrious blood of that great *Cosimo de Medicis*, that afforded so many Fathers to the Church, and floures to thy Diademe, witnesseth the height of thy good fortune, hauing brought forth this young, yet great Prince, who truly *Filius est Nobilium*.

The Isle of *Delphos* was sometime most wretched, and yielded it self to the greedy appetite of the waisting billowes of the sea; till *Apollo* was borne there, who made it immouable, and constantly confirmed it against all tempests. O France! if heerefore thou hast bin beaten with stormes and the rude windes of discord, agitated by the flux and reflux of some vnhappy partialities, what needest thou now to feare, *Cum Rex tuus filius est Nobilium*? Thy totterings are already past, and I see thee (for euer) settled in the Bay of a most blessed peace, euen in the armes of thy King, so Noble in extraction both by Father and Mother. These are the wishes which wee yeelde thee, euen from all Orders and estates, vnited both in hearts and wils, to submit our selues in a perfect obedience: As we also protest, neuer to be ingrateful to the most happy memorie of that Great *Henrie*, from whom so manie blessings hath continually fallen vpon vs.

In elder times, the Graces were figured holding handes together, teaching men thereby, that a benefite receiued with one hand, ought immediately to be requited with the other: But Kings are ouer-great to attend the returne of such benefites, as they poure out vpon their people. And as for vs, wee are not able to acknowledge them, which haue beene receiued from our good Prince; except in seruing him loyally both with hearts and hands, as becometh most faithfull & obedient subiects. If that the hand (to our great griefe) hence-forward can do nothing, yet let the heart (as being more powerfull) continue that office, in waiting, vntill it shal please the heauenly Maiesty, to make vs blessedly see him againe, in the Celestiall repose of his glory.

Cosimo de Medicis the Great Duke of Florence.

Vertue and Nobilitie are the best pillars to support akingdome.

Seneca in L. b. de Consol. 17.

Ecclij. 12. 13.

The number of a king is to be an issue of griefe to all neighbouring Nations.

No man in this life leaues any certaintie of his abiding.

Ecclij. 12. 13.

A worthy example for all Atheistes to take warning by.

The Author doth not let downe the reason why this battell.

The passage of this people ouer the riuer.

In what manner he ordered and ranged his severall battailes, in expedition of the eremie

beside Germane foote, led by the Duke of Ferrara, and the Seneschall of Normandy, this power was placed on the bank of the river, being then on the right hand, whereby the foot troopes flanked the left wing of the horse. Somewhat nere to the vanguard, the foot appointed for the mid battalion, being partly *Gascoignes*, and the rest of other Prouinces in France, tooke their charge, and *Don Iuo de Alegres* was their Commander. Further remote from the River bank, the reregarde had their place, being in number five thousand foot and all Italians, vnder the conduct of *Federico de Bozzolo*: and this battel was flanked by all the Archers mounted on horsebacke, and other light horsemen, amounting to three thousand.

These battalles were not ordered to erre one another, but in the shape of a Cressant or halfe Moon, and directly behinde them were marshalled six hundred well appointed horse, conducted by *Seigneur de la Palice*, and the Cardinall *Sanslerino*, Legate for the Councell of Pisa, who bent their intentions against the Pope. He was a man of no meane constitution, full of heate and courage, armed Cap a pie in faire bright glittering Armor, and meeter (in dede) for the office of a Commander in field, then to supply the place of a Cardinall. As for *Gaston du Foix*, zyming onely at honour and victory, he would not betake himselfe to any particular charge in the Campe; but selecting som thirty choise Gentlemen, such as he thought fit to share with him in his best fortune of the day; wandered at liberty, as to bee prouident in all places, and for the readier helpe, where neede should require.

He was the man of best marke amongst them all, not onely in regard of his splendid Armes, but likewise for his sprightly countenance, dreadfull carriage, & resolution no way to be daunted. Hauing ranged his battalions into such due form, as nothing wanted but the signal for fight aduancing himselfe on the bay of the River, where best he might haue attention, and animate his army with boldest spirit, more eloquently then Souldier-like (as some suppose, thus he spake.

The Oration of Gaston du Foix, before the fight, to his whole Armie.

MY Fellow-Souldiers, the thing which you haue so long coveted & desired, to wit, to encounter the enemy in an open champaigne you doe behold how Fortune hath this day blest ye withall, as not forgetting her former Motherly care of ye, in many a famous and well-known victory. See what a gracious opportunity is here presented to ye, such as precedent times, nor memory of man hath ever acknowledged, victory hovering ouer your heades, embracing ye within the very winges of her bounty, not onely for *Rauenna* itselfe, fully and meerey prostrated to your power: but likewise all the Townes and Cities of *Romania*, though but slender attributes of recompence to your high deserts, yet as an earnest of her further intended fauour vnto ye. For, finding Italy naked and empty, not a man left to stand or encounter with ye: what shall hinder your marching on to Rome it selfe? Seeme as if (euen now) you saw your entrance into it; and consider withall, the boundlesse wealth of that gripple and greedie Court (for many ages together) bled & violently torne, euen out of the bowelles of poore abused people, and iustly ordained now to be at your mercie as pillage and spoile. Proud Ornaments, Silver, Gold, precious Stones, all in heapes, and numberlesse summes, beside most rich and sumptuous prisoners: you may already plead full possession of the wide world standing amazed at your fortunes. And Rome thus being yours, Naples lies fairly before ye, inuaiting ye to comethier with the same successe, and there to reuenge your manifold iniuries.

When I consider your valour, fortune, & famous victories, woon within the compass of so few dayes; when your manly looks, and more then many actions, do quicken my memory, that there is hardly one among ye, but hath made good proofe of his courage, by apparant and pregnant testimony of his great spirit: there is not any objection whatsoever, to foretell the assured felicitie of victory. What are our enemies, but the vaine same Spaniards, that (merely upon our coming)

sted

*A Towne of Campanian Italy.

*A City in Italy called thus one Towne.

led by night out of *Bologna*: Nay more, they are the same white-liver'd men that (not many daies since) escape'd our swordes by bawling away, skulking within the walls of *Amola* and *Faenza*, or the neighbouring mountains. They are a nation that neuer durst fight with our armies in the Neapolitan kingdom in any place of indifference or easie access, but euermore upon aduantage, being supplied with manitions, riuers, and ditches, as relying more on close hid ambushes & treacheries, then on any sort of manhood or valor.

And yet let mee further tell ye concerning these Spaniards, that they are not those tried and ancient well-skild seruitors in the Neapolitan wars, but meere fresh-water Souldiers, utterly without skill or experience, neuer fighting against other weapons of resistance, but Bowes, Arrows, & the blunted Lawces of the Moors. And yet notwithstanding, by that timorous people, weak in body, worfe in spirit, wanting knowledge in armes and military actions, they were (with great shame) overthrown the last year in the Isle of Gerba. And there this very man, *Don Pedro de Nauarro*, one of so great note & name among them, that by taking himselfe to his heeles, bee deliuered a notorious testimony of the difference betweene the beating downe walls with shot and powder, & fighting with true fortitude & hardiment. See how they are shut up within a ditch, made this last night, euen in meere trembling feare, & how their foot are covered with a rampier, consisting of Carriages & hooked waggones, as meaning to try the battel with those childish instruments, & not with the Marrow, Muscles, and Arteries of men, or with the chearfull viuacity of spirit.

Make no doubt (deare hearts) but our great Ordinance shall drive them out of their holes, and beate them to the open field: where they shall plainly perceiue, that the power of the French, the courage of the Germanes, and unconquerable resolution of the Italians, doth go far beyond the cunning subtilities of the Spaniards. The greatest obscuring of our glory, is that we ouermatch them in number being (every nere) twice as many as they. Neuertheless, seeing fortune hath bin so bountifull to vs, it were indiscretion not to make use of so happy a benefit, which will rather be imputed to temerity and improuidence in them, then to any comarall aduantage in vs. Nor doth courage or valour incite them on, but the authority of *Fabritio de Colonna*, in his rash promise made to *Marco Antonio*; or rather the in-

stice of heauen hath thus provoked them, to the end, that the pride and conflagrant heinous actions of Iulius, that false and counterfeite Pope, as also the deceitfull treacheries of the King of Arragon, may haue condigne and worthy punishment.

But why wast I time in so many wordes? Or why should this victory be so long kept from ye, by circumstantiall speeches in a skilfulle oration, whereby needlesse for Souldiers of undaunted spirit? March on then, my valiant fellows in armes, with full assurance, that this day I shall giue the whole Empire of Italy to my King, & the wealthy spoile among you all. To your Capitaine and Commander, will be present with you in every place; and, as I euer haue done, so this day more especially will I oppose my life vnto all perils, rather then a win of ye shall miscarry. Nay, I shall repute my selfe for the most fortunate Capitaine, that euer was seeing that by this dayes victory, I shall not onely make my soldiers most glorious, but the richest of all other Armies, within the compass of three hundred yeares.

This Oration ended, and the aire echoing the noise of Drums & Trumpets, the Spaniards espying the French past the river, in this manner they ranged their battalies. The vanguard, consisting of 800. horse, and conducted by *Don Fabritio de Colonna*, stood placed along the banke of the river, wherto was added 600. foot on the right hand. Likewise along the River, stood the middle battel of 600. horse, being flanked with 4000. foot, the Victory being the Leader thereof, & with him the Marquesse of *Palada*, as also *Iohn de Medicis*, Legat to the Pope. Moreover, along the same river bank stood the rereward, conducted by *Carual* a Spaniard; & in that battell were 4000. horse, and 4000. foot. All the light horsemen (whose General was *Daualos*, Marques of *Pescara*, a very yong Gentleman, but of exceeding great hope guarded the right side of the foot behind, for succoring any part that fainted. The great Ordinance was placed in the front of the horse, & *Don Pedro de Nauarro* General of the Spanish foote, accompanied with 500. horse, had not any place of certainty, but had planted at the ditch in the front of the foot, 30. waggones, like to the crooked Chariots vsed in ancient time. Whereon he had placed field pieces, and very long Boares speares for easier inflaming the furious feaze and charge of the French.

How the battalions of the Spaniards were ranged in the field.

The Councell of Pisa leuied forces against the Pope.

Gaston du Foix, a man of especiall note from all the rest.

Nauarro was General of the Spanish footmen, a man of great skill in warring.

Both sides
stane in ex-
pectation of
battell.

In this order they expected the assault & charge of their enemies strong army, with in the munition of the ditch, but this counsel, as it profited nothing in the end, so in the very beginning it appeared to be pernicious. For it was the mind of *Fabritio de Colonna*, to invade the enemies, so soon as they began to come over the River; as thinking it more commodious to encounter with one only part of the enemies, than to abide in the camp, defended but with a single ditch. But when *Don Pedro de Navarra* (whose counsel the Viceroy followed as Oracles) repugned this advice: it was decreed (though nothing providently) that they should be suffered to pass over the river. The French being come within 200 paces of the ditch, stayed; perceiving that their enemies kept themselves within their camp, not stirring any further, least they should give their enemies such advantage, as themselves desired to have.

Much harme
done by the
great Orde-
nance on ei-
ther side.

For more then two houres, both the armies were thus at a stand, but no meane store of shot came from the great Ordinance all that while on either side, where by the French foote endured great detriment. For *Nauarro* had planted his artillery in such a place, as he might at his pleasure hurt them; but the Duke of *Ferrara* made great halt, & brought his Artillery in the rear of the army, to another wing of the French, where the archers on horse back were planted, which wing, in regard that the army stood in the form of a crescent, was (we neere) on the rear of the enemies; from whence he beganne cruelly to flank their sides, especially of the horse, for the Spanish foote being brought by *Nauarro*, into a low place along the rampier of the river, & (by his command) laid flat on the ground, could no way be injured by the shot. *Fabritio* called out aloud, and urged the Viceroy by messengers often sent to begin the battell, before they were torn in pieces by the great Ordinance. But *Nauarro* being guided by peruerse ambition would not agree thereto. For, in regard he had promised himselfe victory, only throw the valor of the Spanish foote, yea, & although all the rest of the army were slain, yet he imagined, that his glory would be the more augmented, the more y harmes were heaped on the rest of the army.

The wilfull
obstinacie of
Don Pedro
de Nauarro.

By this time, the men of armes and light horse, had endured so great a slaughter, as

it could be no longer borne: and as a most miserable & dreadful spectacle, here horses, there men from off those horses, fell down dead, and heads & arms being torn from the rest of the body, were seen flying aloft in the aire, whereat *Fabritio* beganne thus to exclaime. *And must we all (quoth he) day here shamefully, by the wilful perjuries of one Marano? Must this army be utterly lost, and not one enemy slaine by us? Here are our many Trophies over the French? Must the honor of Spaine and Italy perish for one only Nauarro?* No sooner had he spoken these words, but without staying for the signal, or any command from the Viceroy, he droue his horsemen over the ditch where the rest of the horse following, *Nauarro* was forced presently to give the signal to his Regiment, & they rising with violent fury, encountered the Germans, who were by this time come verie neere them. So the battells being met pelmei on all sides together, it was wonderful to behold; & surely this battell was the greatest that euer Italy had scene in many yeares: because that at *Torre* was hardly any thing else, but a strong encounter of horse. And the battells in the kingdom of *Naples* were rather disorderings of array, or rash attempts, the deserviedly to be termed battells. And at *Giaradaedda*, the smallest part of the *Venetians* power had fought: but here two potent armies fought with harts firmly combined, either to vanquish or dy. Being enflamed, not only by perill, glory, and hope; but also mutual hatred, which y several nations bare each other.

In the encounter of the German foote with the Spaniards two Colonels of great fame the one named *Jacob Emser*, a German, & *Zamudo* a Spaniard, fought as if it had bin by way of challenge, before the fronts of the battailles: in which fight, the Spaniard killing his enemy, became the conqueror. The horsemen of the Confederates, were not comparable to them of France; beside that day they had bene so endangered, and meerey torne by the great Ordinance, that they were thereby made farre inferiour. So that, after they had a while sustayned the force of their enemies, rather by stoutnes of stomacke, then strength of body, and *Alegres* sending for *Palice* with the rereward, and the thousand foote also left at *Montona*; they were charged on all sides. Beside,

*A nick-name
giuen in scorn
to a Spaniard.

This battell
of Rauenna was
termed the
most terrible
and dreadful
battell.

A valiant
fight between
the chief Co-
lonels on ei-
ther side, Ja-
cob Emser, &
Zamudo.

The fight of
the Viceroy
and Antonio
de Leua.

The Marquisse
of Pescara
and Paluda
taken.

The Spaniards
policy in kil-
ling many of
the Germans

The valiant
death of Ale-
gres and his
son Viuescos

Fabritio de Colonna fighting very valiantly, had bin taken by the Duke of *Ferrara* Soldiers. Wherefore, seeing themselves no longer able to hold out against the enemies fury, & entrusted also by the example of their Captaines, turned their backs likewise. For the Viceroy and Carniiall, neuer tarrying the uttermost triall of valour in their Souldiers, fled; leading away with the rereward, almost whole and vntoucht. With them also fled *Antonio de Leua*, a man (as then) of mean condition; but afterward being exercised in all degrees of martiall seruices, became a very famous Generall.

Now all the light horsemen were overthrowne, and *Pescara* their Captaine, weltring in blood & wounds, was taken also, and so was the Marquisse of *Paluda*, who brought the second battail into the fight, through a field of ditches, bushes, & bryars, which much disordered the array. Beside, the field was couered wholly (as it were) with the mangled bodies of men & horses, which proved no small hinderance to them. But yet the Spanish foote being forsaken of the horsemen, fought with incredible fiercenes. And although they had bin somewhat repulied, at their first encounting with the Germans, by reason of the strong ranks of Pikes: yet after they came within the reach of their Swords, many of the Spaniards (being couered with their Targets) got between the legs of the Germans, wounding them in those disarmed parts with their Daggers, and so committing a very great slaughter among them, attayned (almost) to the midle of the battaile. Among whom the Gascoigne foote, hauing won the way betweene the River and the Rampier, had sharply charged the Italian foote, who although they had sustained great losse by the Ordinance playing hotly vpon them, yet they had vterly expelled them, if *Alegres* had not giuen a fresh and violent charge on them with his horsemen, & with greater force the good footes. For when he saw his Son *Pruerros* slaine in his sight, and almost at the very first encounter, he, vnwilling to surmount, after a losse so great and greuous, ranne in with his horse, euen among the thickest of his enemies, and fighting like a most valiant Captaine, after hee had slaine many, was slaine himselfe.

The Italian foote, when they could no

longer hold out against so great a multitude, began to shrink; but part of the Spaniards comming to their succor, they kept still in the battaile, and the German foote, oppressed by the other part of the Spaniards, could scarcely stand vp any longer. But now, all the Spanish troopes of horse being put to flight, *Gaston du Foix*, with a great multitude of his horsemen, set freshly on the Spaniards, and they, retiring rather, then driuen out of the field, marching in good array, and in no part broken, took the way lying betweene the River & the high bank, going in an equall pace, with their front very thicke of men, and repelling the French with the strength thereof, began to retire, and orderly depart out of the field. Which *Nauarro* beholding, was more desirous of death then life: & therefore not departing out of the battaile, was take prisoner. But high-minded *du Foix*, not brooking to see the Spanish foote march thus away safely, & (Victors-like) with their whole ranks vnbroken, perceiving also, that the victory was imperfect, unless they were broken as well as the rest; with a vehement fury, he charged on their rear with a troop of horse. But heeing immediately enclosed in among horsemen, and throwne off from his horse, or (as others say) oppressed with the flundering of his owne horse, was slaine with a Pike thrust into his side. And doubtlesse, if they ought to wish for death (according as common opinion is) that haue attained to the highest degree of felicity, then assuredly, the death of this noble Gentleman was most unfortunate, hauing gotten so glorious & eminent a victory. He dyed a very yong man, hauing now won (among all men) immortal fame, because within the space of 3 Moneths, (being a Generall, almost before he was a Soldier) with incredible celerity & good successe, he had gotten so many glorious victories. The Lord *Lautrech* (his Cousin german) hauing receiued wety greuous wounds, lay beside him, well neere dead; but being carried to *Ferrara*, was faued, by the diligent care and cure of good Chyrurgions. Thus through the death of noble *du Foix*, the Spanish foote were suffered to march away without impeachment. The rest of the Army was put to flight, all the bag and baggage taken, together with their Ensigns & Ordinance: as also the

Pedro de Nauarro taken prisoner.

The death of
the Generall,
Gaston du
Foix, & recei-
ued through his
own rashnesse

The Lord
Lautrech cou-
red in Germane
to Gaston du
Foix.

CHAP. VI.

What prisoners were taken in this battell.

The number of men that were slain on both sides.

*A Towne of Picenum in Italy, beyonde Apenninus.

The courteous Treasurer of Normandy.

Popes Legate, *Iohn de Medijs*, *Fabricio de Colonna*, *Nauarro*, the Marquesse of *Paluda*, *Bitonto* and *Pescara*, and manie other Princes, the cheefe of the Nobilitie, and men of best name among the Spaniards and *Neapolitans*. The number of them that were slaine in this battell, is altogether vncertaine, yet among the variety of many reports, most do affirme, that (on both sides) there were slaine ten thousand at the least, whereof the third part were French, and the rest made vp among their enemies. But without all controuersie, the losse on the victors side was farre the greater, by reason of the death of *Du Foix*, *Algerres*, and many of the French Nobility, as also of *Jacob Emper.* and other the valiantest Captaines of the German foot, to whose valour and manhood this victory (bought with such a deere effusion of blood) was chiefly attributed.

Moreouer, many Captains of the *Gascognes* and *Piccards* (which Nations lost that day all their glory among the French) were slaine with *Monsieur Molard*: but the death of *Du Foix* surpassed all other losses, with whom the courage, strength, life, and fiercenes of that army was viterly extinguished. The greatest part of the vanquished, that escaped from the battell, fled to **Cesena*, & from thence to further places: neither did the Viceroy stay any where, vntill he came to *Ancona*, whether he brought but very few of his followers. For, the Duke of *Vrbine*, not onely raysed vp the Countreimen against them, but also sent souldiers to doe the like in *Pesaro*; onely they escaped safe, that passed thorough the *Florentines* Dominions.

And although after this battell, the victor Army tooke and sacked *Rauenna*, yet within very short time after, when the courteous Treasurer of *Normandie* (to saue charges) had dismissed the *Italian* Soldiers; and part of the men of Armes were returned for *France*, and the Emperor had reuoked the *Germanes*: they were (by a new Army of *Switzers* that came in the Popes ayde, and with whom also ioyned the *Venetians*) quite dispossessed of the whole Dukedome of *Millaine*, and all that cuer the French King had beside in *Italy*.

What they were whom the world esteemed by the name of the Sibyllae; Of their Prophetes: but more principally of those things which they spake concerning Christian Religion.

THE History of the *Sibills*, is generally held to be very certaine, because euery one (almost) knoweth, that they foretold and prophesied many things. Neuerthelesse, to know when, whence and what they were, what they did, & at what times they wrote and prophesied, is most familiar to him that hath read ancient and authentick bookes. It made me therefore the more willing, to make a Collection of their history, and so much the rather, because it is a matter of no meane marvel, to contemplate the gift of Prophety, which God gaue to those women in diuers manners. But particularly to prophesie of the coming of Christ, of his life, of his passion, and other great mysteries of our holy faith: these we do purpose to speake of briefly, to the end, & the Ethnick Pagan may not any way excuse himself (although he will read but his owne bookes onely) no more then the Jew in reading his, and will not accept nor beleue our faith. I write this the rather, because (by common consent) those bookes were receyued among all the Gentiles, and the *Sibyllae* credited, especially by the *Romanes*, who in all their affayres and necessities had still their recourse to the *Sibylline* bookes, and tooke their best and most serious counsels from them.

All Historians, both Greeke & Latine haue written of them: our intent then shal best fit it selfe, without selecting to greet a number, to make choise of the cheefest, the better to auoide prolixity, & set them down in some orderly manner. *Diodorus Siculus*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *Seruius*, *Martianus Capellus*, *Lactantius Firmianus*, *Eliaius*, *Suetas*, *Strabo*, *Marcus Varro*, *Virgil*, with the foundest part of all the Poets. *S. Augustin*, *Eusebius*, *Orosius*, and the more part of all our Historians, largely writeth on them.

Diodorus saith, that the word *Sibil* or *Sibills*, implieth so much, as if a man should say, *A woman Prophetesse*, & filled or inspired

The certainty of the Sibills history.

The diuers gifts of Prophesie bestowed on those women.

The Sibills bookes receyued among all the Gentiles.

Authors that haue written concerning the Sibills.

Interpretation of the word Sibilla.

Dissent about the Sibills number.

Left Firm in Diuinitie.

Sibilla Perfected also Sibylla.

Left Firm in diuinitie.

The prophesie of Sibilla Persica concerning christ

red by God. *Seruius* on the fourth of the *Æneides*, and *Lactantius* in his first Booke of *Diuine Institutions*, nameth them, *The Council of Gods*. *Suidas* termeth it *Prophetesse*. These Authors doe not agree how many there were of these women, neither consent at what times; because some determine more, and others lesse. *Martianus Capellus* makes mention but of two, others remember foure, as *Eliaius* doth in his variable histories. *Marcus Varro* recordeth ten, whereof *Lactantius Firmianus* speaketh in his first booke, & him I meane to follow.

The first was of *Persica*, named *Samber*, 14, of whom *Nicanor* maketh great mention, euen he that wrote the actions of great *Alexander*. Others say, that shee was of *Chaldeia*, & others, that shee was a *Iewe*, borne in a town seated nere to the red sea, called *Nos*. Her father was named *Berofus* and her mother *Erimutha*: shee composed 24 bookes in verse, wherein she recounted wonderful things, concerning the coming of Christ, his life, and miracles. But yet they were vnder concealment, and deliuered with an artificiall obcuritie, which was not to be vnderstood of euery one: whereunto all the other *Sibyllae* conformed themselves. So that *Lactantius Firmianus* without particularizing any one of them, denieth their particular Prophetes of Christ. *Saint Augustine* maketh a summary of some things, which this woman and the rest said of Christ, and (among other) these very wordes.

I shall be taken by the wicked handes of vnbelievers, and they shall giue him blows on the face with their sacrilegious hands, & spee on him with their foul polluted mouths: And he shall giue them his shoulders, suffering the to be whipped, and he holding his peace, without speaking any word, they shall thereby not know whence his words came. He shall likewise be crowned with thorns, giuing him gall to eat, & vinegar to drink. Behold him that fasting they shal make for him, so that thou blind and ignorant people, thou shalt not know thy God, conuersing among men. But shalt crown him with thornes, providing for him vinegar & gall againe, the veile of the Temple shall be rent, & the plaine bright day at noone, shall be like night, obscured or darkened for the space of three houres. And when he hath bin in hel, he shal returne to life, and rise againe.

These wordes are so pregnant, that they

are the very proper tearnes of the Evangelists writing on Christ, and the verie same that the Prophets prophesied, especially *Esay*, whereunto our holy Church giueth absolute beleefe. Beside, these Prophetes of the *Sibills*, are deriued from the writings of *Lactantius*, *S. Augustine*, and *Cicero*, from *Marcus Varro*, & other Authors of the Gentiles, who dyed before the birth of Christ, as *Lactantius* approueth. And say moreouer (of the felues) that they said, *That he shall raise the dead, The lame & impotent shall walke and runne soundly; the deafe shall heare, the blind shall see; the dumbe shall speake plainly.* A little farther is added, *With five loanes & two fishes, hee shall feede five thousand men in the mildernesse: and that which remaineth, shal serue for satisfaction to the hope of manie.* Thus farre for the first *Sibilla*.

The second, they say, was a Native of *Libia*, and therefore named *Sibilla Libica*. Of her is large mention by *Enripides* in his Prologue called *Lamia*.

The third named her selfe *Themis*, and was surnamed *Delphica*, in regard that she was borne at *Delphos*. Other speaketh *Chrysippus*, in his booke of *Diuination*: & this woman (according to *Pliny*) the *Romans* made a Statue vnto, and shee liued before the destruction of *Troy*: so that *Homere* hath set downe in his workes, manie verses concerning her. *Piodorus Siculus* saith, that she was called *Daphne*, and was daughter to *Titeius*, and that the *Argiues* hauing subdued *Thebes*, they sent her to *Delphos*, where afterward shee became a Prophetesse in the oracle of *Apollos*, so that (according to his relation) in that respect she was called *Delphica*.

The fourth was named *Cumana*, or *Italiانا*, & not *Cumana Amaleica*, of whom we shall haue cause to speake anon. She was a native of *Cimeria*, a City of *Campania*, nere to *Cuma*. Her learned and iudicious Prophetes, are written by *Nequius* in the *Punicke* Bookes, and by *Pisanius* in his *Annales*, and referred by *Lactantius*, and by *Virgil* in his *Eglogue*, which beginneth *Sicelides musa*, &c.

The fift was that so famously remembred *Sibilla Erythraea*, who so clearly (by Gods assistance) prophesied the greater part of our Religion. V wherefore as *Lactantius* sayeth 3, *In times lowe since, those Gentiles reputed as folly, & a defect of braine,*

Her words agree with the Prophets and Evangelists.

Left Firm in diuinitie.

Sibilla Libica Enripides Prologue.

Sibilla Delphica called Chrysippus in his booke of Diuination.

Diodorus Siculus in lib. 4 cap 14.

Sibilla Cumana, or Italiانا.

Nequius in lib. Punicke.

Sibilla Erythraea.

Left Firm in diuinitie.

to take of the Sibillaes verses: because they under stood not how it might bee, that a virgin should haue a child; and other supernatural things which they wrote, being declared in Bookes of ancient Historians and Poets. *Appollodorus* writeth of this Sibilla, that the Greekes going to besiege *Troy*, there prophesied to them that *Troy* should be destroyed. Wherefore, all those that speake of her, make her more ancient then the destruction of *Troy*: yet *Eusebius* maketh her more nouell, for hee would haue her liue at such time as *Romulus* lyued in *Rome*. And *Strabo* saith, that she liued in the time of *Alexander* the Great. The Verses of this Sibilla *Erythraea*, are recited by *Eusebius*; the first words whereof, being traduced into our language, are thus: *Iesus Christ, Son of God, the Saviour*: which is a most admirable thing to think on. The consideration of those verses, and their further addition, are set downe by *S. Augustine*, in his 18. Booke of the City of God, deliuering it in these expresse words.

The earth shall sweate, a signe of iudgement from Heauen shall come a King, who shall be king for euer: and further, known in humane flesh, to the end, that by his presence he shall iudge the world. By which means, the incredulous, as well as the faithfull shall see God with their eyes, exalted among his Saints. And in the end of the world, the souls of men shall appeare in their owne flesh, and hee shall iudge them himselfe, when the rounditie of the inhabited earth, shall be full of clouds of dust and grasse. Then shall cast away Idols and Images, and all their Jewels and riches. Hee shall penetrate the inferiour parts, and breake the gates of the darkest hell. Then shall fyre and cleare light be giuen to the Saints, & the flame of eternal fire shall burne the Wicked. All secrets shall be discovered, every man shall be knowne of his companion: and God shall discover the Consciences and hearts of all. There shall be weeping and gnawing of teeth, and the Sunne and the Starres shall bee darkened; the heauens shall breake, and the Moone lose her light; the mountains shall be humbled, and the valleys made equal with the hills. There shall not be any thing in the world that shall be higher or lower one the another: mountains and valleys shall be euen and plain, & all things shall siml. The earth shall be dried, and conuered to dust, Wells, springs, and riuers shall burne, and with the same fire shall

the earth, sea, and ayre, be burned all. Then from heauen shall sound a Trumpet, with a dreadfull and horrible sound, and the earth in opening, shall discover the darkenesse and confusion of hell, and the paines & torments of the miserable damned.

These things, and many more besides, are spoken of this Sibilla in those Verses, declaring clearly Christ God incarnate, with the last iudgement, and resurrection of the dead. Now these things, before they came to passe, were no way intelligible; & that was the reason, why the Ethnicks and Gentiles might holde them to be follies and mockeries. In like manner, this Sibilla *Erythraea*, knowing well that which should happen, concerning her owne selfe, spake these words: *They will repute me for a blind & mocking prophesse, Neuerthelesse, when those things which I speak shall be accomplished and verified, they will remember me, and no more tearme me a liar, but a Prophetes of the Great God.*

The Romans had great store of the verses written by this Sibilla *Erythraea*, whereof *Fenestella* speaketh more at large, and saith: *That by a decree of the Senate, they sent Ambassadors vnto her, in regard of her Prophetes: and that they brought backe great store of her verses, which they laid up in the Capitoll, with them which they had before.* She was borne in *Erythraea* in *Ionia*, a Prouince of the lesser *Asia*, and abutting vpon *Caria*: this I relate the rather, because there are found many other Cities to be of that name; as one in *Lybia*, another in *Babylonia*, another in *Laecia*, and another in the Isle of *Cyprus*. But that shee was of that *Erythraea* in *Ionia*, *Strabo* is my Author, and saith, *That it hath a Port on the sea, nere to a Mountaine.*

Another Sibilla, being the sixte, was borne in a place named *Phiton*, in the Isle of *Samos*, which is in the *Aegean* sea nere to *Thrace*: or else in the other Isle of *Samos* in the same sea, and opposite against *Ephesus*, for which cause, shee was called *Sibilla Samia*, of whom further mention is made by *Erastus*.

The seauenth in order, is *Sibilla Cumana*, named *Amalthaea*; others call her *Demophila*; and *Suidas* tearmeth her *Hierophila*. Shee was called *Cumana*, because shee dwelt and prophesied in the Citie of *Cuma* in *Italy*, a Prouince of *Campania*, nere vnto * *Bulla*. Of this woman

Nine Bookes brought to *Tarquinius Superbus* to be sold by this Sibilla *Cumana*.

man writeth *Dionysius Halicarnassensis*, *Solinus*, *Aulus Gellius*, and *Seruius*. This Sibilla brought to sell to *Tarquinius*, the proud King of *Rome*, nine funeral bookes; neuerthelesse, *Suidas* saith, that it was to *Tarquinius Priscus*. For which Bookes, he demanded three hundred peeces of gold, more then of great value: but because the price seemed excessive to the king, he would not buy them. Whereupon, she burned three of them in his presence, and yet demanded the same summe for the six that remained. Then the King thought her motion to be more impertinent then the former, and seemed to mocke her: whereupon he burned three more of the sixe, and told him, that she had but three left of the nine, and yet he should giue her as much for those three, as if hee had bought them all. The King being amazed at this her confident determination, and conceiuing (by good aduice) that those Bookes must needs containe some extraordinary great mysteries; bought the three at that price, which formerly she demanded for them all, and those Bookes were placed in the Capitoll, where they were held in foueraigne reuerence & veneration.

Pliny saith, that she had but 3 Bookes in all, and that she burned two of them, & yet would haue as much for that one, as for all the three. But it sufficeth, that those Bookes were kept in great reputation, with them that the Romanes had of the other Sibillaes. For as *Marcus Varro* reporteth from *Lactantius*; the Romanes bestowed great cost and paines, in searching all Cities and Townes of *Greece*, *Asia*, and *Italy*, and brought to *Rome* all the Verses & Prophetes, that could bee recovered of the Sibillaes; especially those of *Sibilla Erythraea*, for the care and safe keeping of which Bookes, fifteene men were particularly appointed, and none other but they might touch them. *Fenestella* sayeth, that when the Capitoll was burnt, the Senate sent againe to entreate *Sibilla Erythraea*, to helpe them in those Bookes. In which respect it is to bee presumed, that they had not at *Rome* the Bookes of *Sibilla Cumana* only, but likewise al the rest. And that *Sibilla*, whereof *Virgill* maketh mention in the beginning of his 6 Booke, who kept herselfe at *Cuma*, where (he sayeth) *Aeneas* tooke shipping; must needs

be the other *Cumana*, whereof we haue already spoken. For it can be no way likely; that *Virgill* should suppose a *Sibilla*, at such times as *Aeneas* entred into *Italy*, nor that she liued till the fift King of *Rome*. Beside, *Seruius* interprets the same passage, saying, *Or else it must needs be, that shee who sold the Bookes, was named Cumana*, although it was not her name, and yet notwithstanding, she dyed in that City.

The eight Sibilla, is said to be a native in the Territory of *Troy*, in a place named *Marmisa*, and this woman is reputed to be very ancient. For * *Heracles Ponticus* saith, that she liued in the time of *Solon* the Philosopher, and of the great King *Cyrus*.

The ninth Sibilla, diuers Authors doe report to be of the Country of *Phrygia*, and that shee prophesied in the City of *Angora*; of which name were two Cities, one in *Phrygia*, and the other in *Galatia*.

The tenth Sibilla, named herselfe *Albunea*, and was borne in the City of * *Tibur*, which standing sixteene miles distant from *Rome*, shee therefore was tearmed *Sibilla Tiburtina*.

Now, all these Sibillaes left many Bookes and Verses, wherein they prophesied of things that were to come, & principally of the fortunes of *Rome*, were they good or bad: so that in all important affairs, the Romanes would diligently search, and turne ouer the leaues of the Sibillaes Bookes, and order their government wholly by them. And in the same manner, as when wee would haue our speeches credited, wee to say, this is *Gospel*: so would they say, these are the words of *Sibilla*; such was their credite & account among them. And for this cause *Iuuenall* saith,

Credite me vobis solum recitare Sibilla.

Heereupon some said, that the Sibillaes gaue their answers, written vpon leaues of *Trees*, as *Virgill* winneseth in his first Booke. *Cicero* speaketh of those Sibillaes with great reuerence, saying: *As wee haue formerly done, euen so from the capital Letters of their Verses, we may deriue great, good, and gracious sentences.*

Among many other things, they haue spoken much of Christian Religion, concerning the birth, life, and death of *Iesus Christ*, as we haue already declared. *Sibilla*

Seruius in lib. 3. cap. 9.

S. S. lib. 1. lib. 1. lib. 1.

* *Hee was* scholar to *Pisto* and *Aristotle*.

to *Sibilla Tiburtina*. * A City of the Sabines 10 miles from *Rome*.

The Romanes respect of the Sibillaes Bookes.

Iuuenall, *Virgill* in *Aeneid* lib. 6.

Cicero in *Dei* nat. lib. 2.

Diuers Prophetes concerning Christ

Appollodorus in lib. 3. cap. 1.

Eusebius in lib. 1. cap. 1.

Aug. in lib. 1. de Civitate dei.

The prophetes of Sibilla Erythraea.

Sibilla Erythraea, her prophetes of her selfe.

Fenestella in lib. 3. cap. 1.

* A City in the lesser *Asia*, nere to *Chios*.

Strabo in lib. 1.

S. Sibilla in *Ionia* Erythraea.

S. Sibilla Cumana.

* A pleasant City in *Campania* on the Sea side.

Pliny in lib. 9. cap. 1.

Marcus Varro in lib. 7. cap. 1.

Fenestella in lib. 3. cap. 1.

Virgill in *Aeneid* lib. 6.

Sibilla Delphica said, *The Prophet shall be borne of a Virgin, without any fleshy copulation.* Another said: *Hee that is to come, shall come, and shall reigne in poverty, concealing his Sovereignty, and shall come from the wombe of a Virgin.* And *Iosephus* (although he was a Jew by race and profession) speaking of the Tower of Babylon, hath these words. *Sibilla well remembered it, when she said thus. As such as men having but one Language, some of them shall build a very high Tower, as if thereby they would mount up to Heaven: God shall (even then) send great windes to destroy it, and divers Languages shall happen among the workmen, and therefore is the Tower named Babylon.*

These things, and others such like, were written by the *Sibilles*, and acknowledged both by Christians, Jewes, and Gentiles, which the Gentiles (for their finnes) scarcely understood. But it fell out well for christians afterward, into whose hands these Bookes came, as *Lactantius*, *Eusebius*, *Augustine*: the knowledge of which Bookes, or the least part of their Prophecies greatly confirmed the Christian, and quite confounded the Pagane and Gentile. There is report made of some other, who were also named *Sibilles*, because they were reputed to be Diviners and Prophetesses: as *Cassandra*, the daughter of King *Priamus*, and *Campusia* *Celophonis*, the daughter of *Calcas*, and *Manka* *Ierusalonica*, daughter to *Tirefius* the *Theban*; neuertheless, Historians speake onely but of these ten.

CHAP. VII.

Concerning the seven Maruailes and Wonders of the World, what they were; also in what severall parts and places of the World they are remembered to bee by greatest Writers.

Such as have read ancient Historians, Orators, and Poets, do finde, that they make mention in many of their Bookes, of 7 Maruailes or VVonders of the World, and that they were in divers places. All they that have written, do consent to six, but concerning the seventh, there are variable opinions, and likewise a great difference, in placing one before another. Notwithstanding, I purpose to speake first of the walles of *Babylon*, which are ranked in the number of these VVonders, & upon good reason, because the greatnesse of the place, as also the situation thereof, seemeth incredible.

In our former Volume, and in the Chapter of the diversity of Languages, we have sufficiently declared, that they were founded in the same place, whereas *Nimrod* builded the Tower of *Babel*, and whereof the City tooke name. Concerning those walles, according to the foudest opinions, namely *Iustine*, and also as *Trogus Pompeius* saith, they were founded by the famous Queene *Semiramis*, Mother to *Ninus*. *Diodorus Siculus*, *Antoninus Marcellinus*, and *Paulus Oroginus* doe maintain the same, with the greater part of our Gentile Authors. Neuertheless, *S. Augustine*, and *Iosephus* in his Antiquities say, that they were builded by *Nimrod*, assisted by the proud Gyants then living. But bee it, that the foundation or reparation of them was done by *Semiramis*; it is sufficient, that they were greatly ennobled by her.

The situation of the City was with a Plaine on the one side, and on the other ran the River of *Euphrates*. The modelle & figure of this City, was in a quadrangle, and the walles wonderfully high, as also wrought with marvellous cunning. The matter was of stone, toynd with Lime & Cement, growing in the Mines of that Country; but especially in the great Lake of *Indica*, where sometime flood *Sodome* & *Gomorrhæa*, named *Alphalidia*, which yieldeth such a kinde of slime or mud, as bindeth like Pitch or Glue, the very strongest that is to be found. Historians do disagree about the height and largenes of the circuit, which might happen, through the diversity of the measures they then used. *Pliny* saith, that the circuit of those walles was threecore thousand paces, so that one of the squares was fiftene thousand. He also saith, that they were two hundred foote in height, which foote exceeded by three fingers breadth, the measure of the Romane foote: and the thicknesse was fifty foote of the same measure, which was (indeed) a matter very admirable.

Diodorus Siculus saith, that the wals contained in all round about 360 Stades, and that

The first wonder of the world.

A reference to the first to name of this worke.

Iustinus in *Epist.* *adrog.* l. 1. c. 1.

Trogus in *Pompeii* l. 1. c. 1.

Diodorus in *Siculis* l. 2. c. 1.

Antoninus in *Marcellinis* l. 1. c. 1.

Paulus in *Oroginis* l. 1. c. 1.

S. Augustinus in *de Civitate Dei* l. 1. c. 1.

Iosephus in *Antiquitatibus* l. 1. c. 1.

The situation of the City and walle.

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that they were so broad and wide, as fixe Chariots might easily be trained in front together, without offending one another. The Bridges, the Mounts, the Towers, & the Gardens, *Semiramis* caused to bee made, which were works of great astonishment. It is credibly set downe in Records, that shee kept daily at this worke, three hundred thousand men, out of all the kingdoms which were subiect to her. *Quintus Curtius* addeth thereto eight Stades more in length, and saith, that they were an hundred cubites high: but *Paulus Oroginus* saith, that they were 480 Stades in length, which amount (taking six score & five paces in every Stade) to threecore thousand paces, as *Pliny* said. *Strabo* saith and affirmeth, that they contained three hundred, eighty five Stades, and also that they were so broad, as the former named Chariots might in that manner goe on them, and yet not hurt or hinder one another, in their passing along together.

Moreover, Authors doe report marvellous things, of Gardens made vpon the Arches and Towers, wherein grew Trees of vne measurable height. *Julius Solinus* confirms the same with *Pliny*. Some among the Authors do avouch, that the walles without, were engirt with Ditches full of water, as large and deepe as an indifferent wide River. In this City there were an hundred Gates of mettall, very admirable. And for conclusion, all that is written of the greatnesse and height of the walles, may well be credited, because (in truth) this City was the proudest in the whole world, and long time held the vniuersall Monarchy, which is an especial argument of her greatnesse. And the same is also described by *Aristotle*, when he saith: *That being once taken with enemies, they that dwell at the one end or side of the City, had no advertisement thereof, till three whole daies space after.*

The second place of the worlds wonders, we giue to the Colossus of the Sun, which was at *Rhodes*. It was a Statue or Figure of a man, offered by the Gentiles, and dedicated to the Sunne, and some say to *Iupiter*. It was made of mettall, of an incredible greatnesse, and in height also like a huge Tower: so that it could hardly be imagined, how it was made and raised in that manner. *Pliny*, who discouereth all things, saith, that it contained three

A Statue is reported to be pure brass.

Three hundred thousand men set on worke daily.

Paulus Oroginus l. 1. c. 1.

Strabo in l. 1. c. 1.

Julius Solinus in l. 1. c. 1.

An hundred Gates of mettall in the City.

Aristotle in *Politica* l. 3. c. 1.

The second wonder of the world. The Colossus of the Sunne at *Rhodes*.

Pliny in l. 1. c. 1.

Pliny in l. 1. c. 1.

Pliny in l. 1. c. 1.

Pliny in l. 1. c. 1.

Pliny in l. 1. c. 1.

Pliny in l. 1. c. 1.

Pliny in l. 1. c. 1.

score and ten cubites in height, and although at the making of it, there were many good workmen continually labouring, yet were they twelve years before it could be perfected, and it cost three hundred Talents. He that vnderooke the workmanship thereof, was named *Cares*, an Indian by birth, and Scholler to *Lysippus*.

This Statue was so immeasurably great, as it seemed, that the earth could not any longer sustaine it, because according to *Pliny* and *Paulus Oroginus*, it stood not above fixe and fifty yeares: at the end of which time it fell, by reason of a great quaking and rembling of the earth. After which fall, and namely in the time of *Pliny*, many went to see it as a thing to wonder at. For, saith he, there were few men found, that could embrace the great fingers of this Statue: so that the very least of his fingers, was greater then any other Statues, how great soever. And yet he speaketh of an hundred other Colosses of meaner stature, which were also at *Rhodes*. But that is nothing to our purpose, except some one be desirous to say, that in regard of this great one, and the other lesser, the *Rhodiens* thereon were called *Colosenses* or *Colossians*. But that opinion is not approved by *Erasmus*, for he saith: *That those Colossians to whom S. Paul wrote, were people of a City in Phrygia, named Colossa.*

Returning then againe to our wonderfull Colossus, I say that it lay there ruined a very long time, even till the dayes of *Pope Martin* the first, which was in the yeare fixe hundred, when the Infidels, and the Soldane of Egypt their Captaine, came vpon the *Rhodiens*, and according as *Platina* writeth in the life of *Pope Martin*, and *Antoninus Sabellicus*, in the third part of his Booke: they carried away that which they found of the reliques of this Colossus, and they finde nine hundred Camels to be laden with the mettall. Of other Colosses that were at *Rhodes*, and in other places, nothing so great, we purpose not to speake, because our present aime is at the seven Wonders of the world onely.

In the third place, we determine the *Piramides* of Egypt, and vndoubtedly, if that be true which Historians have written of them, they are things deferring admiration.

A notable Carver of *Sicyon*.

Paulus Oroginus l. 1. c. 1.

Pliny in l. 1. c. 1.

A fruitfull objection answered by *Erasmus*.

A Towne of Phrygia, not farre from *Laodicea*.

Platina in vit. *Martin* cap. 1. *Antoninus Sabellicus* in l. 3. c. 1.

The third wonder of the world.

The Piramids
as they are

miration. These Piramids were certaine buildings, which began beneath in quadrangle forme, and so rose vp (in a diminishing manner) a huge height, in the shape of a painted Diamond. And yet notwithstanding, they were of such greatnesse and taulneffe, consisting of such and so many stones, as also wrought with such perfection, as it is no easie matter to describe them, neyther to winne credible opinion of them. And yet (me-thinks) things so sufficiently authorized, by Authors both Christians and Gentiles, men well esteemed and approued; their credence is no rashly to be slighted or denied. These Piramids then are as very high towers, finishing in a spire or sharp point, and the etimology of the word cometh of *Pyri* in Greeke, as much to say, as fire, because it seemeth, that the height cometh to lessen and faile, like as a flame of fire doth.

The Piramids
as they are

Among all other Piramids, Historians make particular mention of 3 which were in Egypt, betwene the City of *Mompis*, which is now the *Cayro*, and the Ile that maketh or createth *Nilus*, named *Delta*, one of which is ranked among the seuen wonders. For it is said, that to the making thereof, there were continually employed three hundred and three score thousand men, and the work lasted twenty whole yeares. Many do affirme it, and particularly *Pliny* in speaking more amply, alledging twelve authors for his warrant, as *Nestor*, *Siculus*, *Strabo*, *Pomponius Atella*, *Herodotus*, *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and many more, whereof some say, that the foundation and ground-work of this Piramid, covered and contained eight dayes journey of ground: others say leauen, and most agree on fixe, and as many (little more or lesse) in the height. *Pliny* saith, that each quadrangle or square contained 883 foote in breadth. The stones were of Marble, brought out of *Arabia*, and *Pomponius Mela* maintaineth, that the most part of them were thirty foote in largenesse. Whereby may be gathered, that so many thousand men must needs be busied, some in cutting and squaring those stones, others in bringing and carrying them, and other in laying them, beside the mighty multitudes, employed for fetching them so far off, and about other necessary occasions.

Piramids 36.
cap. 12.
Dionys. Sicul.
in lib. 1.
Strabo in lib. 1.
Pomponius Atella.
Herodotus.
Ammianus Marcellinus.The breadth
of every
square.Three hundred
and three
score thousand
men employed
dayes
twenty yeares
space.

Of the other Piramids the like is spoken, at least of the other two fore-named, one whereof was made by the vanity of the Kings of Egypt, who were the very richest in all the world: as well by the fruitfulness of the earth, as in regard also, that no man possessed any thing in proper, but only the King. Beside, after such time as *Ioseph* the Sonne of *Isaac*, aduised *Pharaoh*, to preferre the Corne in seuen yeares abundance, as provision for the time of famine: during which space, by means of that Corne he had all the Lands of his people. Thus you see how the Kings became rich, and were serued by their subjects, even as if they had bene their slaves. And Historians do faithfully report, that the Kings caused those Piramids to be builded, only to feed their people that labored about the, and because they should leaue no wealth to their successors. For they affected rather, to dispense in this manner with their people, then that any of their heyres should attaine the means to exceed the decaified by their goods and money.

I finde it recorded also, that those Piramids serued for Sepulchers to their Kings. And whosoever doth well consider the multitude of hebrew people that serued in Egypt, and by whom the Kings made their Cities and Fortresses to be builded, will not be much amazed hereat, in regard that it is very certaine, that fixe hundred thousand men on foote, beside a great multitude of womyn & small children, departed out of that seruitude, and that all of them were employed, and serued in those wonderfull works. Whereby it is no meruaile at all, that such buildings should be made; for good Authors do auouch, that in Rootes, Garlike, and Onions, to sustaine the multitude of workers, there were dispensed 18 hundred Talents, which at the rate (now addayes viced) is a million and foure-score thousand Crownes. *Diodorus* saith that round about it, and a large compass also somewhat farre off, there was not to be seene the very smallest stone, neyther apparence that any man had trodden there, nor any signe of a foundation; but only Sand, as small as the finest Sale. Whereby it seemeth, as if that Piramid had bene planted there by Gods owne hand, or to haue growne so naturally, and the top appeared

The Kings of
Egypt, the
chief of the
world.The reason
building those
Piramids.Those Piramids
were
Sepulchers
for their
Kings.In what manner
the workers
were fed.Dionys. Sicul.
in lib. 1. cap. 12.

red to touch heauen.

If we set aside those ancient Bookes, we shal yet finde testimonies of our owne times. *Peter Martyr of Millaine*, a very learned man, who was Ambassadour for the Kings Catholique, *Don Ferdinand*, & *Dame Isabella*, the Soldane of Egypt, in the year 1501. wrote a Booke of what he had seene and done in his Ambassage. There he declareth, (as he did the like by word of mouth) that hee had seene those Piramids, & agreed with that which those ancient Authours had written of them. Particularly, he speaketh of two seene by him, which were of incredible height, and saith, that he measured the square of one, finding it to be 315. paces, so that it contained about thirteen hundred in circuit, and on each side very huge stones made vp the buildings. Moreouer he saith, that certaine men in his company, ascended vp one of them, with very great labour, & long space of time, and they declared to him, that on the toppe of all (as we vieto say) there was one stone wholly of it selfe, so great, as thirty men might easily stand vpon it. And when they were about, they said, they seemed as if they had lost their sight, and only with looking downward, and tooke themselves to bee in a Cloud, such was the extremity of height, their braines being much troubled, and turned vpside-downe. So that (saith hee) there neede no doubt at all be made, concerning the great number of people employed, and the expences spoken of, in doing those works.

The testimony
of learned
Peter Martyr
of Millaine,
concerning
his owne sight
of those Piramids.A great large
stone on the
top of the
Piramid.The fourth
Wonder of
the world,
Mauiolus
Tomb.
Aulus Gellius
in lib. 1. cap. 10.

The fourth Meruaile or VVonder, was the *Mauiolus*. *Artemisia* was wife to *Mauiolus*, King of *Caria*, a Province in the greater *Asia*. This woman (according to *Aulus Gellius*, and other historians) so dearly affected her husband, as it was generally recorded for a most notable example. Her husband the king dying first, she lamented his death with teares and complaints, more then were of ordinary custome. Needs would she erect a Toombe or Sepulcher for him, answerable to the extraordinary loue shee bare him; and such (indeede) it proved to be, that it was recorded among the seuen wonders of the world. The stone of the whole construction, was of a most excellent Marble, consisting of foure hun-

dred and eleuen foote in circuit about, and fise and twenty cubites in height: it had also about it, fixe and twenty Colombs of admirable stone, and likewise of as famous sculpture.

The building was open on all sides, with Arches of seuentie three foote in widenesse: and it was framed by the hands of the most exquisite workmen then to be found. The part towards the East, was made & engrauen by *Scopas*; that on the North, by *Briax*; the South side by *Timotheus*, and that on the West, by *Leochares*. The perfection of the work was such, and that on the whole body so sumptuous & beautifull, as partly it was therefore called *Mauiolus*, and in regard also of the king, for whom it was made: so that euen to this very day, when any Toombes of such superficiall Arte are made, they are called *Mauiolus*. Of these things mentioned is made by *Pliny*, *Pomponius Atella*, *Herodotus*: *Strabo* also remembreth them, so doth *Aulus Gellius*, and many other historians. It is found written, that *Artemisia*, after the death of her husband, liued in continuall teares and mourning, and that she dyed before the worke could be fully finished: having drunke the bones of her husband, beate into powder, which she burned and buried in her owne body, that it might be the Sepulcher for his.

What summe
workmen made
the Toombe,
such as the
world as then
had not their
like.Pline lib. 35.
cap. 10.
Pomp. Mela
in lib. 1.
Herodotus, in lib. 1.
Strabo in lib. 7.
Aulus Gellius
in lib. 1.

THE fift Edifice of these VVonders, was the Temple of *Diana*, whom the Gentiles adored as a Goddess, and it was builded in the City of *Ephesus* in *Asia*, in the Province of *Ionis*. Of this Temple, great speech was made throughout the world: so that one named *Demetrius*, wrote a particular Booke thereof. *Pliny* writing of this Temple, saith that the *Amazones* caused it to be builded, and that it contained foure hundred and fise and twenty foote in length, and two hundred and twenty in largenesse. The worke was so admirably artificiall, that it had 220 yeares to the perfecting. It was built in a Lake, to prevent the peril of earthquakes; and it is said withall, that on the foundation was laide great store of coale-dust, & wooll thereupon, the better to make firm and sure the moist and marshy place. It had an hundred and seuen Colombs or Pillars of most excellent Marble, & each of them was made by all the Kings of *Asia*:

The fift Wonder
of the world.
The Temple
of Diana at
Ephesus.Plin. in lib.
16. cap. 34.The foundation
of the Temple.

sis: thirty seven of them were of most curious cunning and sculpture, and all the other of the choysell Marble.

The principall Masters of this worke, according to *Pliny*, was *Dreiphon*: but beleeving *Strabo*, it was *Archiphron*. Notwithstanding, this diuersity of opinion is sufferable, considering, what length of time the businesse lasted: and therefore there must needs be more then one Master, especially for so many performances & varieties, in the diuersity of such times and intelligence.

Solinus and *Pomponius Mela* say, that the *Amazons* builded & dedicated this Temple: and yet *Solinus* affirmeth, that when the mighty King *Xerxes* went to the conquest of Greece, & that he burned all the Temples; yet hee referred this only still standing. All Historians do consent with one accord, that the Pillars of this Temple supported the planked feeling of wood, the most excellently wrought that could be deuised, and that this whole covering was of Cedar, and all the doores and wainscotted works were of Cipres.

Yet afterward, a villaine seeing this solemne and ioueraigne building, conceived a lewd desire to burne it, as (indeed) he did. And being taken for the fact, confessed, that he did it to no other end, but to leave a famous renoune of his deed to the world. Wherefore *Valerius Maximus*, in his titles of desire of renoune, and *Julius Gellius* affirmeth also, that it was prohibited (vnder greuous penalty) that any man should doe so much as write his name, because he should vterly lose the fame and renoune, which he so earnestly affected. Yet all this serued to slender purpose, for *Solinus* and *Strabo* both say, that he was named *Herostratus*, and that of him came vp the vniual Prouerbe, that when any man would strue to be famous for some vicious deed; people would commonly say; *This is the renoune of Herostratus*.

To speake yet of some other memorable matters to this purpose, it deserueth some respect to remember, that the very same day as the Temple was burning, *Alexander the Great* was borne, the Conquerour of all *Asia*; hereof aie Authors, *Plutarch* in the life of *Alexander*, and *Cicero*, in his second booke of the Gods nature, where he speaketh it in two places,

and likewise in his booke of divination. Further he saith, that while the Temple burned, the Sages prognosticated the destruction of all *Asia*; even as afterward it was overcome by *Alexander*. Some do write, that this Temple was built againe afterward, in much more great and excellent manner then before, and that the Master of the worke was named *Democritus*.

THE sixt Wonder, was the Idoll or Image of *Jupiter Olympus*, which was in his Temple in *Achaia*, betwene the Cities of *Elis* and *Pisa*: and the place was named *Olympus*, as also the Temple, in regard of *Jupiter Olympus*, of whom write both *Strabo* and *Pomponius Mela*. They maintaine, that this Statue or Image, which stood in the Temple, was much renowned, as well for arteificial perfection and admirable workmanship, as also for the greatnesse thereof. It was made of Porphyry, some say of Ivory, and by the hand of *Phidias*, the most excellent Carver and Engraver for Imagery (in Gold or Luory) that euer was; albeit *Pliny* nameth diuers other. *Strabo* saith, that the excellency thereof consisted in the greatnes, and yet the matter which made it more admirable, was in being wrought of Porphyry, knit and vnited together of infinite small peeces.

Some say, that *Phidias* was taxed with one onely imperfection, to wit, that hee had not proportioned the Image to the capacity of the Temple, because hee had made it sitting, and so great, as when due consideration was made, what the height thereof would haue bene, if he had made him standing vpright on his feet, the temple had no way bene able to haue contained him.

Neuertheless, the renoune of this Image did most highly illustrate the place, and made the Temple more knowne, then otherwise it would haue bene, although it was formerly held in great esteeme, by reason that in the very same place, were kept the sports and wrastlings called *Olympian*. And thence it came, that the yeares were counted by *Olympiades*, which they made from five yeares to five yeares: which pastimes were first instituted by *Hercules*, and afterward being left off, they were againe re-established by *Aemilius*, but (ac-

cording

cording to some Authours) by *Sphiron*, foure or five yeares after the destruction of *Troy*, especially according to *Eusebius*, and then began the yeare of the first *Olympiade*.

Now concerning the seventh Wonder, some say, that it was a Tower which stood in the Isle of *Pharos*, neere to the City of *Alexandria* in Egypt. *Pharos* was a small Island, long and narrow, seated on the coast of Egypt, ouer against the mouth of *Nilus*, which in former time (according to *Pomponius Mela* and *Pliny*) was wholly (as it were) enuirt with firme Land, and afterward in the times of these Authors, the Sea embraced this firm land, excepting only a Bridge, whereby men went from the one place to the other. In the firme land is the great City of *Alexandria*, builded by *Alexander the Great*; which City was afterward a Colony of *Iulius Caesar*. In this Isle (named *Pharos*, after the name of a great Pilot, which belonged to *Menelaus*; and was there buried) the Kings of Egypt erected a Tower of Marble, maruallous in height and cunning workmanship, vpon a Mountain enuironed with water: the arteificial performance of which Tower was such, that it cost 800. Talents, which value foure hundred and fourescore thousand Crownes, after the computation of *Budaus*. And it was builded for no other purpose, but to set vp (in the night time) a lighted fire thereon, Beacon-wise, to guide and direct such Ships as came to take landing there: and this Tower, according to the greatest opinions, was erected by King *Ptolemaeus Philadelphus*, and the Master Architect that made it, was named *Sistratus*, which is confirmed to vs by *Pliny*.

Caesar in his Commentaries, highly praiseth the height and workmanship of this Tower; and saith, that it was also called *Pharos*; as taking name of the Island. As much saith *Ammianus Marcellinus*, declaring the history of this Tower. Also *Solinus* in his *Polihistor*, in the end of his 34 Chapter saith, that all the Towers which were afterward made, and for the like occasion, each of them was named *Pharos*, after the name of this, as was the *Pharos* of *Messina*, and in other places. And I am of the minde, that the kindled fires or lights, which are ordinarily carried in Ships, as guides to other in the night, vpon

pon this occasion are called *Pharoses*.

Thus this Tower is the last of the wonders, although (by diuers) it is not named in their number, but in stead thereof, the hanging gardens of *Babylon* are reckoned, wherof we haue already spoken. *Lactantius Firmianus* confirmeth it, and saith, that these gardens were vpon Arches & Towers, yet sheluing downward, admirable for great Trees in no meane abundance, and great store of Fountains the forme of this building is amply described by *Diodorus Siculus*. *Caelius Rhodiginus*, discoursing on the seven VVonders of the world, doth not inferre this Tower of *Pharos*; but the Obelisque of *Semiramis*, which was made after the same structure and forme of a Pyramid, for it began so in a quadrangle, and finished vpward in a point, and there was no difference betwene an Obeliske and a Pyramid; but that the Obeliske was all of one entire peece, and therefore of no such height as the Pyramids. I finde it written, that some of them haue bin great, like Towers, and of a very goodly stone. There is one now at Rome, named a Needle, which was brought out of Egypt; and it is admirable, to see the greatnes thereof, as also to iudge how it was brought thither. Concerning the Obeliske of *Semiramis*, wherof *Caelius* reporteth, and nameth it in the number of the 7 VVonders: he findeth it credibly auouched, that it was an 10. foor in height, and 24. foote square in a quadrangle, so that the whole circuite was 90 foote, and this Stone was so taken whole, out of the Mountaines of *Armenia*; & by the command of *Semiramis*, brought into *Chaldean Babylon*. But in truth, when due consideration is made, how it should be taken out of the Quarry, brought thence, and erected vp on end: it might appeare a matter incredible, if Antiquity had not yielded things as strange, and certified to vs by Authors, well deseruing beleefe, yea, and of other great Obelisks, made by the Kings of Egypt. *Pliny* describeth how they are fetcht forth of their Quarries. Of the Pyramids, Obelisks, Starnes, & Colosses, mention is made by *Polybius*, in y beginning of his Booke, cald *Hypne-ratomachia*. Therefore I need not to make any further relation of them, fearing I haue offended already, by presuming ouer-farre vpon your patience, in what hath bin said, concerning these 7 VVonders of the world.

Q. CHAP.

The seventh Wonder of the World. The Tower of Pharos.

Pomponius Mela lib. 5. cap. 7.

How the life came to be called Pharos

The 6th Wonder of the world. The Image of Jupiter Olympus.

Strabo lib. 8. Pomponius Mela lib. 5.

Plinius lib. 35. cap. 36.

*He also made a goodly Library, which contained 70000. Booke. Plinius lib. 35. cap. 6. Iul. Caes. in comment. lib. 4.

Ammianus Marcellinus lib. 13. Solinus in cap. 34.

The place where the Olympian games were kept being situated in a mountain, viz. at Elis, in Peloponnesus.

The hanging Gardens of Babylon. Lactantius Firmianus lib. 1. De moribus Christianis.

Diodorus Siculus lib. 2. Cap. 14. lib. 3.

The Obeliske of Semiramis.

Caesars Needlet at Rome, a Needle.

The height of Semiramis Obelisks, and the squareness.

Plinius lib. 6. cap. 8. & 9.

Polybius in lib. Hymenotomachia.

CHAP. VIII. The Oration of Antipater, the Father to Herod, which he made before Cæsar, standing accused, for following Pompeies part.

THE ARGUMENT.

After that Pompey had bin vanquished by Cæsar, he was massacred in Egypt, by them whose lives he had sometime saved. Antigonus the Jew, aspiring to the Royalty, accused (before Cæsar) Antipater the Idumæan, to have served and favoured Pompey in his enterprises. And that he had done no matter of service in Egypt, which could be interpreted for Cæsar, but rather for the succour of Mithridates, and to cover his fault committed in following Pompey. But Antipater, for the better appearance of his good services, renting off his garments, shewed what wounds he had received in the service of Cæsar, and suddenly accompanied this scarry testimony, with these words ensuing.

The effect of the accusation obtruded by Antigonus against Antipater.

Wounds are a Soldiers speaking witness, when himself is silent.

BEhold heere assured and certain witnesses, of my hatred against Cæsar, these wounds so apparent, and which are shining markes of my foules conceptions, to speak & defend the poore accused criminal. I offer to thee (Lord Cæsar) these wounds, aspledges of that affection which lies hidden in my heart, and wherof I make you a liberrall present. These are the gages of my faith, and this is an obligation written in my heart, and which will remaine engraven heere all my life time. If you will not please to credite my fellowes in Armes, nor to listen to the of my Nation; let it be demanded of mine enemies, and know from them, for whose sake I have received all these wounds. And what is the reason that I am thus persued; but because I have bin noted loyally affected, in offering you my faithfull service.

I vnderstand and perceiue, that mine enemy reprocheth me with friendship to Pompey, and fixeth before his owne eyes, that I have fauoured his cause. I confesse (Lord Cæsar) I confesse, that I haue bin a friend, not to men, but to the Romane name; and that neuer my desires were elsewhere addicted, nor my duty & diligence any way applied, but onely in doing my most humble seruice to the Senate and people of Rome. I haue then borne Arms, not for a Romane, neither for his particular profite, but for the seruice of all. And let the case be admitted, that Pompey was acceptable to me, that I carried his cause, and maintained his quarrell; wherein am I therefore to be blamed? Hee was long time (before) my friend, that hee had war with you, or any discord grew betwene him and Cæsar. Moreouer (my Lord) he was your Kinsman, and you were his Father in law. He being in Iudea, there was

not any particular affection (whatsoever) that made me follow him: for I assisted him, as being General of the Roman Army. And yet notwithstanding, I neuer hazarded my selfe so far for him, neither did he ever finde such kinde knowledge of affection in me; as (for his sake) to take so many wounds, as I haue received in serving you. It is for you that I gave the pledges of death, and for whom I became an enemy to mine owne body, exposing it to the Darts, Arrows, and Weapons of your enemies.

But is it any matter of amazement, if a slave, nursed vp in seruitude, do not know what wounds are, nor the hazards happening in warre? Or should it offend any man, if a disloyall fugitive should be ignorant what the worth of faith is, and what honesty remains among good minded men? Who can reprove me, but this my perpetuall enemy and yours, for saying in loue and affection to the people of Rome? I am astonish'd, how Antigonus should be so hardy, as daring to blame or accuse any man before the Romans, against who it is his custome to make war, and that he should be so impudent, to make complaint before them, as if his Realme were fratched or rauisht from him. If it were so, yet his power should not bee exercised for his greatness or aduancement: but onely to seize on you, to assaile the Romane Legions, & to practise vengeance against you for his father and brother. It much amazeth me, that such a wretch, & so vnthankfull as he is, feareth not the throne of the Romane Emperour, but dare (euen there) oppose and pursue innocents: without remembering, that a Kinsman of his, and a companion in the crime, hath there beene punished for felony, treason, and reuolt.

A Soldier stands oblig'd to follow his General.

The Coward cannot usage of libeity, nor the duty, altho' faithfull.

THE

THE EFFECT.

Reson appearing (in Cæsars iudgement) to be vpon Antipaters side, he iudged also for him, and gaue him the gouernment of Iudea. By this meanes hee opened him the way, to giue the Iewish king done to the children of the said Antipater, and disseized them that were of the blood Royall, and of the true seed of Dauid.

CHAP. IX. The Oration of Herod to his Martiall troopes, being vpon the point of fighting with the Arabes.

THE ARGUMENT.

Herod seeing that his Army stood like men amazed, as fearing a disadvantageable success of the warre, through (I know not what) superstitious conceits, grounded vpon prodiges and tremblings of the earth, which at that time had happened, vnder regard whereof, his Soldiers shewed themselves very unwilling to fight against the Arabes: Hee laboured by this Oration to perswade them, that all such things are naturall, exhorting them, not to leave the victory to their enemies, for any distrust in them; and these were his words.

Fond prodigies and superstitious conceits in mens braines, make them cowards to waite at tempests.



HE forces of the enemy hauing bin enfeebled and abated by many of our aduantageable encounters, full of fortune to vs, and transporting

them with furious despaire, yea, making them to massacre our Legates and Ambassadors: I cannot chule but merruall, how you should be thus affrighted without any occasion. At leastwise, it were reasonable and dreadlesse, without some good foundation, to preferre accidental occasions to any euident successe, when men are assured of their owne vertue and forwardnesse. We haue had some encountering with the enemy, where the Arabes did not turne their backs vpon vs, & yet dealt but fraudulently (as they can well do) not to vanquish, but to delay vs from the victory: which matters, as they ought to encourage ye to the fight, so you should withall consider, that as you haue felt (I know not what) weakening of hart, by some earthquakes hapning, they should be no terrors at all to vs, no more then to the, who stand with vs to endure this war.

And if we would but respect, on whom the damage of this persecution is false, you should perceiue, that it is vpon the Arabes, constraining them to keepe themselves in the field, because they should be still before them, that far go beyond them in courage and valiancy. For I see, that they distrust their owne strength & manhood, and yet taking heart, on the hopefull ruine of our troopes, they will needs adventure to endure the war. But alas, that is a feeble hope, which proceedeth

not from his owne proper vertue and valour, but rather dependeth vpon others misery: inso much, as there is nothing more fraile nor mutable, then are felicities and aduersities hapning to men. For the estate & condition of humane occasions, whatsoeuer ouerthrowes they chace to feele, relieth vpon a very little time, & as felicity is neuer durable, euen so aduersity can neuer bee perpetuall, and a man continueth no longer miserable, then hee had a precedent time to bee fortunate. And of all these I can giue you a goodly and most manifest example.

In the first fights, wee had the victory ouer the Arabes, but war taking his course and altering the lot and fortune thereof; we were vanquished by them whom (not long before) wee surmounted and overthrew. Vvich therefore yeeldeth reason to beleue, that we shall againe conquer them which vanquished vs: considering, that presumption is alwayes guided by indiscretion and want of fore-sight, whereas aduised feare armeth men with prouidence, to fit themselves for following successes, and thereby to learne duty and diligence. It neuer is otherwise in the state of felicity, but that boldnesse and temerity are equal companions, and want of discretion in Soldiers, neuer carries for the wise aduice & counsell of their Captaines; in briefe, they rush into the warre, without their leaue or commission. But I see that you are indiciouly fearefull, which makes mee to hold the victory so much the more assured. Courage then (deare friends and companions) take hart and hardiment, by advancing the glorious and ancient magnanimity of the Iewes your Predecessours.

The vncertainty of mens felicities and aduersities.

Presumption maketh a man impouident, but discreete feare maketh him wile.

Q

And

Ordinary and natural occurrences should never breed dismay in Soldiers.

And let not the mouings of insensible things, breed any terror in you, neither carry any conceite, that earthquakes can be any argument or preface, of any other disaster or mishap, then what hath already happened. For the Elements haue their defects as well as we, and no other harme or danger is to be doubted, then what en- sueth to themselves: considering, that neither tremblings of the earth, nor mortality of creatures are but their owne iniuries, and signifie no other penill or pre- iudice at all.

And yet we should not feare to suffer matter of greefe, in regard that (already) we haue endured most affliction and in- supportablenecessities: he that hath pun- ished vs, will bee appealed, and become againe as milde vnto vs, as if hee had not chastised vs. For what can we expect from him, after this irksome penitence, but on- ly his holy fauour and mercy, seeing for two offences, he hath bin pleased to afflict and punish vs? For the rest, as concer- ning that which belongeth to this war, all is in his entire condition; because the plague hath ended them that were not in the Campe, and our victory hath taken them from the enemy, euē those men that were the cheetell for his battailes. If our Flocks or Herds of Cattell are dead, the enemy hath had a losse of much better things, being bereft both of wit and fence, when (contrary to all right and equity) he slew our Ambassadors. The Arabes haue

broken the law common to all Nations: for no people are so cruell and barbarous, but Ambassadors ought to be inuicibly respected of them.

Let them therefore expect from God, a iust vengeance for such crimes, to cha- stise their euill doings, for the finnes of our aduersaries are of such importance, as there is not any law, be it humane or di- uine, that will leaue them unpunished. Let vs go forth then, yea, let vs go to fight; not to get their spoiles, or conquer their lands; but for the glory of God, and the defence of his honour. Let not the loue of your wives and children spur ye on to the war; but only the diuine fauor, which you know to be present with you. So go- ing on this manner to the fight, our de- sires shall not be thereby effected, but our obedience to God, for doing vengeance on them, whom the Law forbiddeth any man to touch. Beside Ambassadors are they, who (among the furies of armed e- nemies) onely mediate peace, & such men are neuer numbered or ranked with aduer- saries; because their blood being shedde, cryeth incessantly for iust vengeance in our soules. Haste wee then in going to the fight, in regard that God is hee, which offereth himselfe to reuenge our friends slaine. The very murdered Ambassadors will fight for vs more furiously, and better then our selues: and ringed round with a squadron of Angels, let vs on to the bat- tle, and vnder confusion of our enemies.

An Ambassa- dor is hee be- respected of the people, how barbarous it euen.

Ambassadors are neuer ac- counted or ranked among other enemies.

THE EFFECT.

By these words of the General, the Jewish Soldiers recovered heart, and seeking occasion to affront the enemy, at length assailed them with such fury, as the Arabes were enforced to fight, and had a great losse of men. Beside, such as fled, retired into the Mountaines; except a part of them, which yielded themselves to the Iewes. The rest, affecting rather to die like ho- nest men, then submit themselves basely self to handi blowes againe, where they were slaine and behead in peeces, yet not without leaving sufficient testimony to the Iewes, of their valour.

CHAP. X. The Oration of Herod before Augustus Caesar, who had conceived anger against him, because he had taken part, and followed Marke Anthony.

THE ARGUMENT.

Augustus Caesar, having vanquished Marke Anthony in Egypt, it seemeth he was ad- iudged, that except he chastised Herod also, he was not fully possesse of the victory. He- rod tasting the euill affection of this Prince, went to him to Rhodes, where presenting him- selfe, and vowing the generosity of an invincible spirit, he declared to Augustus; that if he did not helpe Anthony, it was not through want of any good will, but because he had no means to do it. Affecting much rather, to confesse that he had bene an enemy to Caesar, then show himselfe ingratefull to his friend. And although he presented himselfe before him, without a Kingly Crowne on his head, and clothed like a man that had no dignity: yet his words expre- ssed the Majesty of a great Prince, and these were they.

Discreet hard measures were offered to Herod, which made him rather goe to Augustus, then to send for him.

I Confesse (O mighty Monarch Augustus) that I haue bene a loyall com- panion to Marke Anthony in his af- faires, as to the man, from whom I recei- ued the kingdom of Iudea. And I will not deny, but that I was very highly be- holding to him, as I would more plainly haue exprest by Armes, if the enuy of Cleopatra had not given mee hinderance, and if the Arabes had not broken my de- signs and enterprizes. For which cause, and constrained by such necessities, I came not against you (in his assistance) with weapons in my hand: because I had no desire at all to forgoe my deare friend, and much lesse was I affraid to enter bat- tle against you in his behalfe; but onely in this respect, that I was busied in defend- ing mine owne Countries. And albeit that I assisted him not personally in the battails, yet Anthony found mee not vn- thankfull to him; for I furnished him with men and victuals, for the succouring and refreshing of his Army, and I am well as- sured (Great Augustus) that you would not haue thought me ingratefull to Marke Anthony, if you had bene in the battaile at Actium.

You see Sir, that I hide not my selfe, fearing more to be reputed ingratefull on your aduersaries behalfe, then doubting that any one should imagine me your e- nemy. I make more account of your iudgement, then of all the successes of warre: because before you, the merits of vertue are not in any penill, in regard you know how to purchase honor, and punish mis-behaviours and vices. Consider (gentle Prince) that as I neuer forsooke Anthony, so long as Fortune spake fairly to him: euen so, all disasters, and dead as he is, cannot yet make mee to forget and leaue him. You haue vanquished (O Caesar) you haue vanquished Marke An- thony, by power, and by a great number of your Legions; you haue surmounted him by the wisdom of your Councils: the strength of the Empire hath cast him downe, from which hee was farre gone, and whereof he made not any reckoning;

your vertues haue ouerthorne him, or rather he hath bene ruined by his owne vices. For an Egyptian woman charmed and enchanted him; the delights of Eg- ypt made him too soft and delicate, yea, he was wholly effeminately drowned in the Alexandrian luxuries. In briefe, hee hath bene conquered, because he better affected to be cast downe with Cleopatra, then to conquer without her: and so to be delected by a woman, was more gree- uous and insupportable to his friends, the- euer it could be to his enemies.

I aduised him, to vntwine himselfe from that wretched woman, and to bee the death of a beast so dangerous; I pro- mised him succour in his affaires, and for- sooke to preuaile by in his fight: yea, I offered to beare him company in this warre. But the miserable man, was so doating on the beauties of that woman, and meere- ly enchanted by Cleopatra, as hee is brought to be iust nothing, by reason that he wold not beleue me. I confesse (Great Ce- sar) that I am also conquered with him, but yet my offence is not so great. for al- though Cleopatra quite quailed, and made a dishonourable prey of poore Anthony, yet he had not the like power ouer mee: And as hee would not abandon that bar- barous wanton woman, euen so could not I forgoe my great friend in his aduer- sities. It was hee that did crowne a Royall Crowne on my head, neuertheless, I would not bee so bold to appeare in your presence, with the ornaments I recei- ued from so loyall a friend, fearing to offend you by those fauours which hee did to me: & yet, although I haue left off my known lueries of dignity, I haue not lost a iote of my gracefull in courage. You may iudge therefore as it shall seeme best to your selfe; for what euer sentence you pronounce on me, yet I am sure to carry this reputation with mee, and to my no meane contentment; that I was good and perfect in mine affections; that I left not my friend in life nor death, and neither good or bad fortune had power to ouer- throw me,

Monstrous is therefore, when a man le- ues a loyall friend, and leaues to the bea- st all the ornaments of a laudable woman.

There is no- thing compa- rable to the mis- ere affliction of one man to another; it is much far be- yond the loue of women.

If Princes would banish flatterers, they being about them, their Mischief would be the more glorious and glorious.

CHAP. XI. The magnanimous answer of Augustus to Herod, confirming him in his dignity, whereby is demonstrated, that a Prince ought rather to affect truth spoken by his friend, then feigned flattery, coming from the mouth of a dissembling counterfeiter. And therefore Augustus perceiving how feely Herod had spoken to him, confiding himselfe rather his enemy, then ingratefull towards Marke Anthony, and taking delight in his libertie of speech, as proceeding from a generous and royall heart, returned him this answer following.

Heuuen protect thee *Herod*, and enjoy at this instant (better then euer before) the honour of thy Kingdome. For we enuy not thy virtues, neither doth it dispelase vs, that thou shouldst be such a man as thou art: but rather it is to vs most high contentment. And truly, thou art well worthy to rule & command, seeing thou hast so loyally kept thy faith giuen to a man onely, and being put in distresse, and assailed with aduerstities; yet thou art not ashamed to confesse thy selfe the friend to *Marke Anthony*, and such as thou wast to him in his prosperitie, such diddest thou continue still to him when his fortune fell contrary. Now, albeit I haue conquered *Anthony*, yet I neuer thought to overcome thee: for thy friendship remaining so entire, placeth thee in ranke with them that haue wonne the victory. Which is the reason, that I no lesse wish thee for my friend, then I praise and commend thy stedfast loyalty, because no changes of Fortune, haue power to alter thy minde and desires.

Thou neuer didst abandon *Anthony*, but it was he that estranged himselfe from thee: for he better affected to follow the counsels of *Cleopatra*, then them of so deare and true a friend as *Herod*. The ignorance of *Anthony* is the reason of my winning thee: for hee made choise of a pernicious and foolish woman, and rejected a most worthy loyall friend. And yet it is no matter of meruaile, that *Anthony* should be vanquished by *Cleopatra*, and keepe himselfe wholly with her: see-

ing that being victorious, yet hee would needs become a voluntary slave. Could you account it strange, that *Cleopatra* should turne *Anthony* from your counsels, seeing she could separate him from me, and of being my fellow-Companion in the Empire, caule him to become my mortall enemy? Seeing therefore, that with mee you haue lost *Marke Anthony*; with mee I purpose you shall liue and raigne.

And trust me, your commendable and insigne enterprize deserveth great recompence, and is worthy (by vs) to bee highly guerdoned: considering that while wee were busied in the late pasted warres, you haue overcome and subiected the *Barbarians*, although they seemed to be unconquerable. For we reputed them to bee our enemies, and so we do make account of all those that are aduerser to the Iewish Nation, and such as molest them, must know that they make warre with vs. You haue therefore fought for vs, and for vs you haue wonne the victory; in which respect, we permit you to reigne, and grant you the kingdome which you possesse: Commanding, that by our donation it shall be confirmed to you, and established durable, your merite being not little, because you haue made no diminution thereof. Also in further recompence, I will deale in such sort with you, as you shall haue no cause to wish for the presence of *Marke Anthony*: esteeming it altogether vnbecoming vs, if hauing (while hee liued) overcome him in warre, being now dead, we should not go beyond him in acknowledgement and friendship.

THE EFFECT.

Caesar and Herod hauing thus discorsed together, Augustus, to shew what account he made of this great Warriour Herod: did set a Royall Crowne vpon his head, and confirmed him in his authority, with hope to enlarge the limas of his kingdome. As likewise hee did afterward, hauing obserued, how Herod acknowledged the benefits of his Maestie, when as he furnished him with water and victualles, at such time as a great dearth and scarcity was in the Romane Army. From whence Caesar being returned, hee gaue Townes and Castles on the Sea to Herod, and accepted him as one of his best friends, which he had in the East.

CHAP. XIII. The Oration of *Herod* to the Iewes, vpon the partage or diuiding of his Seigneuries, to be made to his children.

THE ARGUMENT.

Like as *Herod* was happy in his warlike enterprizes, so did bad fortune follow him in the domestike Affaires of his house, for hauing children of diuers beds, the humors also

When men become extremely unkind, all man's countenance turns to them.

A notable signe of vertuous and understanding Prince.

When Princes encline their cares to flatterers, their Countes shall neuer want quarrels and contentions.

of them being as diuers: caused the Palace Royall to bee daily filled with quarrels and dissensions, according as flatterers were heard, and fauoured by *Herod*. Now, the matters grew so farre, that the King and one of his sonnes, named *Antipater* (who was his eldest) must go to Rome to declare their grieuances; where *Antipater* behaued himselfe so well, that hee wonne the Emperour, and qualified the anger of his Father, who recued him into grace againe. Nevertheless, *Caesar* ordained, that children should be obedient to their fathers; or that it should be lawfull for Fathers, to declare him for King (after his decesse) that it stood best in his liking; because *Antipater* had accused his younger brethren, being issued of blood Royall on all sides, euen as well as he was borne: *Herod* not being as then in authority, but aspiring to the Crowne. So soone as the king was returned from Rome, he caused an assembly of the people of *Ierusalem*, to whom he declared what he had done in this voyage, saying these very Words.

Contention, quarrell, and dissidence in children, are no meane notices of griefe to their parents.

NOt without great occasion, and that very beneficiall to my selfe (you *Hebrew Citizens*) did I make my voyage vnto Rome, to the end that *Caesar* might iudge, concerning the quarrell betwene me and my children. To him I went, because my selfe knew not how, neither would I take vpon me to censure a cause, wherein I might easily faile, by being transported with choller: & therefore he that gaue me the Kingdome, I thought fittest to ordaine, concerning the succession, and to bestow it on such a one of my sonnes, whom he should conceiue to be the worthiest. Now, among so many benefices as I received from him, this he added to them, that in a great difficulty, he did so facilitate the matter, that he gaue me my sonne againe, whom I had well-nere lost, and accorded the brethren together, vpon the difference growing betwene them, touching succession in the kingdome. You see mee then returned, farre richer then before I went; for I haue learned to be a better Father, then formerly I haue bene; and my children also are tutor'd to beare themselves in better manner to me, and all this hath happened through the grace and mildnes of Great *Augustus*. For, he hath appointed, that the appenage of my sonnes, and their succession in the kingdome, shall depend vpon mine owne will; to the end, that the prerogatiue and aduancement of which of them soeuer it be, shall not breed any pride or presuming in anie one of them. Hee hath permitted me, to choose such a successor as I will haue, to wit, he that shall be the most obedient to me, and giueth the greatest honor to his Father.

Now, concerning my selfe (O you my

loving Citizens of *Ierusalem*) I will follow heerein the iudgment of *Caesar*, who seeing my younger sonnes from the accusation laide vpon them; hath made them equall to the eldest in hope, that (one day) they may succede after me. In which respect, this very day, I make and declare them Kings all three together, the eldest hauing the priuiledge, in regard of his age, and the other because of their Nobility in blood. I would not haue you moued at the number of Princes, considering that the greatnesse and magnificence of the kingdome, sufficient to maintaine and furnish effectually a far greater number, although there were no more aduantages. First of all, I make God the Iudge of this my aduice and ordinance; & next, I would haue you to be witnesses and testifiers thereof; to the end, that you may honor them according to right, & equally them that *Caesar* hath accorded, and whom my selfe (being their father) do establish and appoint vnto you as Princes. To whom also you may doe such honor, as shall not exceede the bounds of reason in ouer-much esteeming them; and yet in no lesse fashion then belongeth to them. For too much honour puffes vp the heart with presumption, and neglect or contempt causeth rage and choller. Wherefore, I would haue that dutie doe vnto them, as appertaineth to the merits deliuered from them: for you cannot giue so much content to him, who is honoured aboue his deserts, as you doe harme to him, to whom dutie is denied vnderfeudly. Oftentimes, it cometh so to passe, that both the one and other are offended, in regard it is meet flattery, which occasioneth the indiscreete sentence of preference.

Beside, let me further say freely to you, that

Too much honouring a man, maketh him insolent, and contempt is the meane to make him mad.

He is a true friend indeed that continueth alwayes one and the same in all conditions.

Honor done
to children, is
the greater
glory to their
Fathers.

that I am the common father to them all three, and you know well enough, that honor done to the Children, redoundeth the more to the Fathers glory. Notwithstanding, if there be any, that shall flatteringly honor my sonnes beyond reason, they make themselves guilty of treason to them: because they shall proue Authours of the reciduation and rebellion, for the which we fell at first into difference. In making too much esteeme of our youth, is to giue it too free a heart and head, and boldnesse in attempting beyond capacity: yet let no man thinke, that I am enuieus of the advancement and glorie of mine owne Childre. No, heaven is my witnesse, how I rather with their power meane and stirred, whereby wee may the better liue in peace; then in growing ouer-great, to swell vp their hearts as high, and thereby spend the rest of our dayes in troubles and seditions. For, that which is established by pride and insuasion, hath but small and slender continuance, and slippeth away sodainly, but that which is possessed with loue and gracious liking, it hath as good and successfull enduring.

What Pride
buildeth, Pre-
sumption o-
uer throweth.

I will therefore bee carefull in taking order, that my Kindred and Friends may bee the pledges of peace and concord for ever hereafter, betwene mee and my Sonnes; by whose exhortations and admonitions, they will bee moued to loue and cherish one another. For, as an euill purpose makes a deep wound in the heart of him that heares it tolde him: euen so, much more are they corrupted, who are made drunke by them that dayly frequent it, and whose soules are continually infected by so foule a plague; so that the contagion spreades it selfe ouer all them, that then are about, or come into their company.

A wicked in-
tention wound-
eth the heart
deeply of him
to whom it is
reuealed.

Although a man be (by nature) very courteous and peaceable; yet, let a Lake or Poole be neuer so calme and still, when impetuous windes throwe their churlish blastes vpon it, it will swell, and shewe a discontented countenance. In the very same manner, are the mildest Natures of men madded, and quite peruered by the meanes of lewd and wicked Counsellors. In breief, it is on mee that all my Subiects must fixe their expectation, and there assuredly settle their confidence: for

whatsoeuer aduancement happeneth to my Sonnes; yet so it is, that I will not lose a iote of mine authority and power. And when all is saide, there is not a Captaine or soldier, but w^l I expresse more reuerence to the father of Conductors and Generals, then to them that command ouer the whole Army.

It is my selfe alone, without any other, that will bee the discharge of all, and will onely recompence them, who hauing done their dutie vnto mee, shall acknowledge what seruices they haue done to my Sonnes. If I finde dutie performed without peruering; no doubt but deferred recompence will follow thereon; but deceipte and cogging shall finde such reward, and so surely paie him, that he will vterly lose all the fruit of his labor, and that which he fawned for by knauish flattery.

Deceite doth
make counsels
by deceipte his
owne matter,
& Flatteries
are the falsh
knowes that
can be.

Now, as concerning you (my good and deere Sonnes) fasten your first regard vpon the common bond of nature, which vnitheth brute beastes together, and cauech their alliance to keepe such a mutual agreement: as there is not any beast so vntactable, but with the perill of his life, hee will stroue and labour to defend his young ones from danger. Carry honour and reuerence to *Cesar*, who hath reconciled you together; and next, haue regard of mee, and of the Honour which is due vnto mee; who had much rather pray wee to doe so, then to command it to be done, albeit you know that it still remaineth in my power to Command.

Continue in the bond which you haue knit together; you are brethren, I would not haue you breake that vniou, neyther to be the occasion of disioyning that for which ye were borne. I shall giue you Habites, Attendants, and Royall honors, but much more precious is that whereto I exhort ye, inuincible amity, being vnited together in one and the same will. If you declare such mutual affection, your authoritie will bee the more acceptable vnto mee: but amity sayling, you dart your malice thorow my heart, and thorow the very foule of Kingly Gouvernement.

Anchortie
without amity
is vile & hurt-
full.

Therefore, vntill I haue made prooue of this your Vertue, yee shall enioy no Kingdome, but the Royall Title onely:

if you loue your father, the effect of name will follow, in the meane while, approue among your selues, how and what affection I beare vnto you. You shall enioy all that is goodly and pleasing in the dignitie Royall, as Princes of the blood: but concerning the charges of the Empire, and troublesome burthen of State-affayres,

they shall lye vpon me, though it were better to cun ber many, then one onely. By this meanes, it shall bee very profitable for you, to accomodate your selues to that which I haue desired: because I loue the glorie which should fill thine in you, and which I truly account to be mine owne.

THE EFFECT.

Herod hauing deliuered all these speeches, and greatly comforted his sons, howsoeuer some reioyce thereat, as not discerning so far off, that which was hidden vnder these words: yet the better sort felt themselves offended. For they perceived, that this equality serued but for a sparke, to kindle the concealed fire in the breasts of the brethren, who could not indure any aduantages, how little soeuer, especially hauing all but one and the same prerogative. So that this proued to be the cause of ruine to one another, as also of distrust and extreme cruelty in King Herod.

CHAP. XIII.

The Battaile of Riotta or Nouara, which was fought in the Dukedome of Milan, betwene Iohn Trivulzi, and the Lord of Trimouille, Generals for Lewes the xij. King of France, on the one side, and Maximilian Storza, Duke of Milan, accompanied with the Switzers, on the other, in the yeare 1513.

The King for
a leile of
Milan, was
the occasion
of this warre.



Lewes King of FRANCE, the twelfth of that name, ill digesting the losse of Milan, and som other disgraces formerly received, made his election of two speciall Captaines, well experienced in martiall affaires, and also of no meane authority; the Lords Trivulzi and Trimouille, to passe the Alps, and enter Italy. A further choise was likewise made, for the more happy successe in this attempt, of Robert de la Marche, whom hee sent for out of the Countrey of Luca, and his blacke Regiment of Germans by some termed *Allemaignes*, as also the Lord Lewes Beaumont, who came from the Frontiers of *Nauarre*, and brought with him those famous bands of *Cascoignes*, that had before serued *Seigneur de la Palice* at *Panipelen*, when they fought against the Spaniards. Some few Ensignes of foot (but of very choice men) were intermingled with them; for such Gentlemen as serued

not with horse, held it no disgrace, thus to be employed on foote, and went vnto it with chearefull alacritie. Al which power being very aptly appointed, and furnished with great Ordinance vnto their owne good liking, they halted away with speed for Italy.

On the contrary side, the Duke of Milan, named Maximilian Storza, understanding this French preparation made for him; he was not negligent in his owne occasions: but moued the Switzers to reuise Lombardy, as in some former expeditions they had done, and to friend him with their manly assistance, in which motion he purchased no deniall. The *Ammans*, or they that beare the Office of Maiores, in the Cantons of *Vri, Suits*, and *Vnderwald*, as lying nereest vnto Italy, with their warlike powers, were the first that passed ouer the Alpes: being seconded or followed by the like bands of *Gliris*, *Zug*, *Lucerna*, *Schaffouse*, *Zurich*, and *Berne*, and these made vp another martiall company. The third and last confort, consisted of five thousand foot, conducted by *Altofasco*, a most expert and forward captain. But Maximilian became somewhat discouraged, by an vnexpected reuolt of *Sacroras Visconti*, that did keepe a swarme of desperate fellows about him in Milan, all errant vnthriftes, though leaning to Nobility, and others beside; and therefore ioynd with the first company of Switzers, going to *Nouara*, expecting there (yet free from priuy awais and

The Switzers
are solicited
to succor duke
Maximilian
Storza, and
come to him
with their va-
liant banes.

The French
Army cometh
before Nou-
ara.

and treachery) when the rest of the Switzers should come.

Before the Towne of *Nouara*, came the French Forces, yet hearing that the second supply of Switzers was somewhat neerer, and that *Altosaxo* was at *Galvritia*; they retreated to *Rionta*, which was about some twenty Furlonges from *Nouara*, hard by the River of *Adara*. No sooner were the second Conuoy of Switzers entred the Towne, and had they Mornings refection; but the Captaines called for a consultation, for concluding vpon matters fittest to be done: wherevpon, *Caraffe*, *Amman* of *Zurich*, offering the first motion of speech, began in this manner.

The Oration of Caraffe, Amman of Zurich.



*V*aliant, and invincible spiritued Brethren, let not the attempts which you have resolutely concluded on, coole through want of courage, or corruptly lose it selfe, in needlesse attending for *Altosaxo*, & such as come with him. For it hath ever bene knowne, that the surest and happiest way to fortunate successe, is to stifle delay with speedy expedition; and so we shall finde it, if wee have the providence to pursue it: Nor neede we, whose courage and constancy stand equal, by kissing each other, listen to any other recreant word, but onely braue and speedy expedition: lest the day shining now fauourably for vs, cloud it selfe in our lingering, and so we lose our glorious expectation. Occasion is yet offered vs, and we may take hold on his happy forelocke; for, it is not number, but Noblesse of minde that gives honor to the actions vsse. A handfull is enow for a heaped multitude, and while hope holds them, that *Altosaxo* is our Lead-starre, and we dare doe nothing till he shine out with vs, they may be deceiued in their idle supposition, & we more then matters of so good advantage. Let therefore their erroneous conceits, lead vs the way to true discipline, for a so daime and vnexpe-cted onset, strikes terror in an enemies soule, and followes him both with flight and slaughter. Let their overweening pride cumber them, and take we hold on this happy and beneficial

counsel: which guides ye to vndoubted victory, if with dreadlesse hearts you ply to pursue it.

No sooner had *Caraffe* come vnto his speeches period, but all the Captains and Ensignes consented to him, and a graue consultation grew immediately, for best proceeding in their purpose. Hereupon, refection and rest was generally commended; and after the second watch, present repaite vnto their Colours; where before day-dawning they should bee acquainted with other instructions. Imagine heere (as well you may) that euery minde fast musing with serious conceits, what issue the intended fight would fort vnto; & by this time the Sun was set. But now listen to a wonder, and truly no lesse in mine opinion. The Dogges which the French had brought to field with them, quite leauing their Campe, all in a troope together entred *Nouara*, and the Switzers Centinels, with such as walked the round, or kept the *Corps du Guard*; the dogs lawning on the one after another, euen as if they were already become their Masters, or shortly should, laide downe their eares, wagged their tailes in louing manner, and licked their hands.

But the Switzers, not intending to haue their priuate cogitations discouered, cunningly gaue order, that in euery part of the City, now at one place, then at another, Drums should still be beaten; that if any scouts or spies tooke notice of them, they should the easier bee periwaded of their sodaine coming forth, as also to continue their enemies in Armour skill; they hauing all the day before bin to prepared, and on horseback. Thus they thaped their outward designes, while they closer determinations aimed at other ends, as to strengthen their bodies with food & rest, and to win another daies respite more for their better contestation in trial of honor. And let me tell yee, that the Lawes are so strict and seuerer among the Switzers, that if any shal dare (in publicke view of the Armie) to do any thing cowardly, or with feare, shameful & vnriting men of valour; he is immediately slaine by his following fellow, so that the greater feare confounds the lesse, and begets an honorable death, in stead of that which is otherwise attended on with nothing but infamy.

The

Diligence is
the conduct
to happy
success.

A very slight
and scum-
ble accident.

Men can be
too
cunning for
an invading
enemy.

The Switzers
were carefull
for being the
last opportu-
nity.

The Army consisting of about 9000. foote, made choise of a thousand Horfile beside, men of well tryed and vndaunted valour, to take the charge of eight Faulcons, and to keepe with *Maximilian* and his Horfile (which indeede were but few, yet of the cheefe Nobility): while the rest did throw themselves into two batailles, and silently, without beating any Drum, marched towards the enemy two seuerall wayes.

Now *Trivulzi*, being reputed for a wise and well experienced Captaine, suspected nothing lesse, then that a few tyred foote, and also before *Altosaxo* came; would venture out vpon a stronger power, or hazard any the least fortune of battaile. But vnderstanding that the Enemy was within sight, he cald vnto *Trimouille* and the other Captaines, giuing order for placing the Ordinance, the signals for fight to be giuen, and what hee knew by discipline or experience, to wait vpon the need of danger.

Such was the shortnesse of time, and the courage of the foe so mounted for fight, that the French scarcely had leisure to bridle their horses, & arm their heads: for they had stood most part of the day & night in Armes, expecting stil what shold be commanded, and at last (though very late) newes coming, that all was whist and quiet at *Nouara*, had got into theyr Cabines to rest. But the Light-horfile being sooner ready then they looked for, yssued forth in time conuenient, making a long Wing to the left handwarde, and met the thousand Switzers as they were marching on. And they, for more safely shunning the great Ordinance, which played vpon them tempestuously, fetcht a small compas about towards the River of *Mora*, with intent to passe a Bridge, & so fet on the enemies tents in the rere. So marching in a broad way towards the Ruer, they were hotly rent and torne with the Ordinance, and mightily pressed also with the light horfile.

But then *Mottina*, whose courage could not be quailed, changed his former resolution, and entreated Duke *Maximilian*, (being then in great danger, by reason that the *Epirotes* insulued round about him) to leaue the fight, and returne to the City instantly, that so the warres mayne head might be kept, which lay open vnto

the tyranny of chanches, and there to await the successe of expected victory. *Maximilian* made an honourable refusal; for such was the constancy of his courage, as he would endure all common accidents of Fortune, rather then be blurd with the least disgrace.

Heereupon, two vnder Captains, and two Ancients seized his horse by the bridle, and renting the Crest from off his Helmet, threw an olde cloake about him to hide his Armes, and forcing him (whether he would or no) led him out of the field with a troope of Horfile, and so conducted him to the City, to stand cleare from danger, while they endured the brunt of the day. Afterward *Mottina* rallied his swaying battell, which (by this time) hadde lost three of their Faulcons; then retiring the wounded into the midst of the battell, and beating back the over-forward *Epirotes*, slew there *Alexio Bogisna*, a noble Grecian Captaine, and so defeated them vnto.

Then rushing into the enemies campe, where the drudges and dragglers beeing slaine, and the soldiers of that station disordered; the carriage and baggage were surprized. But some little while before *Mottina* had thus preuailed, another company, that tooke a longer iourney through the Corne-fields, then growne vp, and receyuing little harme by the Ordinance, had made a fresh charge on the Enemies side.

The French forces were ordered into three battallions, *Trimouille* and *De la March* hauing the leading of the winges, and *Trivulzi* the middle Regiment, or maine battaile. As for the Launce-quetts Battallion, they had got themselves within a ditch, and betweene the batailles of the Horfile, because their Trench being a new and somewhat admirable kinde of Workmanship, deuised by *Robert de la March*, to hemme them in against the chances of warre: vpon so sodaine a coming of the enemy, could not by any meanes bee fet vp and pitcht. The Switzers bringing their Batailles about towards the right hand, and vpon this Squadron of the *Germaines* or *Allemaignes*, very courageously turned to them; perceiving that victory would soone bee wonne, hauing once defeated the cheefest force of the Enemies Armie.

Which

Alexio Bogis-
na a Grecian
Captain slain

In what man-
ner the French
were ordered for
the fight.

A noble & va-
liant resolu-
tion in Duke
Maximilian.

This he spoke
in the hearing
of the whole
Company.

By furious
supposition in
an enemy, he
is soonest ta-
ken tardy.

The Ammans
of Zug and
Berne slain, &
yet the fouldiers
not a little
discourag'd.

Which the French Captains beholding, gave present order to discharge their great Ordinance vpon them, breaking through the ranks, with mighty slaughter, the Horſe alſo comming hotely on them on the left ſide. The Ammans of *Berne* and *Zug* were ſlaine in this confuſion, which nothing diſmayed their ſouldiers courage, nor their owne vnauoydable perill, and wofull hauocke of theyr Fellowes about them; but chearfully animating themſelves, and wheeling round into a ring, propelled the Horſe very valiantly and (as before they had concluded) ſuddenly getting ouer the ditch, ſet vpon the *Allemaignes* courageouſly. Now began a fierce and bloody fight, no noiſe or words ſpoken on either ſide; but onely a diſmall claiſhing of Weapons and armor, and the ſoft ſighes of ſuch as fell downe dead, giuing their laſt adiew vnto the world.

Where both
ſides contend
for honour,
great muſt
the violence
of the fight
be.

The *Allemaignes*, that they might reuenge the ſlaughter of their country-men the yeare before at *Pavia*; and now (by new renouwe) redeeme their glorie loſt fourteen yeares paſt at *Bruderholz*, on the confines of *Baſile*, fought very fiercely. And the *Switzers* that they might yer (one day) deſtroy their olde and peculiar enemies, fellowes that had runne out of *Germany*, and (in reproach to the Emperour) ſerued the French King; were not a jot behinde them, either in ſtrength, or feruency of courage.

Now, while the *Switzers* and *Allemaignes* fought thus at the puſh of pike, *Newes* came to *Trivulzi* and *Trimouille*, that the bagges and baggage were taken; thoſe that were appointed for keeping the campe alſo ſlaine, beſide tumult and ſlaughter in euery place. Which report ſo daunted the French, that a great part of their horſe (euery man being careful for his luggage) ran (without any command) to ouercome it againe.

A ſtratagem
of the Switzers
to beguile
the French.

In another quarter alſo, & at the ſame inſtant almoſt, the company or battalion of the *Switzers*, ſhewd themſelves at the front of the French, which Battallion (while the French hadde (in vaine) diſcharged their Ordinance into a Wood ſtanding before them, in regard that the *Switzers* (to deceiue the enemy) had poſitively left a few of the drudges amongſt the trees, as making a ſhew of ambuſhed

armed men) had cloſely crept along by a ſide way, by little and little ſloppings downe, and trayling their Pikes vpon the ground after them.

Now, ſo great was their contempt of the bullets flying about them, and the charge ſo dreadfull, that the French and *Nauurine* foote (their Captaine *Beaumont* being ſlaine) two bands alſo of *Gentwyses* and *Salucians* defeated, and theyr Ordinance taken, and turned vpon their backs that fled; the *Allemaignes* now beeing almoſt quite deſtroyed, their Tents taken, the enemy overthrowing all, and largely Lords of the field; betwene ſhame and feare turned their backs. VVhen all men were thus diſmayed, the Captaines yet continued fearleſſe (conſidering the fearfullneſſe of their preſent eſtate) and went ralliing the diſordered ranks, and turning themſelves vnto the cryes of theyr Companions, made them to abide and fight.

The vnder Officers and Ancients, entreated them for to exempt all feare, the Lancelqueters bare the brunt of the battell, and the fight began to be repaired in all places. But the horſemen, nothing moued with their Captaines encouraging words, ſhamefully fled. For the *Switzers* although their Captaine *Mottins* was ſlaine by a piece of Ordinance; yet, hauing gotten the Campe, ſet fiercely and bloodily on the left ſide of the Horſe, & likewiſe on the right, and then on theyr backs came a greater power with terrible Pikes, to the no little terror of the diſordered horſe.

In repairing the field, there perished *Montſalmon*, Captaine to the Duke of *Albanies* company of horſe, and *Coriolano Trivulzi*, a young Gentleman of ſingular hope. But, the *Allemaignes* loſing haſte their men, two Enſignes, and their General *Floranges* very greenouſly hurt, had fought moſt conſtantly a long while together: but perceiving now the Horſe to forſake them, the foote in euery quarter to bee defeated, and the great Ordinance taken, accounting flight to be very thankfull, yet void of ſecuritie; ſet the points of their weapons vpright, according to their viſual manner, and yielded, ſeeking mercy of the victor enemy. In this tempeſt of affliction and confuſion, *Robert de la Marche*, Lord of *Cadan*, ſhortly through

Lewis Lord
Beaumont ſlain.

Mottins Cap-
taine of the
Switzers ſlain.

Montſalmon
and Coriolano
Trivulzi ſlain.

The Alle-
maignes yielded
to the ene-
mies mercy.

The louing
craue a Far-
ther to his
ſonnes.

Discipline ob-
ſerued among
the Switzers.

When con-
fuſion is in an
army, perſua-
ſions Frauaile
little.

thorough with deadly ſorrow, beholding his two ſonnes, the Lords *Floranges* and *Gemeſe* engirt by the enemy, and meerly in deſperate danger of life: with a troope of Horſe, boldly brake into the miſdeſt of the enemies battell, and they lying among the mangled bodies halfe dead, pittifully embred with their owne blood and woundes, laying them ouerthwart the neckes of two Horſes; to his no little prayſe, both for manly proweſſe and fatherly pittie, woorthily brought them thence, preſeruing theyr liues for future renouwe, and in a farre more fortunate field.

Thus the *Switzers*, fighting in three ſeueral Squadrons or Companies, within the compaſſe of an houre and a halfe, or thereabout, perfected a moſt memorable famous battayle, and vveightie warre.

And although their enemies lay ſlaine before theyr faces, ſtored with goodlie and rich Furniture, which was able to allure them: yet would they make no ſeyſure on the ſpoyle, but kept within care of their Country Discipline, which permits not to take any armed man priſoner in the battaile, neither to follow him that flyeth.

This made them to ſtand ſtill a great part of the day, as doubting leaſt the French, prouoked eyther by pollicie in their Captaines, or their owne ſhame; ſhould retreat backe againe, and take them at aduantage in deſpoyling the dead. But this feare was much more diſcrete then needefull, becauſe the Enemy kept on ſtill in flight, and *Trivulzi* gallopping too and fro, confounded with extremity of duſt and hoarſeneſſe in crying to them, was vterly vnable, eyther by ſoule or faire perſuaſions, or the commanding Authoritie of a Generall, to ſtay the Enſignes or the Horſe, that throwing away their Lances, ſtroue with greateſt eagerneſſe, who ſhould bee foremoſt.

It is reported, that the whole troops of French Horſe might haue bene vterly overthrowne and ſpoyled in theyr flight, if Duke *Maximilian* had made an oppoſition but with two hundred light Horſe: for there was not a French-man that carried a Lance beyonde *Seſſithes*, ſuch was their heate and haſt to be gone.

And yet within a ſhort while after, *Stenis Sabello*, and *Corradino Cribelly*, with certaine light Horſe, purſued them vnto the Towne of *Treſcato*: but the *Conradines* and *Peazzants*, flocking amaine out of the Fieldes and Hamlets to the ſpoyle, made a moſt cruell ſlaughter where anie bootie was to be had, at hedges, ditches, and all other places, that hindered the tired French in their flight.

The ſame day the *Switzers*, gathering together the ſlaine bodies of their countrymen, carryed them on their ſhoulders into the Cittie, to giue them the laſt honour of buriall. Amongſt them, were ſlaine a thouſand and three hundred, ſeaſen hundred beeing torne with the great pieces of Ordinance, and almoſt as many were wounded, but of the French were ſlaine eight thouſand of all degrees.

Duke *Maximilian*, not a little ioyfull of ſuch fortunate ſucceſſe, ſummoned the Souldiours together, and ioyſo confounding ſpeech, as he was ſcarſe able to vter a worde; which appeared by the teares trickling downe his cheekes, gaue them all moſt hearty thanks; and, as a gift of inſtant benefite and pleaſure, all the *Vicualles* then taken, beſide the Ordinance and generall ſpoyle, hee frankly beſtowed vpon them. As for the admirable Trench, wherein conſiſted ſuch vndoubted hope of Victorie, inuented by a warlike witte, brought ouer the Alpes with much labour, and great charge: that being taken from the enemy, was ſet vp in a publique place, for a future Monument of that victorie: and this deceyued the *Allemaignes* moſt, that they holde it vterly needleſſe to erect their Trench that day, which lay ſtill in the Waggon, becauſe ſucceſſe ſeemed then to crowne on the enemy.

Vpon Conference had afterwards with *Trimouille* at *Bologna*, concerning all theſe matters; he did not friuoliouſly impute the fault vnto *Trivulzi*, for not encamping on his owne groundes (as *Trimouille* had perſwaded him) in regard of ſpoyling the Graſſe, which then at that time was ready to bee mowne. But *Trivulzi*, as a man neuer conquered before, yet diſputing on ſeueral cuncts hapning in the battaile, threw the maine error on aduerſe fate, which too much enuyed

The loſſe ſuſ-
tain'd on
both ſides.

The gratitude
of Duke Ma-
ximilian
ſtoze to-
wards his ſol-
diers.

When a loſſe
is ſuſtained,
excuſes or
complaints
are alledged
then, to no
end.

his worth and renowne. And hee faide very truly, that men, made more then mad, by cowardly and degenerate feare, in the cheefest heate and fury of fight; are no way able to be restrained or ordered, by the best or most skillfull Capitaine that euer liued.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the force of sudden Chances and unexpected Euent, for the disposition as well of mans power, as of his policy: And of the hazards and doubtfull euent of Battails, and other enterprizes of Warre.



Although the successe of mens affairs is most vncertaine, variable, & subiect to infinit changes and hazards; yet in nothing so much as in matters, wherein mans power is most seene, to wit, in matters of warre, whereof the euent is so doubtfull and dangerous, that (as *Iason* saide to *Epimandarus*) *He is not wise that doth not feare them.* And therefore it is reported of *Phocion*, a most excellent Capitaine of the *Athenians*, that although hee was chosen five and forty times Generall of their armies; yet hee himselfe did euer perswade the to peace, as fearing the successe of warre. And *Hanniball* hauing bene for 16 yeares victorious in *Italy*, and forced at the length to defend his owne country, which was *Carthage* (where *Scipio* the *Romane* had already ouerthrowne two great armies of the *Carthaginians*, and was ready also to present him battaile) he doubted so much the euent thereof, that crauing conference with *Scipio*, he sought to perswade him to peace, representing vnto him the hazard of warre, and aduising him to consider in the prosperous course of his victories, not onely what had happened to other men, but also what might ensue to himselfe, & that to make peace was in his own hands, but if he came once to the battaile, the victory should bee in the hands of God. And lastly, that *Nusquam minus quam in bello euentus rependunt. The euent of things*

do no where lesse answer the expectation of men, then in warre.

Thus spake *Hanniball*, who may also well serue for an example of his owne admonitions. For though he had bin many yeares together, the scourge of the *Romans*, and the most famous and renowned Capitaine then liuing, yea, and was (as it were) growne old with victories in forreigne Countries, euen before the very gates of *Rome*; yet was hee at length vterly ouerthrowne by a *Romane*, a young man, inferior to him in reputation, experience, and forces, and in that battaile which most imported him, and wherein (by the iudgement of all men) he employed all the endeour, military arte and skill he had, or which could bee required in a most prudent and valiant Capitaine.

This change and decay of fortune in war, may be exemplified in many others, as famous Captaines as euer were; as in the worthy *Iudas Mithabenus*, *Cyrus*, king of *Persia*; *Pyrrhus*, king of *Egyptus*; *Marcellus*; *Pompeius Magnus*; *Marcus Antonius*, Competitor of *Augustus Caesar*; the Emperour *Constantinus*; and *Heracles*; *Belisarius*; *Edward* the third, King of *England*; our famous Countinman, *John Talbot*, the first Earle of *Shrewsbury*, whose name is yet terrible to the *French*; the great Earle of *Warwicke*, in the time of *Edward* the fourth; *Charles*, Duke of *Bourgonne*; *Nicholas Pricimice*; *Lewes* the 12. king of *France*; and now lastly (in our memory) the Emperour *Charles* the first. All which (with many other whom I omit for breuities sake) hauing by many notable victories got the fame and renowne of most famous Captaines, were eyther at last disgraciously killed, or else receyued some great ouerthrowes, or had (at least) some notorious decay of their former and wonted prosperous successe.

The consideration hereof, had mooued diuers most valiant Captaines, to auoide the aduenture of battaile as much as might be, and rather seek to overcome their enemies by stratagems, practises, and delays: as *L. Fabius Maximus*, who (by such meanes) distressed *Hanniball*, much more then others could do by main battailes. And therefore *Emilius* the Poet saide of him; *Cunctando restituit rem; He repaired the State of the Romanes by delays.* And it is also written of the

idem

The ouerthrow of Hanniball by a young Romane Ibid.

The chances decay of fortune in warre exemplified in many famous Captaines. Max. lib. 1. of Iust. lib. 1. Plutarch. Ptolemy. Polydorus. Guicardin. Pedro Martini. Sarnus.

The doubtfull euent of a battaile is greatly to be feared

Enimvero euentus, lib. 1.

Shall varie batt. cap. 1. Para.

Philipp comm. cap. 17. lib. 6. 156.

Philipp comm. cap. 17. lib. 6. 156.

Abate lost batt. an ill tale, and why. Guicardin. lib. 1.

Idem Cap. 64. The practise of Lewes the 6th of France to overcome an enemy in house batt. lib. 1.

Martineau de la. The present which Frances the 1st King of France, did against the invasion of Charles the Emperour.

valiant *Franciscus Sforza* Duke of *Milaine*, that he would neuer ioyne battaile with an enemy, but when hee could not otherwise choofe.

And *Lewes* the eleuenth, K. of *France* (who was no lesse valourous in war, then prudent in peace) feared nothing more, as *Philip de Commynes* testifieth, then the hazard of warre; and especially of a battaile, which by all meanes possible hee sought to auoid. In somuch, that when any enemy entered *France*; hee procured to make peace or truce with him, whatsoeuer it cost him. As appeared when *Edward* the fourth King of *England* was ther with a strong Armie, to whom he gaue a great summe of ready money, and granted to pay him a tribute of fiftie thousand Crownes a yeare, besides diuers pensions to his Councillors, and other hard conditions; rather then hee would hazard a battell with him, knowing the casualtie thereof, and that as *Commynes* saith, *Une bataille perdue a mauuaise querelle*; A battaile lost hath an ill taile or consequence. For it redoubleth the hope and courage of the Victors; it astonisheth and discourageth the vanquished; it shaketh the fidelity of subiects; it ministreth matter and opportunity of conspiracie to malecontents, of reuolt to Townes, and of alienation to confederates, who commonly sway with the good successe. And for this cause, not onely King *Lewes* the eleuenth, but also other wise Princes haue vsed, when an enemy hath bin ready to enter their countreys: to dismante all the Townes in his way that were not tenable, and to fortifie and make strong therest, retrying thither all the Cattle and prouision of the countrey, and destroying all the Corne vpon the ground, thereby to consume him with famine, long siedades, and all kindes of delays whatsoever, rather then seek to ouerthrow it by a maine battaile. This was very prudently practised by *Frances* the first, King of *France*, at such time as the Emperour *Charles* determined to enter into *Provence*, with a great and puissant army: in somuch, that when *K. Frances* vnderstoode, that the people of the Countrey resisted the destruction of theyr Corne, and other commodities; he straight way sent his armie to destroy it. Whereby the Emperour finding all Townes fortified, and no prouision a-

broad was left them, were forced (after hee had besiedged *Marseilles* some certaine moneths) to retire himselfe for lack of victuals.

And this I haue thought good to signify by the way, for that *Philip de Commynes*, and *Martin du Bellay* (both of them notable Historiographers, and Councillors, the first to *Lewes* 11. and the other to *Frances* the first) do greatly approve this manner of proceeding in these Princes, and propose it for a rule of state to all such Kings & Princes, as, being in possession their Kingdomes and States, are invaded by Forreiners; though for those that invade and seeke to conquer, *Philip de Commynes*, thinketh it meete and conuenient to seeke battaile, to make short worke, by reason of the difficulty to bee succoured, and of the infinite dangers & inconueniences, which happen by delays to an armie of strangers in foraine countreys. Besides, hee that inuadeth and seeketh to conquer, commonly aduentureth no more but his present armie, and that in hope to gaine a Crowne, whereas the Prince in possession, aduentureth his whole state against nothing, and a state is lost (many times) with the losse of a battaile at home, if the victory bee well followed.

But now let vs returne to speake of fodaine Chances, and to touch some particularities, thereby to shew very manifestly and evidently, the weaknesse of mans wit and power, and the casualty of warlike attempts.

Let vs first and formost consider, by howe many accidents the mightiest armies are many times quite disperfed and dissipated, and the greatest enterprizes ouerthrowne: as sometimes it falleth out by the death of some one man, sometimes by the dissention of Leaders and Captaines amongst themselves, sometimes by the mutiny of souldiers, sometimes by means of a Tempest or vnseasonable weather; sometimes agayne by plagues, or other discases in the Campe; and sometimes againe (as *Guicardin* noteth in his second Booke) by a commandement eyther not well vnderstood, or ill executed; by a little temeritie or disorder, which may chaunce to happen by some vaine worde or speech, euen of the meanest Souldiour. And last of all

Philipp comm. cap. 19. The invader ought to seek batt. lib. 6. 156.

The diuers casualties of warlike attempts.

Guicardin lib. 1.

(faith hee) by infinite chances which happen at vnwares, vnpossible to beefore-seene and preuented, by the witor counsell of any Captaine.

Heereto I also adde out of *Commines*, that be the counsell neuer so well taken, and the plot neuer so well layed: yet it is neuer or seldom executed in the fieelde, as it is ordayned in the Chamber. And that sometimes, by the least motions or occasions that may bee, the victorie is wonne or lost: Which (saith hee) is a great Mystery, whereby Kingdomes and States do rise or fall. And hereupon, the selfe-same Authour groundeth two Conclusions, no lesse piously then wisely. The one, that no humane wit is able (of it selfe) sufficiently to gouerne an Army of men: and the other, that God reserueth to himselfe the successe of battels and disposeth of his victory at his will and pleasure.

This will be made cleare by examples, by the which, I will first of all shewe the force of sodaine chances in battaile, and other enterprizes of Warre. And after that all victorie proceedeth from the providence and haud of God, and not from the power and pollicie of mortall man. As concerning the first, we see many and sundry times, that great designements are broken, and potent armies dissolued by accidents, without any force or stroke of the Enemy. Vhen *Leues* the Emperour (called *Leues* of *Bavaria*) was in *Italy*, with a great and puissant armie, and readie to besiege *Florence*, vpon the confidence he had in the valor and assistance of *Castruccio* of *Pisa*, whom the Florentines feared more then any man liuing: it chanced that the sayde *Castruccio* dyed: whereupon, the Emperour broke his designement, and returned into *Germanie* with his army.

Also, in the time of the great Schisme which was holden betwixt *Vrbane*, the sixte Pope of that name, and *Clement* the false Pope, who was called *Clement* the seventh, and liued in *Auignon*: *Leues* Duke of *Aniou*, Vnckle vnto *Charles* the fixt, King of *France*, went into *Italy* with an huge armie, wherein hee hadde aboue thirtie thousand Horfse, partly to deliuer *Rome*, Queene of *Naples*, (who was besiedged by *Charles* *Orsazzo*, Nephew vnto *Leues* King of *Hungary*)

and partly to depose Pope *Vrbane*, in fauour of *Clement*. When he had already entered into *Italy*, and began to make warre in the Territorie of *Bologna* (which belonged to the Church) and was likely in al mens opinion (by reason of his great forces) to obtaine his desire in all he pretended; he sodainly fell sicke and dyed; whereupon, all that mightie and innumerable army, disperfed and dissolued it selfe; and euery man returned from whence he came.

The like hath chanced diuers times, by some great plague and mortalitie in armies, as in that of the Christians, which beganne in *Thunis* in *Africa*, vnder the conduct and command of *Leues*, the ninth, King of *France*: which armie was so mollested with pestilence, that it was forced for to rise from the siege at such time, euen when the Towne was brought to extremitie, and must needs haue rendered it selfe within few daies.

Furthermore, such is the force of sodaine feares which fall vpon men, sometimes by meere chance, without anie iust cause, that the greatest armies are vterly ouerthrowne thereby. And no maruel seeing no man is so valiant, but that hee may bee seized and transported with a sodaine feare. And therefore the Lacedemonians, before they went forth to fight, were wont to sacrifice to the Muses, to obtaine their assistance, against the fierce and furious assaults of sodaine passions. VVhich taking reason many times at vnwares, and (as it were) at an aduantage, doe so oppress it, that they becaue a man of all iudgement and discourse for a time, and no passion more then feare. VVhereof I my selfe saw a notable experience, in a most valiant Spanishe Capitaine in *France*, which happened in the time of a League, who going out of his Garrison, with certayne Troopes vpon an occasion, and meeting with the Enemy by chance, where hee least suspected, tooke such a fright thereat, that he ranne home with might and maine, and tolde vs (for I was ther at the same instant time) that all the Souldiers were cut in peeces, and that hee himselfe elcaped very hardly. Neuerthelesse, within fise or sixe houres after, they all returned home safe, and not so much as any one man hurt, though they came scattering one after ano-

Lowes Date of Anoules death in Italy.

Paul Emilius Lodouicens

Offet place of Lodouicens in battail.

Plot in Trall, de Trast, p. munda.

No passion bereaue a man of his senses, more then sodaine feare.

another, for they all fledde as well as he, and the rather by his example. VVhich would haue vterly disgraced him, if in very many occasions (before) hee had not got the reputation of one of the most valiant men of his Nation, in which respect it was rather wondered at in him, then blamed.

But to shewe the like effect of sodaine feare in whole Armies, vpon diuers accidents. When *Arnulphus* the Emperour besiedged *Rome*, it chanced, that a Hare (being started by some of the Camp) ran towards the Citie, and that a great number of the souldiers pursued her with very great rowt and cryes, which the Romans seeing from the Towne, and conceyuing that the enemy meant to giue some furious and violent assault thereto, were surprized with such a feare, that they abandoned the wals and Rampiers, and the enemy clyping, and taking the opportunity therof, scaled the walles, and tooke the Towne.

Also, when *Sigismund*, King of *Hungary*, (who was afterward Emperour) gaue battell to an Army of the Turkes, neere to *Anopolis*, and was assisted with exceeding great numbers of the French, and of diuers other Nations, the French Horfse being in the vanguard, and seeing themselves (after a while) hardly oppressed, alighted from their Horfles to fight on foote. But their Horfles being loose, ranne all backe toward the campe, which the Hungarians and others that were in the reere perceiuing, and imagining that the Horfse-men, were slaine; tooke such a fright therewith, that they ranne away, whereby the Turkes got a notable Victorie, with great slaughter of the Christians, especially of the French, who wer almost all slaine.

Also at *Ptolonais* in *Egypt*, which the Christians besieged two yeares together, the Suldane, who came with an armie to succour it, gaue them an ouerthrowe by the like chance; of a Horfse, which beeing let loose, ranne backe to the Campe. For whereas diuers souldiers called one vnto another to stay him, many ranne out of their ranks (to take him) with such disorder, that they seemed to those that were behinde, and some what farre off, to run away; whereupon, a great part of the Christian Army began to flye. And this

happened at such a time, as the Soldane with his Souldiers (being put to the worke) were running out of the fieelde: who seeing the Christians flye, called backe his men, charged them afresh, and got the Victorie.

Charles Duke of *Burgogne*, besiedging *Granson*, & vnderstanding that the Switzers came to succour it, went to meete them, to giue them battaile. The Souldiers of the vanguard, as they wer marching, meaning for to take a better way, retired a little backe. The reereward seeing the same, imagined that they fled, and began themselves to flye, whereupon the rest also did the like; and (in conclusion) the Duke and all ran away, abandoning their artillery and Campe, to the spoile of the Switzers, who were exceedingly enriched thereby, and yet flew only but seven men, for all the rest saved themselves by flight. Thus much concerning sodaine feares, whereto I will adde a few more examples of other accidents.

Gildo, Gouernor of *Affricke*, vnder the Emperours *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, rebelled against the Empire, and his own brother *Mascesell* was employed against him for General, who had not (in a certaine occasion) aboue 5000. men to fight with 70000. And the armies being so nere together, that they were ready to Charge one another, *Mascesell* beganne to make motions of peace; & receiuing some hard and crosse language of one that bare an Ensigne, stroke him vpon the same arme that helde it, wherewith the Ensigne fell, and diuers others that followed, seeing it, and conceiuing that he which bare it had yielded it, went in great hast, and yielded themselves. VVhereupon, *Gildo* fled away with a great part of the armie, and the rest surrendered themselves to *Mascesell*.

Also in the battell of *Cirignolis*, in the Kingdome of *Naples*, betwixt the Spaniards and the French, a worde spoken by the Count of *Nemount*, (who was then General of the French) beeing misconstrued by his Souldiers, was a very great cause of their ouerthrow. For, the battell being already begonne, and the Count finding withall, that he could not passe a certain Ditch (ouer which he had thought to haue ledde some part of his Armie, to charge the Spaniards on the other side,

Paul Comines: Souldiers are fel-dome or neuer executed in the field, as they are ordained in the chamber.

Idem libid.

Pietro Mexia, in Lodouico Bazarra.

Paul Emilius Comines.

Paul Comines. Charles Duke of Burgogne ouerthrowne by the Switzers at Granson.

Examples of Battels lost by diuers other accidents. Gildos, lib. 7 cap. 56.

Gildo Gouernor of Affricke ouerthrowne by a strange accident.

Gildos lib. 9. The French ouerthrowne by the Spaniards, through a word mistaken.

cried vnto the Souldiers that followed him, *Backe, backe*; meaning to lead them another way. But they not knowing the cause, vnderstood that he had them flye, which they all began to doe: and others (seeing the same) followed their example. It chanced also at the same time, that the Count was slaine; whereupon the whole Army of the French ranne away, and lefte the fildes and victorie to the Spaniards.

Againe, whosoeuer hath reade any thing of the ancient warres, or hath any experience in these our times, cannot be ignorant, what confusion may bee bred in a battaile, by a little disorder growing vpon some sodaine accident; whereby Armies (many times) are causes of their owne overthrow. As it chanced to *Hannibal* in his last battaile with *Scipio*, wherein his owne Elephants turning backe vpon his Horse-men, so brake & disordered them, that the Romans taking aduantage thereof, did easily put them all vnto flight.

The like to this, hath happened sometimes in this our age, and namely, a few yeares past in France, in the yeare of our Lord, 1590. in the battaile of *Yury*, betwene the King of France, *Henrie* the fourth, and the Duke de *Mayne*, then General for the League. In which Battaille, the Horsemen of the League, flying backe vpon their owne foote, brake them in such sort, that theyr Enemy entring withall easily defeated them.

Lastly, to shew evidently the force of chance in warre, is there any thing more vncertaine or vncoustant then winde and weather? And yet neuertheless, thereupon (many times) dependeth the successe of battailes, and other warlike attempts; especially by sea, where the winde & weather do predominate, and check al the power of men. For, who is ignorant, that be the Naue neuer so potent, it can neyther goe out of the harbour, nor arrive where it should to encounter the enemy, if winde and weather be not fauourable? Which is also as necessary and importat for obtaining victory in a conflict by sea, wherein, the first aduantage that an expert Sea-man seeketh to get of his Enemy, is to winne the winde of him: which winde also changing (sometimes) during the Conflict, doth giue both the aduan-

tage and victory to the enemy. As it fell out in the Battaille of *Lepanto*, which happened betwene the Christians and the Turkes, wherein the Winde being first fauourable vnto the Turkes, sodainly changed, and draue all the smoake of the Artillerie and small shot vpon them, whereby they were so blinded, that they were very easily and speedily overthrowne.

And thus it chanceth in like manner in battailes vpon Land; and therefore wise Captaines seeke not onely to haue the Sunne, but also the winde on their backs: for, it often fauour them, that a storme of Haile or Raine in the face of an enemy, or a violent winde, drying either the dust, or the smoake of shot and Artillerie vpon it, giueth the victory to the enemy. As in the famous battaile at *Cannas*, when *Hannibal* overthrowne the *Romaines*, and slew foure thousand horse, and seuen and twenty hundred horse, and tooke three thousand and three hundred prisoners. He had the winde in his fauor, which being in his backe, and withall so violent, that it draue the dust into the *Romaines* eyes, and did greatly facilitate his victory.

The like, or rather a farre greater victory, got *Scipio Africanus* against *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, whom hee put vnto flight, and slew five thousand foote, and foure thousand horse, with the losse only of three hundred forty nine men; by the helpe of a foggy mist, and a shoure of raine. For the mist was so thicke, that the huge Army of *Antiochus* could not one part of it see another: whereas it wrought no such effect in the small Army of the *Romaines*. And againe, the raine so weakened the Bowes and Slings of *Antiochus* his Souldiers, that they serued to little or no purpose: whereas the *Romaines* vnging onely Swords and Darts, receyued no damage thereby. And to come neerer to our time, wee reade that *Adolphus* the Emperour was slaine, and his whole armie cleane overthrowne and vanquished by *Albertus*, by reason that the Sun vvas in their faces.

Also, amongst some other causes of the losse of the great Battaille of *Chalradada*, betwene the Venetians, and the French, *Guichardin* obserueth, that a certain shoure of raine; which fell euen

The battelle
of Lepanto, be-
tweene the
Christians and
the Turkes.
See in a
mappe
p. 157.

The reason
why Hannibal
threw the
Romans
at Cannas.
See in
the
p. 158.

The victory
of Scipio
against
Antiochus.
See in
the
p. 159.

Pedro Mexia
in his
p. 160.

as they were fighting, made the ground so slippery vpon a sudden, that the foote of the Venetians could not hold their footing, to defend themselves against the French Horse. By which means they were easily broken, and the greater part of them slaine.

Thus then wee see, how great a sway chance beareth in battailes and enterprizes of warre, and consequently, how little confidence is to bee reposed in the witte, pollicy, power, and endeuour of men, for the good successe thereof. VVhich dependence vpon infinit accidents, chancing so diuersly (according to the difference of persons, times, places, and circumstances) that neyther the wisdome of any Generall can force them, nor any diligence, celerity, or industry of Souldiers preuent them, though al should concur in the highest degree. For be the Soldiers neuer so obedient, dexterious, & diligent, and the Captaine neuer so wise and valiant; yet what assurance is there of good successe, when a sudden danger shall fo descend both Captaine and Soldiers, that neyther the one shall know what to command, nor the other how to obey; when an erroneous conceite of some few, or had example of some one, or a word mistaken, or a blast of winde, or a shewer of raine, and innumerable other accidents, not possible to be fore-seene or remedied, shall giue the victory to the weaker, yea, to those that are (in a manner) vanquished before? Therefore I will thus conclude this Chapter, that the successe of Battailles, and all warlike attempts, depend wholly on the will and secret iudgements of God.

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women, and Mistresses, and not without very great reason. For it is a notorious treason, & high point of dishonesty, that he who abideth as a seruant in a house, should entermeddle in seeking to purchase the loue of his Mistresse: nay, and that which is worse, to obtaine the cheefest point of al. In the compassing or contriuing whereof, he maketh the husband infamous, doth iniurie to the wife, scandalizeth neighbourhood, and overthroweth himselfe.

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The Emperour *Aurelius*, standing on a day at his window in his Pallace, & beholding a young man, who drew his Mistresse losely by the sleewe of her gowne; had them both brought before him immediately, and although the young man and his Mistresse both deplored, that it was onely done in iest; yet *Aurelius* commanded (neuertheless) the same hand to be smitten off.

Macrobius writeth in his *Saturnales*, that such persons were reputed infamous among the *Romanes*, as should giue any commendations of the Mistresse of a Family, eyther in regard of her beauty, modest behauiour, or any other seemly quality. For such praises they repured, to giue euident notice of more priuate knowledge, and such knowledge vrged speech, and speech being the discloser of the hart, would afterward grow to the shamefull acte. In the like manner *Anulus Cellius* recordeth, that the same punishment was inflicted on him that dishonored his Mistresse, as to him that corrupted a vestall virgin: which penalty was, to haue his body cut in foure parts, or else to bee stoned to death aliue.

CHAP.

Battell fought by a little disorder.

The battell of Yury in France Anno 1590.

The victory in the battell of Yury depended vpon winde & weather as well as by land as sea.

Plutarch in his Mariage.

The severity of Julius Caesar to a Captaine.

Macrobius in his Saturnales.

Anulus Cellius in his Saturnales.

How little confidence is to be reposed in the witte, pollicy, power, and endeuour of men, for the good successe thereof.

The Authors reason for this Chapter here inserted.

cryed vnto the Souldiers that followed him, *Backe, backe*; meaning to lead them another way. But they not knowing the cause, vnderstood that he had them flye, which they all began to doe: and others (seeing the same) followed their example. It chanced also at the same time, that the Count was slaine; whereupon the whole Army of the French ranne away, and lefte the fildes and victorie to the Spaniards.

Again, whosoever hath read any thing of the ancient warres, or hath any experience in these our times; cannot be ignorant, what confusion may be bred in a battaile, by a little disorder growing vpon some sodaine accident, whereby Armies (many times) are causes of their owne overthrow. As it chanced to *Hannibal* in his last battaile with *Scipio*, wherein his owne Elephants turning backe vpon his Horse-men, so brake & disordered them, that the Romanes taking advantage thereof, did easily put them all vnto flight.

The like to this, hath happened sometimes in this our age, and namely, a few yeares past in France, in the year of our Lord, 1590. in the battaile of *Yury*, betweene the King of France, *Henrie* the fourth, and the Duke de *Mayne*, then General for the League. In which Battaille, the Horsemen of the League, flying backe vpon their owne foote, brake them in such sort, that theyr Enemy entring withall easily defeated them.

Lastly, to shew evidently the force of chance in warre, is there any thing more vncertaine or vnconstant then winde and weather? And yet neuertheless, thereupon (many times) dependeth the successe of battailes, and other warlike attempts; especially by sea, where the winde & weather do predominate, and check al the power of men. For, who is ignorant, that be the Naue neuer so potent, it can neuer goe out of the harbour, nor arrive where it should to encounter the enemy, if winde and weather be not fauourable? Which is also as necessary and importat for obtaining victory in a conflict by sea, wherein the first advantage that an expert Sea-man seeketh to get of his Enemy, is to winne the winde of him: which winde also changing (sometimes) during the Conflict, doth giue both the aduan-

tage and victory to the enemy. As it fell out in the Battaille of *Lepanto*, which happened betweene the Christians and the Turkes, wherein the Winde being first fauourable vnto the Turkes, sodainly changed, and draue all the smoke of the Artillerie and small shot vpon them, whereby they were so blinded, that they were very easily and speedily overthrowne.

And thus it chanceth in like manner in battailes vpon Land; and therefore wise Capitaines seeke not onely to haue the Sunne, but also the winde on their backs: for, it often to lesh out, that a storme of Haile or Raine in the face of an enemy, or a violent winde, driving either the dust, or the smoke of shot and Artillerie vpon it, giueth the victory to the enemy. As in the famous battaile at *Cannus*, when *Hannibal* overthrowed the *Romaines*, and slew foure thousand foote, and seuen and twenty hundred horse, and tooke three thousand and three hundred prisoners. He had the winde in his fauor, which being in his backe, and withall so violent, that it draue the dust into the *Romaines* eyes, and did greatly facilitate his victory.

The like, or rather a farre greater victory, got *Scipio Africanus* against *Antiochus*, King of *Syria*, whom hee put vnto flight, and slew five thousand foote, and foure thousand horse, with the losse only of three hundred forty nine men, by the helpe of a foggy mist, and a shewre of raine. For the mist was so thicke, that the huge Army of *Antiochus* could not one part of it see another: whereas it wrought no such effect in the small Army of the *Romaines*. And againe, the raine so weakened the Bowes and Slings of *Antiochus* his Souldiers, that they serued to little or no purpose: whereas the *Romaines* vsing onely Swordes and Darts, receyued no damage thereby. And to come neerer to our time, wee read that *Adolphus* the Emperour was slaine, and his whole arme cleane overthrowne and vanquished by *Albertus*, by reason that the Sun was in their faces.

Also, amongst some other causes of the losse of the great Battaille of *Chalradadda*, betweene the Venetians, and the French, *Guicciardin* doth obserue, that a certain shewre of raine; which fel euen

The battelle of Lepanto, betwene the Christians and the Turkes. See in the *Chronicle*, 1571.

The ground where Hannibal was slain. See in the *Chronicle*, 1571.

The victory of Scipio Africanus against Antiochus. See in the *Chronicle*, 1571.

Pedro Mexia in his *Tratado de la guerra*, lib. 4. cap. 10.

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The battell of Yury in France in Anno 1590.

The victory in battell dependeth sometimes vpon winde & weather as well by land as by sea.

Plutarch in his *Mariage*.

The furying of Julius Caesar to a Capitaine.

Marcus Aurelius a mist and leuere Emperour.

Macrobius in *Saturnales*.

Anulus Silius.

The Authors reason for this Chapter here set downe.

CHAP. XVII.

Concerning diuers kinds of Salutation, used among our Ancients, when they met together.



HE maner that our Elders obserued in their Salutations one to another, was very diuers, and each one according to their Countries vfe.

The *Ismaeians* at their meetings, vsed to speake these words: *The Lord bee with you.*

The true *Hebrues*, saluting each other, said; *God saue you my Brother.*

The *Philosophers* were wont to say; *God in a good houre.*

The *Thebanes* said; *God giue you health.*

The *Romanes* salutations were as if they they would say; *God send or giue you good fortune.*

The *Sicilians* said; *God keepe you.*

The *Carthagenians* did not vie any salutations by speeches at their meetings, but as a signe of loue and friendlines, they would kisse their right hands each together, and then kisse one another.

The *Moores* likewise at their meetings, would kisse the right shoulder of one another: and when they tooke leaue for their departing, then they would kis each others knee.

In *Italy*, they haue three feuerall kinds of salutations for a whole day. In the morning they say, *Dio ti dia il buono giorno*; *God giue you a good morning*: At midnoon, *Dio ti dia salute*; *God giue you health*. And at euening they say, *Buona sera*, *Good euen*. They say also many times, *Miracommendo*; *I commend me to thee*. And after two or three houres of night is past, then they say, *Dio ti dia la buona notte*; *God giue you the goodnesse of the night*. Sometime also they are accustomed to say, *Idio ti contenti*; *God content ye*.

In the kingdom of *Valentia* in *Spaine*, when men meete together, they salute each other in this manner; *Gentle Sir, you are well come*. And at the departing, the one saith, *God remaine with you*; and the o-

ther replyeth, *God in a good houre.*

In *Catholonia*, such persons as chance to meete together, salute one another thus; *You are very well arrived heere Sir.*

In *Castile* some vse to say, *God keepe you*; others, *God be with you*. And when they leaue each other, the one saith, *God conduct you*; and the other answereth, *The blessed Angels beare you company*. Some also vse to say; *With your good grace and fauour*. And others, *Adieu Sir*. In the

Court some vse to say, *Kisse the hands of your mercy*. And some other, *Kisse the feet of your Honour or Worship*. Which Courting salutations are altogether vaine, and (for the most part) deliuered with feigning and dissimulation. For many offer to kisse the hands and feet of one another, that would much rather cut them off, then any way kisse them, desiring indeed to see each others viter ruine. And certainly (me-thinks) that men of worth, authority, and respect, ought not to vse any such salutations; because to kisse the feet, hath bin accounted a matter of great dignity, and appertaining to the Pope only. And to kisse the hand, is a gracious fauour afforded by Kings and Princes, to such Subjects as they thinke worthy of such grace.

But without gadding after so many kinds of vanities, and diuersity of idle words, it is a matter meete and reasonable, that wee who are Christians, should imitate Iesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, saluting one another, with such words as he saluted his Disciples, saying; *Peace be with you*. Our Redcemer entrusted vs also, to salute houses at our entreing into them, saying; *Peace be in this house*.

Epaminondas said, that vntill the age of thirty yeares, we should salute men thus; *You are very well come hither*, for all this while it appeareth, that they are but come into the world. From thirty vp to fifty, then to salute thus; *Well be ye*; because that then they know what maner of thing the world is. And from fifty defending downe againe, to say, *God in a good and blessed houre*. For then it appeareth, that they are beginning to take leaue of the world, and that as they had an entreing into it, so there must needs be a departing from it.

CHAP.

The Carthagenians.

The Castilians.

Court Salutations.

The vinity of Court salutations.

How Christians should salute one another.

An excellent obseruation of the famous Epaminondas.

CHAP. XVII.

What a commendable thing it is to pardon iniuries, especially in Princes and great Lords.

I hath euermore bene a praise-worthy thing, to pardon iniuries and offences: which Princes and great Lords should neuer be vnmindfull of, but continually to remember the words, which *Julius Caesar* spake to *Manilius*. Who (on a time) demanding of him, what that was which being performed by him, he therby thought to receiue the greatest glory, and in remembrance whereof hee ought most to reioyce? *VVhcreto* he thus answered. *By the immortal Gods I sweare to thee Manilius, that I neuer thought my selfe to haue merited glory, for any other thing whatsoeuer in this life, nor any other else so much to reioyce me; then in pardoning such as had iniured me, and rewarding them that did me seruice*. *VVords* vndoubtedly worthy of praise, pleasing to heare, notable to reade, and necessary to be followed. For although *Julius Caesar* beleeued as a Pagane, yet his works fauoured of a good Christian: and we miserable men, beleeuing all as Christians, yet our works come farre short of such beleeve, through the tentations of our corrupt flesh. Because humane wretchednesse is grown to such an encreasing in these cases, that many would pardon the iniuries of their enemies; and yet notwithstanding, dare not do it for feare of men: who understanding, that such a man is willing to forgieue his enemy, presently vse to say; that hee rather doth it through weaknesse and cowardise, then in any respect of charity.

CHAP. XVIII.

From whence (as the first) came the title or name of King and also of Emperour.

OVR reuerend Fore-fathers, according to the diuersity of Nations, called their Princes by diuers names. The

Egyptians called their cheefest Lords and Rulers, *Pharaohs*: The *Eythians*, *Ptolomies*: The *Parthians*, *Artaxides*: The *Albanes*, *Syluius*: The *Sicilians*, *Tyrants*: And the *Argiues*, *Kings*. Heere we are to understand, that long since in former times, to be a King, was not any dignity, but an office only: as euen now (among vs) is a Governour of the Common-wealth.

Plutarch, in his Bookes of Common-wealth, saith, that at the beginning, all such as governed, were called *Tyrants*: but afterward, all those that governed badly, were termed *Tyrants*, and such as ruled well were styled *Kings*, as a different note from them. For as the King maintained common vility, and preferred the safety of the Commonwealth, before his owne respects and commodities; so the Tyrant referred his dominion to his cupidity and profite, alledging his will only, as the sole reason of all his vniust commands. The King fed the flock, and the Tyrant deuoured it: the one obeyed lawes, & the other commanded about them, and also would breake them when himselfe pleased: this man was equall, the other vniust; the one obtrayned the kingdome by vertue, and therein conserued it; the other vsurped it by power, and so by power held it.

From the beginning of the foundation of *Rome*, the Romanes created Kings, to bee governed and defended by them: neuertheless, they afterward found such kinde of government to be so bad, as they would endure no more but seuen Kings. And after they had banished perpetually the *Tarquins* for their tyranny, cleansed or purged the City, and flaine their offerings: they made a solemne oath, for them, their children, and successors, neuer more to create any Kings, eyther to gouerne *Rome* or them. But forasmuch as the *Romane* Common-wealth, had formerly receiued great benefites by their Kings, as by *Numa Pompilius*, and that their Kings only had the charge of sacred things: they resolu'd to keepe the name of King perpetually in their City, to the end, it should not appeare, that with the expulsion of the Kings, they derogated from diuine Religion and Service.

And because the Auguries or Diuiners had saide, that that name was consecrated to the Gods: the Romanes ordain'd, that one man among them should

Due civility of Nations caused diuersity of titles giue to their Princes.

The difference of the words Tyrant and King, and the feuerall manner of their gouerning in the Common-wealth.

The first creation of Kings in Rome.

Dionysius Halicarnassensis Lib. 5.

The Idumaeans.

The Hebrues.

The Philosophers.

The Thebanes.

The Romans.

The Sicilians.

The Carthagenians.

The Moores.

The Italians.

The Valentians.

CHAP. XIX.

What was the reason, and upon what occasion, Kings in ancient times were created or established: And of the Dignity Royall.



OR two principall causes, Kings were at first anciently established: One, to the end they should preferre common iustice and equity, by which bond humane society is maintained, and without which the lesser would be oppressed by the greater, all things being done by power, and no right observed. The other, because they should defend the goods and safety of their Citizens from enemies. The necessities of life assembled men among themselves, and conioyned them by a naturall society: which hath beene caused by mutual succours, support, and offices fitting mankinde.

The beginning of this society, was reason and speech, whereby wee are differing from all brutish creatures. Reason caused many and infinite artes to be invented, and speech (which is the interpreter of the spirit) learned, entrusted, & communicated them, not onely by this mutual coniunction; but also hath stored the life of man with many commodities.

The first and cheefest, was the coniunction and coupling of man with woman, whereof was made one house, wherein all things were to the in common, & thence ensued plurality of houses. For Brothers, Sisters, and Cousins contracting marriage together at the beginning, and could not afterward (by multiplicity of their children) be contained all in one house, they went to dwell in other houses. So of one house at the first, came Boroughs and Villages, even as Colonies of kindred. Finally, from Boroughs & Villages were deriued Citties, and becoming to be peopled, were enclosed with walles, confirmed with lawes, and entrusted with sciences: for without all these, they could not be preferred from the conspiracies of men, and therefore were to be ruled by some one, and couerousnesse of reigning is so great, that all would command, and none obey, or yeeld reuerence.

VVherefore, like as Daylers, when they are surprized with an impetuous tempest, run for refuge to the Patron of the Ship,

Two reasons for the establishing of Kings.

The beginning of humane society.

The first coniunction of man and woman, & what ensued thereon.

Of one house at the first followed the peopling of Townes and Villages.

An apt and worthy comparison.

yea,

The King or Master of the Sacrifices.

The first cheefe Priest in Rome.

The original of the name of Emperour, and whereof it was deniued.

The Roman Dictator.

The name of Emperour given to Caesar by the people.

The five dignities of the Senate.

Many other Offices of State among the Romans.

Eccle. 7. 9.

The world would perish, if the power of God did not gouern it.

Herod. 1. 4.

The first beginning of Royall and Kingly Iurisdiction.

Royall Majesty, you, he to be armed with good Lawes.

yea, & before they will set forth to Sea, fore-seeing future perils, make their recourse to a good Pilot, in whom they repose their trust and safety: Euen so as requisite is it, to giue the gouernment of a City, to such a one as may well conduct the common-wealth, and render iustice and right to euery man. For where there is no Gouernor (saith Ecclesiastes) the people are scattered. All things which consist on a certaine order, should be referred to one head or cheefe. Which we may obserue in some brutish creatures; as in Bees, who obserue a forme or image of a common-wealth among them. This world it selfe (the parts whereof are conioyned among themselves, by admirable order and artefull workmanship) would fayle and come to nothing, if it were not gouerned by the power of God. Therefore such as cannot endure the dominion of many, will submit themselves to the regimēt of one; in whom, for opinion of wisdom and goodnesse, they may safely repose their trust. Not onely then to the Medes (saith Herodotus) but also to all other people, Kings (vertuously inclined) were established for the administration of iustice.

In elder times, kingdomes came not to the Sonnes of Kings, but was giuen to such a one, whom they thought would wisely and religiously maintaine the foundation of the Common-wealth, by concord and iustice. In those olde dayes, a King gouerned in euery City, and after other Townes became annexed to the principality and dominion of one: Kings had beginning to gouerne ouer diuers people, and thence ensued, that according to the names of Kings, the Regions were so called, which the Romanes termed Provinces. Moreover, euery King should excell one another in iustice and power, to the end, that he may the better vniue his people by equitie, and defend the Common-wealth from enemies. And by good right it may be sayd, that Royall Maiestie ought not only to be decorated with Armes: but ought also to be armed with lawes, that at all times, both of warre and peace, he may both manfully and vprightly gouerne.

Now, speaking of this Royall dignity, double it is to great and holy, that Kings being protectors and defenders of

societies among men, do therein imitate the prouidence of God: the office and action of whom, is to rule and gouerne all things, & therefore by good right, they may be termed Vicars and Ministers of the almighty and soveraign Rector of the whole world, and he himselfe hath called them Gods. Plato reported a kindome among mortall men, to be a diuine and soveraigne goodnesse; because it came neere to the diuine nature, and power celestiall. How farre then some do surpass each other in many things, so a King doth excell all other men in dignity and honor, not humane but diuine.

Porus, a King among the Indians, being taken prisoner in batraile, when Alexander demanded of him, after what manner he would be vled; Like a King, quoth he. Again he vrged the same demand, & still he returned the same answer. For (quoth hee) all is comprized under the word King. The name of King was of so great veneration among Nations, that the Indians and Persians adored their Kings as a diuine image, and helde it for their highest and cheefest happinesse, to haue at any time but a sight of them. Pors renowned Iupiter by the name of King, more then any other title. And in ancient times, Kings did not onely gouerne the common-wealth; but also had the charge and super-intendency of Ceremonies & Sacrifices. Kings then are sacred, considering that the Hebrewes with one and the same oyle, anointed both their Kings & high Priests.

Let vs see and obserue, how one kinde of reason, and the like of vnderstanding, do gouerne in man like a Queene. Let vs consider the other works of nature, which by a wonderfull kinde of concord, restrained and combined together, depend only vpon one. So that if things which imitate nature, are the most perfect and excellent, then questionlesse, Monarchy is most absolute and entire, farre aboue Aristocratie, Democratic, Oligarchy, or Laocratie, yea, all other kinds of gouernment, where eether many persons, or few, or the people themselves do rule and command. And like as it is a very hard matter, to finde many men good and honest, rather then one only: so is it more hard, that the manners of one man should be so soone corrupted, as of many. So

Kings imitate the prouidence and goodnesse of God.

Plato in lib. 4. de Legib.

An excellent example of Porsus King of India.

The charge and office of Kings in ancient times.

Things imitating nature, are the most perfect and excellent.

that

The world to
be governed
by one man
only.

that if the whole world were governed by one man, there would not bee so many differences, manners, customes, nor diversities of religion, nor so many warres, offences, and slaughters. But when Cities are vnder the sway and power of many, they are then ouer-toyled with troubles, seditions, and dissensions, by reason of inordinate willes and affections in the greatest: who licence themselves to all euill, being partiall and discordant one towards another. Whereof God said by the mouth of his Prophet; *Many Pastours haue ruined my Vine.*

To serue and
attend vpon
the command
of many, is no
meane slauery

Let me demaund one question, is it not much more seruile and slauish, to attend on the willes of many, then of one only. Nay, are not the couetous desires of one man sooner to be satisfied, then of many? you cannot chuse but grant it, and I craue no better iudgement. For as it is neyther good nor necessary, that in one house there should be many fathers of the

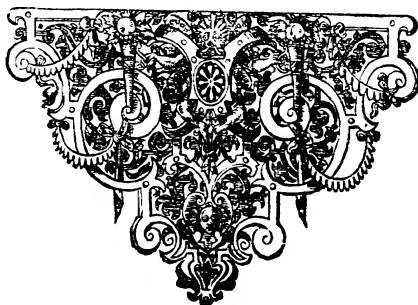
Family: euen so is it neyther secure nor profitable, that the Common-wealth should bee governed by the authority of many. Whereof *Licurgus* gaue good assurance, when some one required, that Democratic should bee established in *Sparta*, hee returned this answer; *Begin it then in thine owne house first.*

Yet very true it is, that one man only, how great or small soeuer in power & prerogatiue, cannot (of himselfe) provide for all occasions, and in all places: but he may by his Lieutenantes (as God by the ministry of his Angels) exercise his authority throughout all his Lands vnder his obedience, as hauing the eye of his minde euery where, for containing his Subjects in quietnesse, and causing iustice to be administrated vnto them. If say then, as a conclusion to this Chapter, that wee ought to lue, in and vnder the vntie of these foure things; *Of one God; Of one king; Of one faith; And of one Law.*

The power &
prerogatiue
of a King by
his Lieutenants.

THE

The End of the Second Booke.



THE THIRD BOOKE.

The Originall of the Switzers, and their feuerall CANTONS.

Containing, the Government of the Countrey; the publike estate of the thirteene Cantons, and of their Confederates, both in generall and particular: Their Baylywicks, and Iurisdiccions; The Originall and condition of all their Alliances; Their battels, victories, conquests, and other memorable actions; from the Emperor Raoul of Habsbourg, vntil the time of Charles the first.

CHAP. I.

The Preface
or induction
of the Author



Because amongst those Common-wealths of Freedom, gouerned by a certain number of Lords, many haue held opinion, that (at this present time) the Commonwealth of the Switzers is the cheefest, next vnto that of *Venice*: I haue many times questioned with diuers people, that were no Switzers, how, and after what manner this Common-wealth was first established & gouerned. For they did highly maruaile, that so many people, hauing but little, should ally and encrease themselves in so short while, euen as enclosed within a defensive wall or circuite, and continue firmly knit together in peace, for such a large and long expence of yeeres.

The common
wealth of the
Athenians.

The common
wealth of the
Achaians.

The Common-wealth of the Athenians, excelling all the rest in Greece, was assembled and selected of many people, and from many places, not only into one countrey, but also within one & the same city. As for the Commonwealth of the Achaians, composed of twelue towns or cities, it did not last long, nor prosper: but after it continued in some dignitie, vnder

Aratus and *Philopoemen*, soone afterward it was subdued by the Romaines, because she abused her owne liberty. After the death of *Iosua*, the Common-wealth of *Israel*, exposed (thorow her owne fault) to pillage and violence of enemies, was many times protected and defended by Iudges and valiant persons, which God had raised vp for that purpose: but at the last, the twelue Tribes, as being glutted or surfeited with their own liberty, made choise of a King out of their own motion

In the time of our Ancestors, by the intermeddling and solicitation of the Emperour *Frederick*, the Townes of * *Suaba* v. nited themselves together, and (by that meanes) were esteemed inuincible: but hauing rashly attempted (and by badde conduct) war against the Switzers, the former confederation lost much of the latter. Which afterward, it seemed the recovered againe, when the confederates expelled the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and ruined all the Castles of *Suaba*, detained by diuers theues and robbers. So that soon after the time of their league was expired they became so strange one to another, that they who before were their friends and allies, were reputed by them as their greatest enemies, and ioyed themselves with those that had most molested them; by which meanes, in verie few yeares this league was vtterly lost and vanished.

S

Now

The common
wealth of *Israel*.

* By some termed *Pomerania*.

All Switzer-
land is no o-
ther but one
Common-
wealth, & the
reason thereof.

Passage by
plurality of
votes, bindeth
all sub-
jects.

The nation of
the Switzer
consisteth of
estates in co-
mon.

How Com-
monwealths are
maintained.

Troubles soon
ended, & mu-
tual loose em-
braced.

Now albeit there are many people, & a great number of Townes and Cities in *Swetia*; yet is it neuertheless, but euen as one City or Commonwealth. I know that learned men will hardly credite this, because they suppose vs to haue no society, nor any conjunction of government, and so (by consequent) it cannot be said, that *Swetia* can yeild the body of a Commonwealth considering also, that the Townes are not tyed to the ordinances of other Cities or Townes, except with their owne good will and liking, as in the Conventions priuate of associates. So it is, that in the same degree of Commonwealth, whatsoever hath passed by plurality of voyces, it bindeth all the Subjects of that Commonwealth. As for my self, I am not willing to contest with the learned: for I freely confesse the truth of their saying; if wee consider matters exactly. But in regard that the whole Nation of the Switzers consisteth of common estates, governing many Provinces in common, deliberating altogether on the affaires of peace and warre, hauing (almost) a like Lawes and Customes, and are so strictly conioyned by perpetuall Conventions: admit that this were not one onely Commonwealth, and in such nature as hath bene formerly spoken of; yet notwithstanding, wee that write and speake of these matters some-what more popularly, do imagine, that we shall not much faile, in calling this association and league, the City and Commonwealth of the Switzers.

Thus then this Commonwealth established by perpetuall alliances, hath conserved her liberty for the space of more then two hundred yeares, with great concord, and incredible vnion of hearts of all the Switzers. For albeit that once or twice (according as it hapneth almost ordinarily in all great Commonwealths) they haue bene prouoked and stirred to ciuill warres: yet notwithstanding, those troubles were immediately pacified, and al-reuinited together againe in sincere & cordiall affection; embracing the laudable desire of their predecessors, to study still for the freedome of their Countreyes maintenance. Neuertheless, there are some kind of men (enemies to the Switzers) so impudent, as to reproch vs, that in *Heluetia*, every man is a master or com-

mander, and that our Ancestors, hauing put to death, or troden vnder foote the awe of our Noblemen, by these meanes entred into this liberty, contrary vnto all right and reason. Others do (more truly) confesse, that our Noble-men did offer such outrage to our predecessors, both in words and deeds, that they had iust occasion to vndertake Armes, which all that while they managed very sharply, as it happeneth among people much abused and prouoked. But to satisfie the irresolution of some friends, who vnderstand not the estate of our affaires, and to rembarre the calumnies of the enuious, I thought good to employ my labour, in describing the forme of the Switzers Commonwealth, by reprobuing all vntruthes to the full, and ascending to the height of their originall.

All *Heluetia* or *Switzerland*, is at this day considered in three parts: for first of all, the thirteene Cantons haue alwayes allyed and combined themselves, as into one body of a City. And these are they, *Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, Uri, Suits, Vnderwald, Zug, Glaris, Basile, Fribourg, Soleurre, Schaffouse, and Appenzel*. In the second place are the associates and confederates of the thirteene Cantons, to wit, first of all, the Abbot and Towne of *S. Gal*; next, the confedered *Grifons*, the Bythop of *Sion*, and the whole countries of *Valais, Rotuile, Mulhouse, and Bienné*. Consequently, the territories or Bayliwicks, which are governed by the 13. Cantons in common, to witte; *Turgow, Bade, the Rhegusces*, now adayes called *Rhinthal, Sargans*, the free Provinces, the inhabitants of *Lugano, Locarne, Mondrisse, and the Vale Madie*, whereto may well bee ioyned them of *Bellizone*, who are vnder the dominion of the three lesser Cantons. The cities and townes of the Cantons & confederates, are *Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, Zug, Basile, Fribourg, Soleurre, Schaffouse, S. Gal, Coire of the Grifons, Syon in Valais, Rotuile, Mulhouse, and Bienné* for all the rest do dwell in villages.

Moreover, all of them abide not in Switzerland, neither within those limites proposed by *Cesar* in his Commentaries: for of the thirteene Cantons, *Basile* is as a quarter apart, which was anciently called the countrie of the *Raurasians*. *Schaffouse* is in *Allemagne* or *Germany*, on the further

The reason
for the Au-
thors writing
of this dis-
course.

The part and
portions of
Heluetia.

The thirteene
Cantons.

Associates and
Confederates

Iurisdic-
tions
or Bayliwicks

Cities and
Townes of the
Cantons and
Confederates

Villages ap-
pertaining to
him.

See *Cap. in com-
ment. Lib. 4.*

The Abbot &
the towne of
S. Gal.

"An ancient
people of
Germany.

The order of
the Bayli-
wicks.

Diversity of
authoritie in
the iurisdic-
tions of the
Cantons.

Authority of
censure in
criminal oc-
cassions.

Associations
in matter of
government
and authority

side of the *Rhine*: and one part of them of *Glaris* and of *Vri*, do touch (as some conceiue) with the *Grifons* and the *Alpes*. As for the associates, except the Abbot and Towne of *S. Gal* and *Bienné*: al the rest are out of the limits of the ancient countrie of *Heluetia*. First we consider, that the *Grifons* retainie still their name and old countrie of the *Rhatians*. Next is the *Valaisians*, who in elder times were called *Viberins, Sedusians, and Veragrius*. *Rotuile* is in *Germany*, and *Mulhouse* towards the *Franche Comté*. Now as concerning the Iurisdic-
tions or Bayliwicks, they of *Rhinthal* and of the *Sargans*, are *Grifons*. But they of *Lugano, Locarne, Mondrisse*, of the *Vale Madie*, and of *Bellizone*, are Italians by originall and Language: the other Iurisdic-
tions remaine in Switzerland.

And heere you are to vnderstand, that these Cantons doe not hold equal authority ouer the distinct countries; but according as the associations haue bene made in diuersity of times, euen so are the authority of the Cantons diuers. They of *Turgow*, hold as their Lords and heads the feauen most ancient Cantons, namely, *Zurich, Lucerne, Uri, Suits, Vnderwald, Zug & Glaris, Berne, Fribourg & Soleurre*, do vndergoe some right in criminall causes. For the Prouostship or Precedency of the Empire (as they vse to terme it) and iudgement of criminall processe, was heeretofore referred to them of *Constance*, as their due: but among other conditions of peace, after the warre of *Suscha*, this authority was granted vnto the Switzers, which appertained equally to the fore-named Cantons, because they all ioyned together in the selfe-same warre. Moreover, those feuen Cantons commanding at *Bada*, did the like to them of *Sargans, Rhinthal*, and ouer the Free Provinces also. True it is, that in their gouernement of *Bada*, they associated the men of *Berne* with them; and they of *Appenzel* in the gouernment of *Rhinthal*; and all the Cantons to the foure Bayliwicks, which are on the confines of *Italy*. *Bellizone* is subiect to them of *Vri, Suits*, and *Vnderwald*: and such (at this day) is the condition and estate of the Switzers Commonwealth. Now, I purpose to shew the times, the cause, and the principall Articles of the Switzers league. Alfo,

what hath bene the estate of each *Canton*, before they became allved together, and what their dues and rightes haue bene, and are. Lastly, what warres they haue maintained since their League was made.

CHAP. II.

Of the three first Cantons of the Switzers.



N the yeare after the natiu-
city of our Lord Iesus
Christ, 1307, they of *Vri, Suits*, and *Vnderwald*, were the very first that Can-
tonned themselves. They were termed Swaines or Boores of the
country, dwelling in vallies, and in their
owne Language, stiled, *Diedrey Lan-
der*, also *Diedrey Waldstett*. And, in
time, *Lucerne* came into the fourth place.
They dwelt in the Valleys of the *Alpes*,
betweene the *Grifons* countrie, the *Vale*
of *Liwiner*, and high *Valais*, and were sear-
ted betweene the
Canton of *Zurich*,
and the countrie of
Ergow. Some doe
affirme, that they
of *Suits*, are de-
scended of the *Cimbri-
ans*; they of *Vri*,
of the *Tauriscis*; & they
of *Vnderwald*, of



certaine banished Romanes; and indeed, their magnanimity in war, declares them to be issued of generous Ancestors.

Their Annals do testifie, that the Emperor *Lewes*, sonne to *Charlemaign*, at the request of the Byshop of *Rome*, granted these people liberty, to bee gouerned by Lawes made among themselves, & gaue them many other Priuiledges, for they faithfull seruice in warre against the *Sazars*, in behalfe of the citie of *Rome*. For the *Sarrasians*, who in those times much troubled *Africa*, hauing inuaded *Sicilie*, came likewise into *Italy*: where they tooke some places: and afterward marching vnto *Rome*, easily made themselves Masters of the Vatican, which

The three
first Cantons,
and bo-
- they
Cantonned
themselves.

Of whom and
whence they
people are fe-
nerally de-
scended.

The Empe-
ror fauour to
these people.

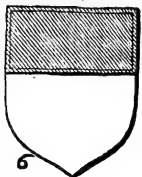
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then stood voyd of any defence. There they robbed the Temple of Saint Peter, breaking downe the gates thereof, that were of silver and very great value, and afterward burnt and destroyed it. Hauing continued there diuers dayes in determination to surprize



the whole Citie; they heard tydings (as Historians say) that a great band of soldiers, belonging to *Cſ Alpine Gaule, came to the succor of Rome, which

made them forthwith recoile, and to waite all the plaine Countrey about Rome. Among other badde seruices, they robbed the Temple of S. Paul upon the way to *Ofia, and stuffed it with such fires, as the more part thereof was vitterly ruined. From thence continuing on theyr course in spoile and ranage, euen so far as mount Cſtinum, they stole away all the Jewels and Ornaments of the Abbey, and defaced a great part thereof. Thence getting vnto the sea shore, and lading their Shippes with their itoine booties: finding them ready to set saile, they lanchd forth into the maine.



Now, the Annales of Switzerland or Heluetia, do say; that these three first Cantons, and they of the Valley of Hſell, were present at this fore-mentioned succor and supply, and passed two severall times into Italy, vnder the conduct of a certaine Italian Marquesse, named Guy. They pursued the Sarazins, and cut their rere-gard in peeces, bringing back a great spoile from this ouerthrowe of theirs, which they altogether gaue to the Temple of S. Peter, euen all that they hadde gotten from the enemy. In regard whereof, the Pope (as a recompence for so great a benefite) obtained (on theyr behalfe) great priuiledges from the King of France; and moreover, presented them with those Ensignes or Standards; which yet, in our daies, they vse to beare in war.

Notwithstanding, the Emperor Lewes sonne to Lewes the Debonnaire, and youn-

gest sonne to Charlemagne, gaue them of Vri to the Abbey which he had builte at Turegum, now called Zurich, where his daughter Hildegard was Lady Abbess: and the wordes of the Donation (truely translated out of the Latine Copie) are these which follow.

The Donation of the Emperour Lewes to the Abby of Turegum.



E give to our Abbey, founded at Turegum, where Saint Felix and Saint Regula rest in the Lord with their bodies; our Bourrough or Towne of Turegum, situated in the Duchy of Suabia, in the Territory of Duran, with all the appurtenances and dependances in diuers charges: to wit, the village of Vri, with the churches, houses, and other buildings above named: The slaues, male and female, young and old, lands arable and desert, Woods, Meadows, pasture grounds, Fish ponds, Rivers, Ports, Passages, things found and yet to find, with all other rents and revenues. Moreover, our Forreist named Albis, and generally all those things fore-mentioned, that either now or hereafter do and may appertaine vnto vs, without reseruing or retaining any thing whatsoeuer.

But it is not to bee thought, that this Donation did wholly abolish the ancient priuiledges and libertie of them of Vri: For, if we may credit them, the Emperour gaue not the Seignury of all the country to this recited Abbey, but of one Village or two onely. Moreover, if it were so that the whole valley of Vri had bin vnder subiection to this Abbey, yet notwithstanding, it could not much prejudice their freedom: because such as were any way subiect to Monasteries or Conuents, were obliged vnder certaine conditions, and enioyed their liberties in the meane while, onely their seruice to the Church excepted.

Beside, they received their Governours or Prouosts of the empire, to take knowledge and censure in causes criminall, without any appeale. They of Vri also did formerly do the like; and as concerning other causes, their ludge, whom they teame Amman (as much to say, as Maior or Bourgomaister) with his Counsellors or Assitants, was chosen from among

The lands & people of Vri given to the Abbey of Turegum.

According to the autentical Latine Copie

The ancient priuiledges & liberties of Vri, not trusted to this gift.

Lords & Noblemen in these Cantons generally distinguished by their places.

The fourthe or originall of confusion in any estate whatsoever.

Partialities do euen more proue most dangerous.

Their liberties renewed and confirmed by the Emperours Letters Patents.

among the people, by good knowledge had of him and them, & they are to provide in common for the affaires of the Common wealth. They of Suits & Vnderwald do gouerne themselves in the same manner: and among them, men belonging to the Church, haue some power and priuiledges. In these feuerall quarters wer good store of Noblemen. As among them of Vri, the Barons of Attinghusen, Schwynberg and Ritzing: The Lords of Sillini, Winterberg, Mose, Sedorf, Spiring, Meier, of Bourges and of Oetzfeld. Among them of Suits, the Lords of Stenacker, Rogenberg, Schwanow. In the quarters of Vnderwald, the Lords of Wolfenschief, Muenne, Rudenz, Altsch, Watterberg, Lembourg, Liebourg, and Humeruille. At the beginning, these Gentlemen carryed themselves very kindly with the other Inhabitants, and part of them serued as vassalles to some neighbouring Earles. But when they grew rich thorow succession of times, they began to misprize the people, and to subiect them to theyr vniust commands. The Governours, who ought to censure the peoples libertie, making semblance of not seeing such harsh behaviours: fauoured the Gentlemen, as being next in condition to themselves, and by those means both augmented & supported their power.

In those times especially, not onely the freedom of the Switzers Cantons, but likewise of many Townes in Germany, were in manifest danger. The Emperours were excommunicated, and in open warres assailed by the Popes, so that all Germany was diuided into two factions, one part wherof followed the Popes power, and the other the Emperours. The people of Switzerland, and some few of their Nobility, tooke part with Frederick the lawfull emperor, who (for that cause) renewed and reconfirmed the ancient priuiledges of their liberty. They of Suits can yet shew the Letters Patents of Frederick the second, written in the moneth of September, in the year 1240. whereby he receiued them of Suits into the safeguard of the empire, as members thereof; and that they should not be any way aliened or estranged thence, hee confirmed their priuiledges, and called them people of free condition.

On the contrary side, the most part of

the Nobility, especially such as were as vassalls to Conuents and Abbaies, which were then in very great credit, they followed the Popes faction. Hence sprang the hatreds, enmities, and first foundation of ciuill dissentions, all taking a wonderfull increasing in the Interregnum of magic yeares, after the death of Frederick. Neuerthelesse, in those very times, the fore-named people did (euen then) enioy their intire liberty, although many ambuscadoes were prepared to deprive them of it: as appeareth sufficiently by a deed patent of confederacie for three yeares, by them of Vri and Suits, with them of the Towne of Zurich, the tenor of which confederacie followeth thus.

Attrue Copy of the Patent of Confederacie, betweene Zurich, Vri, and Suits.

TO all them to whome these Letters shall come, to be either seen or heard: We Arnold Maier de Sillini, Amman, and the people of Vri: and we Conrad de iberg, Amman and the people of Suits, and of the Diocesse of Constanz. We make it knowne, that we are obliged together by oath, mutually to ayd and counsell each other, from the Feast of the nativity of Iesus Christ, untill & for the space of three yeares ensuing, on these conditions following. Whatsoeuer hath bin done or past before 3 dayes, both not any way together. If a Lord, whatsoeuer he be, haue a seruant or vassall among vs: that vassall or seruant shall be subiect vnto him, according to the custom which hath heretofore bin vsed in the kings time. But if the Lord shall constrain him beyond that limitation; then will we extend to succour the seruant. If any of the Allies or confederates shall possesse himselfe of any Castles or other places, without the consensual liking of the other Allies, they shall not stand bound to furnish him with the charge of Garrison or munition. If any one haue done damage by fire or spoile on any place, we will ioyne all our meines together, to make war on them that shall haue committed such an offence. If any shall attempt to invade or see upon the lands of Vri and Suits: they of Zurich shall impeach them to their uttermost power. If they cannot attaine therunto: they shall then endamage them by burning, sucking, and all other helpes of hostility. If any shall besiege the Towne of Zurich, and shall

The vacancie of a Princes rule, make way to manie haraies.

Meanes to resist against tyranny.

Translated truly out of the ancient record.

The couenent of conditions agreed vpon between them

For vassals and seruants.

For allies and confederates.

Against fire or other spoile.

Against invasion to be offered on either side.

For the Vines
and trees a-
bout Zurich.

Against no-
uety in al-
liance.

Six men cho-
sen for Vri &
Suits out of
Zurich, and as
many out of
Vri and Suits,
to command
all the rest.

Prouision for
death of any
of the twelve
in the time of
confederation

The Switzers
continually
iuous of their
liberty.

The Nobility
infatled too
much ouerthe
people.

spoyle the Vines and trees about it: they of Vri and Suits shall oppose all their forces against them, and shall rob and burne the enemies Country. If any one of these inter-obliged parties, doe make confederation with any other, the other Allies shall stand bounde thereto.

Moreover, we of Vri and of Suits, haue made choise of six persons among the Citizens of Zurich; namely, Raoul Muller, Roger Mannes, Raoul Beggenh, knights, Gaultier de Saint Pierre, Garnier Biberlin, and Conrad Krieg. And we of Zurich haue chosen three among them of Vri; namely, Garnier de Attinghuse, Burckhard, the old Amman, Conrad Maieur of Orscheld. And as many of Suits, namely, Conrad, Amman of Iberg, Raoul Stuttscher, and Conrad Hun. These twelve men, according to their discretion, shall giue command to all the Allies, for mutual aid and succouring one another, both how and when-soeuer neede shall require, in those affaires whereof the conditions haue formerly bin expressed. If any one of these twelve men shall chance to die within compasse of the three yeares alliance, the other shall stand bound by Oath, to substitute another in his place, within fourteen dayes after following. And to the end that all before declared, may continue firme for the time prefixed: Wee the Senate and Citizens of Zurich, and we the people of Vri and Suits, haue put our Seales to three instruments of the same tenure, concerning this our faithfull alliance. Given at Zurich the day of Saint Gal, in the year of our Lord God, M. CC. LI.

These Letters of alliance, made an 100. yeares before that they of Zurich hadde contracted perpetuall alliance with the three first Cantons, do evidently declare how those people were euermore ialous of their liberty, without offering wrong neuertheless vnto any person in conferring it. Now, about ten yeares after this alliance made, the Empire being troubled with factions, in regard it was destitute of an Emperour, and Helvetia much molested by the ouermuch license, which the Nobility tooke to themselves day by day the three Cantons hauing heard Raoul of Habspourg (who was afterward Emperour) to be highly commended for many Vertues clearly shining in him, gaue him yearly pledges, and electing him for their head, made alliance with him, that they

liberty might be maintained at the sword's point, if neede required. They of Zurich, Basle, and Strasbourg did as much at the very same time. The like did manie free Townes of Germany, being called vnto their succour, and gaue money euery year to the neighbouring Princes, to the end, they might be secured by their meanes.

The authority of Raoul, being busied in other warres about Zurich, Basle, and Strasbourg, comming short of abilitie to repress the insolence of the Nobility: at length the people (being too much trod downe by great mens outrages) vnder-tooke Armes, and expelled them forth of the Countrey that had raised this disorder. This warre continued twelve yeares, about the year of our Lord, 1260, and some few yeares following. And in this warre, all the Cantons beganne to fortify the passages of their Countreies. They of Suits builded a Tower at Mount Sattell, fortifying and cutting off the great highway. They of Vnderwald, did dam vp the Lake with a strong prouision of stakes & thrubs, toward the village of Stantz, and fortified the Port, by meanes of a Tower which they builded there. The year 1273, it came to passe, that Raoul of Habspourg was elected King of the Romaines. Then the Gentlemen of Switzerland went vnto him, and gaue him to vnderstand, that the people had rebelled: on the contrary, the people maintained, how much the Nobility had outraged them. The King hauing heard both parties, and seene the priuiledges of the people, gaue sentence to their benefit, and made peace between them and the Noblemen expelled our of Heluetia, whither they returned again for the more part. As for the rest of the country, the king did generally confirme Governors in the name of the Empire. Not of the house of Austria: which Governors (from their beginning) did not dwell in towns or villages, but kept themselves in their Castles, whence they came, twice or thrice yearely, to iudge in cases of proceffe, but more especially in criminal causes.

In our dayes, there are Towns in Germanie, that receiued such Governours of the Empire, who managed no other matter, but only causes criminall, & had no other occasions in Townes to attend vpon, but only the. And so far was King

Alliance made with the Emp. Raoul to preserue their liberty.

The first war of the Nobility against the Cantons.

Erection of Towers and Castles of defence.

The trustlesse-ly to teach confusions of alth

Gouernours placed in the Emperours name, & not in the house of Austria.

Esau

King Raoul a-
bridged none
of the Swit-
zers libertie.

They of Suits
were termed
free people.

The Switzers
liberties left
entirely to the

Austria and
Suaba ioyned
to the Empe-
rours other
rights.

The Emperour
Albert agreed
enemy to the
Switzers li-
berty.

Tyranny is
cautious in
his proceed-
ings, to con-
passe his in-
cursions.

Raoul, from diminishing the liberties of the Switzers: as rather many of the Cantons stood beholding to him, for not only the confirmation, but likewise the amplification of their priuiledges. For, without depending on them of Zurich; he confirmed and augmented the priuiledges of the Canton of Suits, in the 18. yeare of his Empire, as appeareth by his Letters giuen at Bada, in the year 1291, where, in expresse termes, they of Suits are called people of free condition.

True it is, that the King himselfe tooke very great paines, to make the house of Habspourg great: but he left to the Switzers their liberties entire. Either because he would not be accounted vnthankfull, in ruining that which had succoured him, and shewne themselves faithfull in his right, before he was Emperour, perswading himselfe also, that his affaires would prosper the better, by hauing the Switzers his loyall friends and associates, then to make rebels of subiects, who would carry but bad affection to the oppressors of their liberty: Or else in regard, that hauing (but a very little before) ioyned the Dukedome of Austria, as also of Alemaigne or Suaba, to his other possessions, he might thereby imagine, that it would beget him a generall hatred, to fallen on things of such slender consequence, and that all the profite hee could procure, by vsurping ouer the Switzers, could not value the ill-will he should gaine thereby.

Adolph de Nassau, who was successeur to Raoul in the Empire, confirmed to the Switzers their priuiledges. By meanes whereof, the Switzers were highly hated of Albert, Sonne to Raoul, and enemy to Adolph. This Albert was the very greatest aduersary and persecutor of the liberties of the Switzers. Hee had a great number of children, and to aduance and enrich them, hee began to stretch forth his wings so farre as possibly he could, & especially he resolved, to provide a new kinde of principality in Switzerland. Hee being become Emperour, attributed many things to the house of Austria, that appertained to the Empire: which made him offensive and insupportable to his neighbours, in being shamelesse, to get to himselfe whatsoeuer he desired, eyther by vnjust demands, or else by manifest violence. And because Ecclesiasticall per-

sons were very powerfull, he practised by all meanes, eyther to make sale to them of their iurisdiccions, or else to make them acknowledge him and his childre, as their hereditary and perpetuall Tutors & Protectors. In this manner he dealt with the Colleged and Conuents of Strasbourg, Basle, Constance, Coire, S. Gal, the Hermitage, S. Blas, Disentz, Pfauertz, Rinow, Wettinghen, Muren, Interlach, Trubic, Certina, Seconn, Schenniffs, Zurich, and many other places beside. By the selfe-same cunning, he solicited & oppressed the Earles and Barons of Switzerland or Heluetia, to put thm selues into the safeguard, and become vassalls to the house of Austria. Among others were the Lords of Vislow, Rotenburg, Kenfpourg, Eschenbach, Alpbourg, Wolhuse and Grencinge.

In former times, the Colleged and Conuents depended vpon the Emperour, & Lords & Gentlemen did neuer acknowledge any other Soueraigne vpon earth, but the Emperour onely: but this Albert laboured to fasten all to the house of Austria. Wee may easily iudge of his violence towards strangers, by his bad carriage to his owne proper Nephew, to who he would neuer (although hee was very many times thereto required) render the Hermitage paternall, which hee gouerned in quality of a Tutor. But the Abbot of Saint Gal, two Colleged of the Towne of Zurich, and the Count of Hombourg, could neuer be brought to that point, to acknowledge them of Austria for their Protectors, neyther to sell them any portion of their iurisdiccions. They continually alledged their ancient priuiledges, and would not permit, that they shoulde be dismembred from the Empire: which much incensed and offended the Emperour, who had practised vpon the rigts of many other, especially the Conuents: Seconn, Murbach, the Hermitage, Interlach, Disentz, and Lucerne, who had giuen him all that appertained to them, at Glaris, Lucerne, Suits, and Vnderwald. Howbeit, they had formerly promised (by verie authentical letters) to the inhabitants of those places, neuer to alienate them to any other. But all this while, Albert cunningly wonne the hearts of simple people, and by goodly promises, made them to ratifie these alienations.

Hauing (by these meanes) gotten footing

Church priu-
iledges inuol-
uted vpon by
the Emperour
Albert.

Lords made
vassalls to the
house of Au-
stria by the
Emperours
cunning.

The Emperours
cruelty to his
owne Ne-
phew.

Tyrants doe
alwaies meete
with some
people that
will resist a-
gainst their
designes.

An euil exam-
ple in the rule
of imitation
in others.

The practices of the Emperor Albert, to subiect them of Suitts and Vnderwald.

Faire words are of no cost to the enemies of free peoples liberty.

Threatnings of a Prince d'atour ominous.

Wifedome & good counsel is neuer wanting in them that maintain their liberty by lawfull meanes.

ting in the round neighbouring Countreies, & bought some Castles of the Countreies, in the Territories of the fornamed Cantons: hee began to looke into some meanes, whereby he might become Master of *Suitts* and *Vnderwald*, which being enclosed by the of *Austria* (that dominated ouer the Hermitage, *Glaris*, *Zug*, *Lucerne*, & other places thereabout) caused many to imagine, that except hee could preuaile against the too, they would quit their liberty as the other did. Neuertheles, *Albert* being desirous to reach the height of his desire, by such meanes as he had propounded to himselfe: sent in Embassie to them of *Suitts* and *Vnderwald*, the Baron of *Lichtenberg*, Governour of *Austria*, and the Baron of *Gschwin*, two of his intimate Councellers. They addressed themselves first to the of *Suitts*, and perswaded them to yeeld themselves into the protection of the house of *Austria*, who were very benigne Princes, & vnder whose dominion they might liue much more peaceably, the formerly they had done vnder the Empire, dismembered and rent in peeces (as it were) while the Princes were in debate about the election of Emperours. They further added that they of *Austria* had the reuenues of many Countreies in those very quarters, and that if they refused, by displeasing *Albert*, they might well conceiue, that their affaires would but badly carry themselves; but in doing the contrary, his highnesse made them promise, of all honest and amiable entertainmet, that a Prince could afford them.

The men of *Suitts*, having bene aduertised before, concerning the intention & demand of *Albert*, by *Carner*, Count of *Hombourg*, Lord of a neere neighbouring Countrey, called *La Marche*: a man not well affected by *Albert*, because he had refused to yeeld himselfe vassall to the house of *Austria*: And having conferred with them of *Vri* and *Vnderwald*, returned thus their answer to the Ambassadors. That the Kings and Romane Emperours had giuen them faire and ample priuiledges, carrying expresse charge, that they should neuer bee dismembered from the Empire: wherefore they were fully resolute, in imitation of their Ancestours example, to continue firmly ioyned to the Romane Empire. As for the Monasteries

of *Marbach* and *Beron*, whose rights and reuenues (especially about *Suitts*) were then in the hands of the *Austrian* Princes, hauing formerly promised by authentical instruments, neuer to alienate themselves to any other authority whatsoever: If they had kept their promise, they would haue done the like in duty to them. But seeing that they had broken their faith; and all former contracts were vnaturally cancelled: their example was no warrant to them for the like. Moreover, they would render to *Albert* and his children, Princes of *Austria*, such fidelity and obedience as they ought to do: entreating *Albert*, seeing he was Emperour; that he would not permit them to be diuided from the Empire. Beside, in regard his Predecessours had confirmed their priuiledges to them of *Suitts* (which himselfe as yet had not done) they therefore againe did humbly entreate him, that he would vouchsafe to confirm them. They also desired the Ambassadors, to returne this their answer to his Imperiall Maiesty, and to entreate on their behalfe, that he would benignly receive them.

The Ambassadors hauing this answer, went to deale with them of *Vri* & *Vnderwald*: who (according to that which had bene accorded on among them before) made the selfe same answer as they of *Suitts* had done. In all the fornamed Villages, they did nothing else but shew to the Ambassadors, the Letters Patents and priuiledges, granted them by *Fredericke*, *Count of Habsbourg*, and other Emperours, together with the letters and consents of the Monasteries: all of them making humble entreaty, that they might not be compelled to see all those things frustrated. But the Emperour hauing heard the Ambassadors, was highly offended at the answer, because the *Switzers* not only refused to acknowledge them of *Austria* for their Lords, & would not willingly be separated from the Empires body: but also declared, that they would yeelde to no diuision from the Monasteries, by which meanes, all the precedent attempts of *Albert*, built vpon great cost and trauaile, were vnterly disappointed.

In some short while after, they of *Suitts*, *Vri* and *Vnderwald*, hauing againe sent their Ambassadors vnto the Emperour, to obtaine confirmation of their priu-

Bad presidents do not merite to be followed when their extendure is to generall prauidice.

Viduity is requisite among such people, as desire to preserve their liberties.

The Emperour greatly to desire that the expectation was still continued.

Ambassadors sent to the Emperour by the Switzers.

Extraordinary Governours Castles erected and Garrisons placed in the Countrey, are the beginning of manifest tyranny.

Multitude of Governours are very dangerous in any Commonwealth.

Governours enter like Angels, but continue and goe out like Devils.

priuiledges: hee answered them in choller, that hee would satisfie their requests, according as they had done his demands. And that hee had deputed certaine Governours, which he purposed to send vnto them, and by whom they should more amply vnderstand his minde.

Following this intention, hee sent as Governours, the Knight *Grifler*, and *Peregrin Landberg*. *Grifler* was appointed for *Suitts* and *Vri*, and made his abiding in an olde Castell about *Suitts*, called *Chfisch*, and beside hee builded another Fortrefse on the Land of *Vri*. *Landberg*, the Governour of *Vnderwald*, had two Castles, to wit, *Sarne* about the Forrest, and *Rozberg* beneath, which Forrest diuided the countrey of *Vnderwald* iust in the midst. These two Castles did formerly belong to the Conuent or Colledge of *Lucerne*, & the Maiors or Bourgoisasters made their dwellings there: but the Emperour *Albert* had foldes them to the house of *Austria*, and there he appointed Garrisons. These departments were something nouell and strange to them of *Vri*, *Suitts*, and *Vnderwald*: for till that time, these three seuerall places together had but one Governour, who (ouer and beside) was many times Governour of *Zurich* and other Townes. Hee remained in his Seigneuries out of the Cantons, and every yeare once or twice (being called) hee came thither to iudge in law-cases. The rest of the time, he had a Lieutenant chosen among the Countrey people, that executed his charge. But now there was appointed two perpetuall Governours, keeping Garrison in the very strongest parts of the Countrey: which the people were constrained to endure, onely in feare of the Emperour, and in regard beside, that those places were in the power of the *Austrian* Princes.

At the beginning, these Governours shewed themselves very courteous and affable to all men: labouring by blandishments and faire looks, to winne the peoples hearts, & to subiect them to the house of *Austria*. But perceiving that these carriages did little auaille them, they began to checke and oppress the people, by the command of *Albert*; who was againe greuously enraged, by reason of a new league or alliance (made for the space of ten yeares) betwene them of *Suitts*, and

the Count of *Hombourg*. Tyranny thus encreasing day by day, Ambassadors (in name of the three Villages) were sent to the Emperour, who would neither see nor heare them: so that they were constrained to declare their Commission to his Councellers. The fustinne whereof was, that being people of the Roman Empire, they had obtained very ample franchises and priuiledges of the Emperours: whereof they were now in danger to bee despoiled, and oppressed by an irksome and insupportable tyranny. For the inhabitants of the recited places, were without cause, or vpon very slender occasion, immediately imprisoned, & pressed with nouell exactions. Beside all this, every man in particular, was compelled at a certaine time, especially the first day of the year, to bring presents to the Governours, which neuer had bene put in practise before. In which respect, they most humbly desired the Councellers, to intercede on their behalfe to the Emperour: that such charges might bee taken from them, and that their ancient priuiledges might bee confirmed and put in full force againe. But the Emperours Councellers hauing conferred and agreed together, made answer, that the Villages themselves were the cause of this oppression, and that the Emperour was thus seuer to them, because they would not follow the example of *Lucerne*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*, in yeelding themselves to the house of *Austria*. Which doing, and making more account (then formerly they had done) of *Albert* and his children; they should find him a Prince that would vie with them very kindly.

The Deputies hauing received this answer, returned without doing any thing else: in the meane while, the tyranny of the Governours (being fauoured & winked at by the Emperour) grew more and more to greater strength. In a certaine Valley of *Vnderwald*, called *Melchthal*, ther dwelled an aged rich man, ieaalous of his Countreies liberty, and one that had bene the cheefest in counselling his compatriots, neuer to subiect themselves vnto the house of *Austria*, but carefully to preserve their ancient liberty, which mā was named *Henry of Melchthal*. *Landberg* sent a Seruant vnto him, with charge to bring away with him a couple of Oxen. Wherevnto *Henry* answered, that he knew not him-

A cunning office in the Emperour, whereby to frustrate and avoid the peoples complaints.

New exactions & gifts to the Governours enforced on the people.

Such as the Master is, such commonly are his Seruants.

Landberg was a most tyrannical Governour.

The extortions of *Landberg*, witnessed in the History of *Henry of Melchthal*.

selfe to be culpable of any crime, whereby the Gouverneur should exact such an amends of him: and albeit hee had committed some offence, yet hee ought not thus to extend his authority vpon his goods, before he had beene heard & condemned. The seruant being of humour answerable to his Master, arrogantly replied, that instantly he would driue thence the Oxen: and if he stood in need of them to plough his Land, his Country lubbards should serue to draw in the yoke. Thus speaking, hee tooke the Oxen out of their yokes, and made himselfe ready to driue them away.

Oppression is an este matter to procure inapianee in a Sonne, affecting his Father injured.

Tyranny may iustly be tearmed the Mother of wrong and iniustice.

Tyranny blindfolded by his villanous compaign conuapience, and chastised by the iust iudgement of God.

Arnoul, a lusty young man, and Son to Henry, moued at this outrage offered to his father, gaue the seruant a found blow with a cudgell, as hee was driuing on the Oxen, and chanced to breake one of his fingers: but fearing the tyranny of his Master, he got immediately to the top of the Mountaines, and withdrew himselfe among them of Vri, where he kept close with one of his kinsred. *Lambert* vnderstanding al that had past, sent out for *Henry Melchtall* demanding of him what was become of his Son. *Henry* made answer, that he knew not where he was, as indeed hee was meere ignorant of his flight: wherat the Gouverneur was so furiously enraged, that he caused the old mans eies to be pluckt forth, & roue away his Oxen, & depoyled him beside, of the most part of his goods. This cruelty brought him into the hatred of all the people: but in regard of *Alberis* power and oppressions, commanding ouer them very stearely, there was no man (as then) that durst stir against him. And because wicked courtes grow to a great head, when ouermuch licence is permitted to them: euen so inordinate iniquity in the Gouvernors, did driue them out of one mischiefe into another.

Neere to the Abbey of *Engelberg*, and to the Village of *Wolffenchies*, in a place named *Alzellen*, there dwelt a country mā called *Conrad de Bomgarten*, married to a very faire and beautifull woman. It chanced that a Gentleman, named *Wolffenchies*, being Lieutenant to the Gouverneur, returning from *Engelberg*, & passing by *Alzellen*, to goe home to his house at *Rotenberg*, found this womā in a meadow, busied about some commendable exer-

cise. He vnderstanding that her husband was absent, commanded the woman to make him ready a Bath, wherein he might wash himselfe, because he was ouer-ratuelled with heate and labour. The woman not daring to make refusall, did as the tyrant had commanded her. Proceeding on further in his intended villany, he pressed the woman to put off her garments, and come into the Bath to him; wherein shee promised to obey, provided, that two varlets, which attended on him, might withdraw themselves, as accordingly they presently did vpon their masters command.

One lewd intention euen more draw on another.

The woman vsing some delay, yet feigning preparation of her selfe to come into the Bath; got recovery of a doore behinde in the chamber, and fled away in great feare and anguish. Her husband returning from the Forrest, chanced to meete her, and vnderstanding what had happened; entred his house, and with an Axe or Hatchet, which he then had in his hand, slew the Lieutenant sitting in the Bath, and so he received the chastisement due to his wicked attempt, vpon the honour of a vertuous modest woman. The Gouverneur sought all means to reuenge his death: but he was so hated of all men, as he could not execute any thing. Beside, the villany and indignity of his Lieutenant, with-held him from daring to require any helpe of the Country in regard also, that he who had done the deed, was fled into the Lands of *Vnderwald*, & kept himselfe hid among them of *Vri*. Some say, and among others, *Eternilerus*, and *Stumpfius* in his *Annales of Helueta*, that this man was the Gouverneur himselfe; who seeking thus to violence an honest woman, became so flaine. But they of *Vnderwald* maintaine, that hee who was kild in the Bath, was called *Wolffenchies*, a seruant to the house of *Austria*, and dwelling at *Rotenberg*.

Modesty sedeth meacato preluener challe reputation, and alwaies findeth helpe when the leallitie is knowne.

Eternilerus & Stumpfius in the Annales of Switzerland.

The tyranny of the Gouverneur Grifler.

While these Tragedies were thus acting at *Vnderwald*, *Grifler*, the Gouverneur of *Vri* and *Suits* also, to keepe the people in the more awe and subiection; began to builde (by command from his Master) a Fort or Cittadell neere to *Altorf*, vpon a small Hill called *Solturne*. This *Grifler* being a verie vaine-glorious man, made vaunt of abasing the people in such fort, that hee would bow & bend them at his

A Cittadell called the yoke of extreme slavery to the people.

A Bonnet or Hat to be reuerenced by the people.

Note the subtilty of a Tyrant.

Garnier Souffacher Some to Raoul Souffacher first Magistrate of Suits.

Tyrants are enemies to them that maintaine the peoples liberty.

his pleasure, wherupon he called his Fort, *A yoke of extreme slavery to the Vrians*. He perceiving, that all men were enraged & badly bent toward him, and doubting, lest some matter might secretly be contriued against him, to compass discovery thereof, he vnderooke this course ensuing. He caused a Hat or Bonnet to be fixed vpon a long Pole, erected in the market place of *Altorf*, where the greater part of the Country people vsed to meete, and gaue command, that all men (taking off their owne Bonnets) should bow their knees, and yeelde as much honour to that Hat, as they vsed to doe to him the Gouverneur, or when they came into his presence. His purpose and opinion was hereby, that such as were maliciously addicted toward him, would neuer humble themselves, in doing so many reuerences to the Hat, especially if they had any comforts, vpon whose help they made any dependance: and that this occasion would serue him as an honest pretence for their discovery to his spies, and so torture might be inflicted on them, to gain knowledge of the whole enterprize. In the meane while, he departed thence, to visite the Country of *Suits*, where he was likewise Commander and Gouverneur.

In *Suits* there was a Gentleman of marke, named *Garnier Souffacher*, whose Father was called *Raoul*, and had bene the first Magistrate of *Suits*, about thirty years before. This *Garnier* had built a house in more ample and magnificent manner, then was the vsual custome of the Country. It fortune, that the Gouverneur *Grifler* passed on horsebacke by this house, and demanded to whom it appertained. *Souffacher* knowing himselfe to bee in the ill opinion of the Gouverneur, because he had alwayes before counselled the people, not to subiect themselves to them of *Austria*: This house (quoth he) is for the King and you, by whose liberality, I am possessor of it. Then the Gouverneur answered; I am Lord of this Country, and henceforward I will not suffer any more, that yee shall sway your selues after your owne appetites, in building houses, as if you were Masters, and that you shall well feele before it be long.

This answer deliuered with outrageous menaces, greatly displeased *Souffacher*, who (from that time forward) could

not dissemble his greefe. Which was the cause that his wife, being a wife, modest, and discrete Lady, perceiving her husband had sad and pensive, and vnderstanding the reason thereof; exhorted him to hope well, in regard that God, to whom all violence and tyranny was displeasing, would neuer forsake such as inuoked his help & furtherance. Moreover, it would well become him to make search after men of courage, such as were oppressed with the same tyranny: to conferre with them, and ioine their means together, to recover the liberty of their Country; for (hee durst assure him, that God would blisse so holy an enterprize. *Souffacher*, hauing a long time consulted with himselfe, at length went from *Suits*, to *Vri*, where he easily knew and perceived, that *Grifler* was hated of all men in those quarters, by reason of his insupportable pride, euen as much as he was in *Suits*: especially by the Baron of *Attinghuse*, then cheefe in iustice at *Vri*, & a familiar friend to *Souffacher*. This Baron first began to complain, as extremely wearied with the insolencies of *Grifler*, in erecting his Hat, as to ranke it with Princes; protesting openly, that he could not permit his Country, any longer to endure so great a tyranny.

But *Souffacher* fearing (perhaps) that the Baron vsed this kinde of language, only but to found him, and (as we vse to say) to vndermine his secret cogitations; kept his owne intention couert, contenting himselfe, to breake his minde vnto an ancient faithfull friend of his, called *Gautier Furff*, that is to say, the Prince. These two hauing many and sundry times considered on all matters, and taken into their counsell (as a third party) *Arnould Melchtall* of *Vnderwald*; bound themselves together by mutual oath, to ioine all their means, and employ their paines by a common consent, for the extirpation of tyranny, and reducing their country to her ancient liberty. Moreover they concluded, that each of them in his owne quarter, should procure for many men as possibly he could, provided, that they were people of good and discrete carriage: who should all swear, to employ both their goods & bodies, and to maintaine one another in his right, for recovery of the Countries former freedom; and that in the meane while, each man should acquit himselfe

Councils of small & slender appearance; grow to great effects: especially against Tyrants and tyranny.

Afflicted minde doe c: more oute another by conference.

The three first men that were the first foundation & beginners of the league of Switzers, and their manner of proceeding.

Promisc and
place of pri-
macy appin-
ted for mee-
ting, to con-
ferre on these
serious affairs

Stouffacher,
Furft, and
Melchall, the
three men of
the league.

Oppression
is a key to
open the vin-
dication of
moft and
least.

Aduice taken
for beginning
the business
publicly.

Inferious con-
ferences, each
side ought to
be iudicially
heard.

of his duty towards the Empire, the Monasteries, as also to all Gentlemen & Yeomen. Promising likewise, to keepe this league & combination secret, vntill such time as (by common aduice) all the confederates should bee refolued to publish it. They made choise also of a priuate place, nere to the Lake of *Vri*, called *Grutly*, where these three chiefe heads of the League vsed to meete, accompanied each one with three or foure, to aduise together what was to be done.

Thus you may perceiue, how the ground-works of the League of *Switzers* was then begunne, by *Stouffacher*, *Furft*, and *Melchall*: and being so agreed vpon, each man returned by himselfe home, to make coniunction with his companions. Soone after this, not onely the vulgar people, but likewise the most part of the Nobility in the Villages, racked themselves with the confederates: For the *Gouernours* did molest the Noblemen, no lesse then they did the common sort, not making any difference betweene the one and other, but called the Gentlemen, peazants, and companions of a facility. In like manner, they of *Austria* had appropriated (by little & little) to themselves, the rights belonging to Noblemen: whereat many being offended, had forsaken (as it were) the part of *Austria*, as we haue formerly obserued by the Baron of *Attinghusse*.

The number of the confederates being encreased, it seemed good to many, that it was time to set hand to the worke, namely, to chafe thence the *Gouernours*, & replant the ancient liberty of the country: for feare (lest by over-long delay, their enterprize would be discovered (by some meanes) to the *Gouernours*. And therefore, in the year 1207, the 17. day of October, twelve of the principall men among all the confederates, assembled themselves at a certaine place appointed. All inffited to lay hand to the business so soone as possible might be against which, they of *Vnderwald* onely opposed themselves: because that the Castles or Fortresses, which the *Gouernour* held in their territory, to wit, *Sarne* and *Rotzberg*, were places well munit, and almost impregnable, and if siege should bee planted before them, the King of the Romaines would come forthwith, bringing an Ar-

my sufficient to succour them. The other confederates yielded to this motion, and agreed together, that the first day of Ianuary then next following, through all the Cantons, seizure should be made, on all the strongest Castles belonging vnto the *Gouernour*. To whom notwithstanding, nor any outrage should be offered, neither to any of their family or Garriçons: except only to such as would make head, and withstand them in Armies; but to send the *Gouernours* safely and well away, with their goods. Moreover, that the Castles and strongest holds or Cittadels, should be rased from the top to the bottom: to declare by manifest effect, that they had not undertaken Armes for blowes or pillage, but onely to conferre their Countries liberty. This resolution agreed on, each man retired home to his house, awaiting for the day appointed: in the meane space, according to faithful promise, they kept their determination very secret.

While these affaires were thus in forwarding, there happened a notable accident at *Vri*. One *Guillaume Tell*, a man in the confederacy, diuers times passed by before the *Har* exalted on the Pole, as formerly hath bene related, without performing any reuerence thereto. And being therefore accused to the *Gouernour Grissler*: he entreated, that his incivility might bee excused, because hee reputed such reuerence to bee a matter of no importance. But the *Gouernour*, who held him a man much to be suspected, among *Guillaumes* children, made choise of a young little boy, whom the Father loued very dearly. And hee commanded *Guillaume* (being known an excellent atcher) to set his sonne some good distance off, & with an Arrowe, to cleaue an Apple vpon his head, which if he did not, his owne head should be smitten off. *Guillaume Tell* answered, that his commaund was too strange and seuer, and he had rather die, then thorough default of shooting right, to kill his dearest sonne. If thou doest not performe it, saide the *Gouernour*, it shall cost both thy life, and thy sonnes.

Prayers and entreaties not preuailling, *Tell* tooke his Bowe; and, by the providence of God (who questionlesse guided and directed the Arrow) cleft the Apple in twaine vpon his sonnes head. Euerie

A resolution
to expell the
Gouernours
from the nest
of their tyr-
anny.

A notable hi-
story of *Guil-
laume Tell*, no
much mitted
by the *Swiss*
Gouernours.

An ardent
union between
the
Fathers by the
lycans, and
not easily to
be aduice-
red.



one of the beholders did not a little reioyce, at such a faire and admirable shoot: but the Governour, not contented with so perillous a satisfaction, perceiving another Arrow remaining vnder *Guillaumes* girdle, demanded of him, what vñe meant to make of that other Arrow? *Guillaume* replied, that it was a custome among Archers, to draw more arrows then one out of their Quivers, for any occasiõ that might happen. But the Governour suspecting something else, pressed him more & more; & finally, promised him to saue his life, if he would confesse the truth: which accordingly *Tell* did, and that he had that other Arrow ready, therewith to kill the Governour, if his first shaft had slaine his Son. Then the Governour declared, that he wold not take away his life, because he had promised the contrary: but he should be kept in perpetuall prison, and live miserably in darknesse, without conuersing with any man living. Thus speaking, he caused him to be fast bound with cordes, & led into a Barque, that hauing past the Lake of *Vri*, he might be conuayed to the Cattle of *Cusnach*. The Governour, with his people & prisoner, being in the midst of the Lake, a greenous tempest suddenly exalted it selfe, which did put the Barque in euident perill. They perceiving themselves in extreme danger of their liues: one of *Grislers* seruants laid to his master, that there was but one only means whereby to saue them, and that was, to vnbinde *Guillaume Tell*, and refer the Barques conduct to him, because he was a most expert Marriner, strong and able to direct them in such a necessity. So extreme vrgent was the case, that euery man allowed the counsell, & vnbound *Tell*; who fastening hold on the Rudder, and guiding it manfully, preferred the Barque among the roughest billowes, turning her prow towards the country of *Suits*.

Hauing attained neere enough vnto the shore, there appeared a mighty stone (like vñto a Rock) about the water, which to this day is called *Telles Stone*. Being hard by it, *Tell* caught hold thereon with his bow, which lay at his feete in the Poupe, and leaping forth quickly vpon that stone, he gaue so strong a thrust with his foot against the Barques side, that it returned back among the steame billows. This done, he tooke his flight thence, and

hid himselfe among the neighbouring Mountaines. The Barque hauing long floated in this manner, was guided at length by the Gouvernours seruants, to a Port named *Brune des Fontaines*. From thence the Governour set on his way towards *Cusnach*, and must needs passe thorough a hollow craggy straite, where *Tell* (well acquainted with all those parts) by great good hap had ambushed himselfe among thick bushes: there he discharged an Arrow at the Governour, which passed quite through his body, & slew him. Ther remaineth yet (so our time) a Chappell, built on the place where the Governour was slaine: and another vpon the Stone or Rocke, where *Tell* threw himselfe out of the Barque. After this successfull shoote, *Tell* went to *Suits*, where he made all these matters knowne to *Stauffacher*. From thence hee tooke his way ouer the highest Mountaines, and turning by *Morsach*, came back to *Vri*, wher hauing found *Gautier Furst*, he acquainted him with all that had hapned. By this time, they had gotten hearts and hands enow, to expell all the Governours family and followers: but hauing respect to them of *Vnderwald*, and remembering their former resolution for the first day of Ianuary following, they kept themselves quiet, & *Tell* (in the meane time) liued closely among his friends.

The first day of Ianuary being come, they of *Vnderwald* made themselves Masters of two Fortresses, according to a compromise passed between them. In the Fort of *Rotzberg* there dwelt a chambermaid, who was in loue with a goodly young man of *Vnderwald*, and committed folly with him. An especiall night of meeting being appointed by them both, the young man brought twenty other armed Soldiers with him, and caused them to lye closely hidden neere the Castle. He hauing giuen the signall to his wench, who knew nothing at all of the intended deceit, was mounted vp aloft to her by the helpe of a corde. Hauing staied some time of dalliance with her, making her to beleue one thing for another, he left the chamber a while, going to the window whereat he had bin drawne vp, & letting downe the cord, drew vp one of his companions, and then returned to his lasse againe. He that had thus gotten vp, neuer left till he had drawne vp all his other fellows,

The correspondency of Gods iudgement with the iniquity of the Tyrant.

Two chappells erected in speciall places as being memorials of the tyrants overthrow, & the good fortune of *Tell*.

The retrait of the tyrants is attempted and waunt by them of *Vnderwald*.

By base and contemptible means, the power of the tyrants was victoriously brought to nothing.

When the iudgement of heauen intended to strike, the best wisdom in men cannot prevent it.

Successfull proved alike in both the places by honest endeavour.

The theft and yoke of Tyranny victoriously defaced and ruined.

lowes, (who were vnmatchable for strength and courage) and so got possession of the place: where they kept all the gates strongly defended, and close shut vp, in expectation of good newes from their other consorts, who were to seize the other Fortresse, called *Sarné*.

That other company consisted of fifty valiant men, thirty of them hauing ambushed themselves in a neere neighboring wood: the rest went directly towards the Castle, leaning vpon staues and crutches, and carrying presents to the Governour, (according to custome of the day) as Lambs, Pigs, Calues, Cheeses, and such like things. The Governour was going to church, answerable to his ordinary wont at such a time, and met them on the way, where perceiving them to haue no other Armes then staues and crutches, which seruéd (as it seemed) to support their feeble bodies: hee made no doubt of any thing, but passed on, nor a little pleased with those presents, and brought him in more liberall and plentifull manner, then they were formerly wont to do. Their staues and crutches were made round, and pierced so hollow within: that they could easily scrow in long sharpe pikes of iron, which each of them carried close hid in his bosome. They came to the Castle, where being permitted entrance with their New-year's gifts: they possessed themselves of the Gates, giuing an appointed signall to their fellow-souldiers lying in the wood, who came immediately to succour them, and tooke them all prisoners that were in the Castle. Afterward, hearing that *Rotzberg* was surprized by their other associates, they released all their prisoners, and the Governour also, whom they had laid sure hold on, as hee was about to escape. When the Governour and his followers had solemnly promised vpon oath, neuer more to retorne againe into those quarters; they gaue the leaue to depart, & sent them by safe conduct out of the Country, and then ruined those two strong Forts or Castles flat to the ground. The very same day also, they of *Vri* demolished the new Cittadell, which *Grisler* had named, *The yoke of the Priams*, being not as yet fully finished: and in *Suits*, *Stauffacher* (with his followers) won and ruined the Cittadell of *Louerts*, builded nere vnto the Lake. On the mor-

row, the three villages (by their Deputies) made a publike league of amity and alliance, to continue for ten years, vpon the conditions before mentioned, confirming them all by solemne oath. Behold the end of their tyrannicall government, whom *Albert* had established ouer the Cantons.

When *Albert* had receiued tydings of this sudden change: he was wonderfully enraged, and resolved to make war vpon the cantons, as thinking by strong hand to bring them in subiection. He sent first of all to his subiects of *Zug*, *Lucerne*, & other neighbours of *Suits*, *Vri*, and *Vnderwald*, to suffer no viduals to be conuayed to them. But in a short while after, he was slaine by his owne Nephew, the Son of his Brother, and by his complices, in passing ouer the River of *Raff*: so that this war by him intended, remained now to be freshly attempted. His sonnes, being sufficiently hindred from reuenging his death, left the *Switzers* in peace: fearing lest they should ioine with the Gendemen, who had slaine their Father. About this time, they of *Austria* ruined many strong places in *Helucia*, as in the Territory of *Zurich*, *Warte*, *Mulperg*, *Schnabelberg*, *Maschwande* the Towne and Castle, and *Farrwange* in the neighbouring quarter. Some most noble families also were by them subuerted and extermined, to wit, that of *Eschinbach*, *Wartz*, *Palme*, & many other. For at the taking of the Castle of *Forwange*, in one day, 63. Gentlemen, with their seruants, had their heads smitten off: And in other parts of *Switzerland*, they of *Austria* caused to be slaine, or banished out of the country, about a 1000. persons, the most part whereof were Noble. There are some ill-willers, that do falsely accuse the *Switzers*, to haue defolated many places, & expelled many Noble families: when al this while, those horrid actions (for the most part) were committed by them of the house of *Austria*.

Henry of Luzelbourg, 7. Emperor of that name, succeeded after *Albert*. He confirmed the priuiledges & ancient liberty of the 3. cantons, & established a Prouost or Advocate of the Empire, to be Iudge in law cases in the Towne of *Zurich*, the round neighbouring places, and in the three Cantons, in name of the Emperor. This Prouost was named *Raoul of Habsbourg*, Lord of *Lauffenberg*, Sonne to

The only means to free them, felues against tyranny.

Albert a fatall enemy to the *Switzers*, slaine by his own nephew.

Spoile and waste made by the *Austrians* in *Switzerland*, on Noble & Gentlemen.

Falsely imputations laid on the *Switzers*.

Henry the 7. confirmed the priuiledges of the 3. cantons wherein may be seene the goodness of god to shine clearly, by sending mild comfort after to looq'op' p'ision.

Godfrey, who was Nephew to *Raoul*, ynkle to the Emperor *Raoul* of *Habspourg*. But the Emperor *Henry* being gon into *Italy*, (in which journey an hundred Souldiers of *Zurich*, and as many of the other Cantons, were at his pay) the Prouost was falsely accused (as some say) before the Emperor, by the means of Duke *Leopold*, who hated him, and said that he had abused his authority. So that he was deposed, and *Edward de Buge*, dwelling at *Turge*, substituted in his place. Afterward, *Raoul* being brought to answer his cause at the Court of France, dyed at *Montpellier*. His seruants brought backe his body, and caused it to bee buried in the Abbey of *Wettingen*.

The Sonnes of *Albert*, having slaine all them that were present at the murder of their Father, and expelled all their other complices; became rich and powerful, for they had seized on the goods of all the that had hand in the death of *Albert*. The three cantons were highly in their malice and disgrace, yet they durst not begin war vpon them, fearing (perhaps) the Emperor, who had taken the *Switzers* into his protection: but neuertheless, they tholested the Cantons by diuers in-roades, for they could easily offend them of *Vnderwald*, by Boates descending on the lake of *Lucerne*; yet the Cantons kept themselves carefully within compasse of their guards, & mutually assisted one another.

In the year one thousand three hundred and ten, a Ship well munited & furnished with men, set forth from *Lucern*, to make assault on the of *Vnderwald*, that were come (by great chance) with a Shippe of warre to assist them; did both bondge & strike the Vessell of *Lucerne*, very neere to the Port, killing a great number of the Souldiers, and taking the rest prisoners. This losse thus received, they of *Lucerne* (and their neighbours)ooke truce with the Cantons. In the same year, they of *Suits*, being desirous to pacifie all matters among them: bought of *Ennard*, Count of *Habspourg*, *Arte* and *Cusnach*, Villages of their Cantons, and subiects to the house of *Habspourg*, encreasing & enlarging the limitation of their bounds very much that way. But on the other side they had warre against the Monkes of the Hermitage, & for the space of about four

hundred years; each being at push of the Pike against the other, and for those reasons which I will breecely relate.

The Emperor *Otho*, surnamed the great, about the year 950. hadde established certaine bounds to them of *Suits*, and to the Monkes of the Hermitage. In these limitations, some Mountaines (fertile for pasturage) were left to the Monkes, which till that time had bene possessed by them of *Suits*. It came to passe, that they would not keepe themselves to the Emperours appointment; but held their ancient limits. The Abbots of the Hermitage, who were not able enough to debout the out of their possession; gave not ouer to obtaine of the Emperours successors, confirmation of the ordinance set downe by *Otho*. About the year one thousand, forty foure, the Abbot *Geron* accused them of *Suits* to *Henry* the third, Emperor. *Raoul* and *Arnaud*, Earles of *Lentzbourg*, & Governors of *Zug*, being ioyned with them of *Suits*, made their complaint likewise, that their limits were much abridged. But the Emperour *Henry* re-confirmed the grant of *Otho*, & condemned the Counts of *Lentzbourg* to a certaine fine of mony; all which notwithstanding, they of *Suits* kept themselves in their ancient possession still, in despite of all y the Abbot could do. Once more then, about the year of our Lord, 1144, the Abbot *Raoul* accused them before *Conrad* the second, Emperour, who confirmed also the sentence of *Otho*. Neuertheless, they of *Suits* maintained themselves (perforce) in possession still, and the Abbot (on the contrary side) defending the limits giuen him by the Emperour, and making vie of them accordingly; raised warre vpon them, inuading continually one another, and taking prisoners on cyther side. These enmities endured a long time, and at last, *Raoul*, Count of *Rapperswill*, brought them to an agreement, in the year 1217. This accord was imbraced & kept for about the space of fifty years, at the end of which time, there came an Abbot, named *Anselmus*, vnder whom nouell differences began: because that both sides expounded the tract of pacification, in a contrary sense and meaning.

The war being againe renewed, continued foure and forty years: but soone after, they of *Zurich* laboured to ratifie

The ground and originall of so many years warre betweene the men of *Suits* & the Monks of the Hermitage

The ground of Othos Great, testifim by the Emperour Henry the third that name.

The Count Rauperswiller came a good peace-maker betweene long alienated enemies.

Peace broken off againe by villanous banquet in the Monks of the Hermitage to holy Pilgrims

The Abbot entered in the night time by the house of *Suits*, to reuenge their wrong vpon the Monks.

A reconciled enemy is very ready to be created.

Election of *Lewes* of *Bawaria* fourth of that name, Emperour, and a difference falling among the Princes Electors.

a firme peace, in the time of *Henry* the seauenth. While they were treating on this peace, some men of *Suits*, being gon in pilgrimage to this Abbey of the Hermitage: were villanously and publicly outraged by certaine Monks, which wholly brake off the negotiation. Moreover, the Princes of *Austria*, who had appropriated to themselves the protection of the Abbey: incensed the Abbot and Monks against them of *Suits*, promising them continuall succour. The warre hauing lasted long, wherein they of *Suits* were greatly endamaged: at length, in the year, 1313, the 23. day of February, they went forth secretly into the fields in the night time, & hauing deceiued the guardes; entered by strong hand into the Abbey, taking and leading thence the Monks that had done the outrage, together with the Curate of the place, named *John*, and the Master of the Schoole, named *Raoul*. There were then Monkes of noble birth in the Abbey, namely, *Raoul*, and *Henry* of *Wunzburg*, *John* *Kegenberg*, and *Burckhard* *Fleminger*. This was the cause, that the Counts of *Habspourg* and of *Togge*, and the Baron of *Kegenberg*, who were their neere allies and kinsmen, as also *John* of *Schwanden*, Abbot of the Hermitage, greatly imployed their pains with them of *Suits*, for these Monkes. When the Monks had solemnly promised vpon oath, neuer more to deale with them of *Suits* in any such enterprize, nor to attempt any matter of reuenge vpon them: they were released, hauing first payed nine hundred pounds *Tournois*. But this enlargement came so farre short of appeasing them: that it wrought a quite contrary effect in them, continually fixing their thraldome before their eyes; so that thence forward, they fought all meanes whereby to inure them of *Suits*.

Hereupon happened a new occasion of troubles. After the death of the Emperour *Henry*, in the year 1314, the States of the Empire being assembled to create a new Emperour; the Electors found themselves to be diuided in opinion. Foure of them elected *Lewes* of *Bawaria*, fourth of that name: but the other three gaue their voices to *Frederick* of *Austria*, the Sonne to *Albert*. He to make his part equal in voices to *Lewes* his number, named *Henry*, Duke of *Carinthia*, as King of *Bohemia*,

maintaining that this kingdome belonged to him, by right of the Countrey. *Frederick* counted this Duke among them that should giue their voyces; altho that *John*, sonne to *Henry* the 7. was king of *Bohemia*, hauing married the daughter to the late deceated king. This dismembring of the Empire, caused those greivous troubles in *Germany* and *Scluetia*. The three Cantons, enemies to the house of *Austria*, ioyning themselves with *Lewes* of *Bawaria*: all their neighbors being before in their protection of *Austria*, or else at the time of these elections, approoued that of *Frederick*. Now in regard that the three Cantons onely, made head against *Frederick*; he reuailed so far, that (by his action) the Bishoppe of *Constance* excommunicated them, & they were banished by the Court Imperiall, which was at *Rotuelle*. They were charged, that they had violated the abbey of the Hermitage, & (in that tumult) had cast downe and spoiled the holy sacrifice: which they of *Suits* firmly and stoutly denied, promising contrariwise, severely to punish the offenders in such a delict, prouided, y they might be discouered to them. And although they could not produce any one; yet notwithstanding, they remained banished & excommunicated. In regard whereof, they humbly entreated the Emperour *Lewes* to vndertake the knowledge of this cause: which he did, and procured afterward, that they were reintegrated into the communion of the Church.

In this time, the Gentlemen that were forth of the lands of the 3. Cantons, with the Gouvernors; solicited *Leopold* of *Austria*, Son to *Albert*, to make war vpon the Cantons. The Abbot of the Hermitage, and the Count of *Monfort* rouled on this wheele with their belt helpe. The occasion was very honest, as it seemed, to wit; that the Prince purposed to reuenge the outrage done to the Chappell of the *Virgin Mary*. The young Prince, being young, powerfull, and a true heire to his Fathers hatreds; suffered himself to be thus counselled, and intended prosecution of this wat. His forces were about him, by whose meanes he had spoiled the places and castles of his fathers murderers: & Souldiers were people aptly disposed for war, and made rich by the booties they had taken in those castles. Moreover, he leued a

The cause of the dissimil troubles in *Germany* and *Switzerland*.

The three Cantons excommunicated and banished, though cause they would not yield themselves to violence.

Warre prepared by Prince *Leopold* of *Austria* against the 3. Cantons, and the cause thereof.

The division of the Forces belonging to Prince Leopold, and who conducted them.

Army, collected from *Swisse, Suaba, and Alsatia*, dividing all their powers into two parts. One of them, which (as is credibly affirmed) consisted of about twenty thousand men; was conducted by himselfe against them of *Suiss*. He gaue the rest to the Count of *Strasberg*, Governour of the vale of *Hassell*, that they might ascend the Mountaine of *Brugg*, and assaile that side belonging to them of *Vnderwald*.

The voluntary offer of the Cantons to the Prince, requesting peace and no way desirous of warre.

The Cantons hearing newes of this preparation, mustered vp their forces, & because nothing might remaine as forgotten: they sent to craue peace of the Prince, by the Count of *Togge*, promising to accept the Prince as their Iudge, & to make answer in his presence, to the Abbot of the Hermitage, and to the expelled Nobility. But the Prince would allow no audience to the Count, and refused all negotiation of peace. The whole hope and expectation of quietnes being thus cut off; a Fast was published & commanded throughout the Cantons, and prayers devoutly made to God. All such as could carry Armes, were sent to the Garrisons in all those parts, where any entrance might be made into the countries.

The assembly of the forces of the three Cantons, and their number.

But because the Prince was at *Zug*, with the greater part of his power: the allies assembled themselves at *Suiss*, which is the very neerest Canton to *Zug*, and there were mustered foure hundred Souldiers of *Vri*, three hundred of *Vnderwald*, and sixe hundred of *Suiss*. These made vp 1300. men in all, and thus they resolved to attend the enemy, valiantly exposing their liues, for conservation of their countries, liberties, wives, and children: declaring themselves (in this case) no lesse worthy of commendation, then the Lacedaemonians, who fighting for the freedom of *Greece*, dyed all with their weapons in their hands, at the passage of the *Thermopylae*. It is said, that the Lord of *Hunenberg*, a worthy Gentleman, dwelling in the territory of *Zug*, and being then in the Army of Prince *Leopold*, taking compassion on the death of so many innocents, at whose throates flicyng knives lay overready (for it was concluded by the Nobility, to put the three Cantons to fire & sword) did secretly aduertise the confederates, by a Letter which he shor vnto the fastened at an Arrow, that the day of *S.*

The great mercy and providence of God, preparing safety for oppressed people.

Omer (which was the 15. of Nouember) they should be assailed at a place called *Morgarten*, and therefore it stood them on to looke to their businesse. The allies hearing this, fortified strongly that place, appointing men to all the wayes whereby the enemy should passe, and encamped themselves aloft on the Mountaine.

Fifty men had then ranked themselves together, which had bene banished from *Suiss*, and they humbly desired, that their banishment might be reuoked, offering to employ their paines courageously, for the safety of their Country. But a sad answer was returned them, to wit, that many among them were guilty of very greuous crimes: therefore they would not accept such people for companions, as fearing lesse those faulty persons, might be the occasion of harme to the whole Army. These poore banished men (for all this) would not giue over their good affection, which they had intirely addicted to their Countries succour: but got possession of a little high Hill on the Frontiers, which hung ouer the way, whereby (of necessity) the enemy must passe.

The sixteenth day of Nouember being come, in the year, 1315. *Leopold* caused his troopes to issue forth of *Zug*, about the breake of day; the infantry marching foremost, with all the Nobility and horsemen: for the Gentlemen had resolved to chastise the poore Country people with their owne hands, whom they teamed the Seditious. As they were entered on the confines of *Suiss*, hauing the Lake of *Egeria* on the one side, the high Mountaines on the other, and their Army betwene both. The banished men began to roule downe from the Mountaines top, great huge stones, and mighty Logs of Timber, vpon the Princes Army. Afterward, without the least intermission, hauing laid together great heaps of incredible big sharpe-pointed Flints: then showed them downe (as it were) vpon the horsemen, euen like to a violent tempest of haile.

This accident neuer expected, did put the Army into very great trouble; for men were not able to gouerne their horses, frighted with the continuall falling of sharpe stones from aloft, and very greuous wounds they received by the. This being noted by them of *Suiss*, who were ranged

War ought not to be so barbarous, that it should be necessary.

The battell of Morgarten, where a thousand, three hundred and fifty men were slain.

Despised and refused assistance the best way to an honorable success.

ranged vpon a very high place: they marched on to meete the enemy in the face; and (from a farre off) threw huge stones, and thor sharpe pointed arrows at them. Afterward, they came to handy grappling, and charges with Halberds to rarioufise, that both horse and foote were put to flight; among whom, the Abbot of the Hermitage, and the Count of *Mountfort* were the foremost, as is credibly reported.ouer and beside the footmen, 500. horsemen were slaine in this battell, beside many drowned in the Lake, & a great number (by reason of the narrowe passage, which hindred the sauing of themselves) were murdered by their own fellows, and trodden to death with horses. Two and fifty Citizens of *Zurich*, being all habited alike in garments of one colour, and well knowne by the Cantons, to be the most valiant men in all the enemies army, being sent by the Senate to succour the Duke of *Austria*, were slaine in the field.

The selfsame day as the battaile was fought at *Morgarten*, the Count of *Strasberg* (hauing chased the Garrison of *Brugg* from the Mountain) entered into the Country with three thousand men, and began to forrage euery where. He incamped at *Alpenach*, which is a Village in the Canton of *Vnderwald*, threatening the next morning to invade the other part of the country beyond the Forrest, if they on the higher side did not willingly yeeld themselves. But in the meane while, they of *Vnderwald* beyond the Forrest, assembled them of the Mountaines round about, & called to their assistance them on the higher side the Forrest, whom the enemy had not found as yet, and by the same meanes gaue knowledge to their partakers which were at *Suiss*. The Messenger arrived at *Brugg* the morrow after the battaile, but others say, that it was the very same day. These newes being thus come, they of *Vnderwald* put themselves vpon the Lake, and made such diligence in getting to their houses, as in two hours space (by painfull labour and speed of the Ferry men) they crossed ouer the Lake, which indeede was very broad. An hundred men of *Suiss* did accompanie them, with whome they arrived at the Port of *Buchs*, which is a village appertaining to them; then going on from thence to *Burgenslad*, ioyned their people with the others troopes.

The overthrow of the Count of Strasberg at Vnderwald, & in what manner it was performed.

Diligence and haste, with expedient & suitable when urgent necessity is a spur there to.

Soone after, they came to assaile the enemy, who was come thither by the Lake of *Lucerne*, and ranged on through the country: but they compelled them to flight, and made them glad speedily to recover their Boats. Hauing thus chased them thence, they went towards *Alpenach*, to seeke the Count of *Strasberg*: & although it was late, they concluded (nevertheless) to assaile the enemy, because his powers were dispersed amongst the Villages, where they piled and rauaged. Moreover, night could be no hinderance to them, that were well acquainted with all the straites and passages of the Country: which was an excellent resolution, and wonderfull contrary to the enemy. For very hardly could the Count of *Strasberg* endure their first shocke or encounter, because the dispersion of his foldiers amazed him: and when hee saw two Ensignes belonging to them of *Vnderwald*, like a good and discreet warrior, he perceived himself, that they of *Austria* were overthrowne at *Morgarten*.

Hecreupon, he speedily retired (throw the Mountaines) home to his owne house, and the rest fled amaine and confusedly: but yet not all, for three hundred of them were leit slaine in the field, and the whole booty taken from the enemies hand. They of *Suiss* and *Vri*, hauing provided for their affaires, came to succour their confederates of *Vnderwald*, and in the night arrived at *Buchs*, where they did heare tidings of the victory. Wherefore hauing first giuen thanks to God, & gratified their friends with fo fortunate a successe, they returned home vnto their owne houses.

This victorie, settled and assured the foundation of the Switzers confederacie or alliance, and from thence forward, they of *Suiss*, *Vri*, and *Vnderwald*, changed their league of ten yeares, into a perpetual alliance, and so passed it by authenticall Letters. The Switzers tooke their name of *Eydgnossen* (which signifieth partakers in swearing, or conioyned together by one and the same oath) by this alliance. At this time, among strangers, they are called Lords of Leagues, and Switzers, by reason of the Village of Canton of *Suiss*. It may be, because they fought in that quarter, for the maintenance of their libertie: or in regard of their long warre

The marching towards Alenach to dole with the Count of Strasberg and his forces.

The foile and flight of the Count of Strasberg, and all his troops.

A League of perpetuall Alliance betwene the 3. Cantons.

Eydgnossen.

warre

warre with the Monks of the Hermitage, and they were the first (among the three Cantons) assailed by them of *Austria*, and being the most potent of the three, the other Cantons were comprized vnder their name, which (consequently) extendeth it selfe to the other Cantons and confederates. I haue hereto annexed the tenure of the alliance, to the end, that euerie one may see, therein is nothing, either insolent or vniust, as some (to their great shame, haue falsely accused vs.

The Tenure of League and Alliance, confirmed betwene the three Cantons.



IN the Name of God. Amen. Forasmuch as humane sense is infirme and fraile, which is the cause that things intended to be durable and perpetuall (as they

ought to be) are too soone and very easily lost or forgotten: It is therefore profitable and necessary, that such things as are established for peace, tranquillity, profite, and honour of men, should be couched and published by writings, and authentick instruments. So then We of *Vri*, *Suites*, & *Vnderwald*, give all men to knowe, who shall either see or heare these present Letters, that foreseeing & providing for difficult and queasie times, and for our more commodious enuying peace and rest, which are the best meanes, whereby to conserue our bodies and goodes: Wee haue promised and sworn each to other, in good Faith, and by Christian Oath, that Wee will mutually consult, counsell, and aid one another, to warrant our liues, and defend our goods at our owne expences, at all times, against all and euerie one, that would or shall offer outrage either to our bodies or goods, to vs or Ours, in any manner whatsoever.

Notwithstanding, if wrong be done to any one of vs, either in his body or goodes, We are all bound to succour him to our power: to the end, that (by friendship or iustice) the wrong may be amended or repaid. Moreover, We binde our selues by the same Oath, that none of the three Cantons, shall receiue any man as Lord and Commander, without

the aduice and liking of the other. Each one of vs, as well males as females, shall stand bound to obey their natural Lords and Masters, and liue vnder their lawfull power, in all seruices iust and legitimate: except the said Lords offer violence (in any manner whatsoever) to any of the Cantons, for vnto such Masters they shall do no service, vntill such time as they be concorded with the Cantons. We haue covenanted also, that not any of the Cantons or Confederates, shall minister an Oath, or binde himselfe to any stranger, without the aduice of the other Cantons and Confederates. Not any person of the Confederates, shall communicate with a stranger (without aduice and permission of other Confederates) so long as the Cantons shall with out a Lord. And if any one of our Cantons, violate and infringe any thing, or point of that which is contained in these presents: he shall be esteemed as a disloyall and perjured person, and his body and goodes consigne to the Cantons.

MOREOVER, WE haue agreed and condiscended, not to accept or entertaine any iudge or Magistrate, that shall buy his office with money, or any bribe else, although he be of our owne Countrey. If difference or warre happen to be moued among the Confederates: then such as are knowne to bee of most honesty and wiseome, shall meet together, to pacifie & confound the war or difference, either by lowing composition, or censure of right. If one side do reiect this proposition, the Confederates shall assist the other side, to the end, that the debate may be ended, either by amity or iudiciall sentence, and at the charges of them that would not stand to the award.

If any suite or warre shall arise betwene two of the Cantons, and any one of them will not yeeld to a friendly composition, or according to right: the third Canton shall maintaine the cause of that side, that submitted most to reason, and powerfully assist it, either to end the contention by a lowing composition or by iudiciall sentence. If any one of the Confederates shall kill one of his owne followers, he must dye also: except hee can make it appeare, and the Judges likewise auouch by their sentence, that he did it vpon urgent necessity, and in defence of his owne bodie. If he fyre for the fact, whosoever of our Countries shall receiue him into his house, there to lodge or maintaine him: he is to be banished perpetually, except by common consent of the Confederates.

Concerning an Oath or bond to any stranger, yet communicating with him.

A worthy example for all Common weales to imitate.

Of friendship betwene two Cantons, what the third is to do to appeare the contention: And also if one man kill another.

For such as shall line eyther hor or goods in the Cantons.

For such as shall line eyther hor or goods in the Cantons.

The liberties and alliances of the Switzers, confirmed by the Emp. Lewis.

The power & authority of the Governour limited, at his entrance into his rule ouer the Cantons.

federates ac can with grace.

If any of the Confederates either priuily, manifestly or impudently, shall fire any noise or goe's off from other of the Confederates: he shall bee expulsed (for euer) out of our Countreies, and whosoever lozeth or instanceth him, shall stand bound to satisfie the others losses. No person shall exact a pawning or age, except it be of his debter, or one unable to answer him otherwise: and it is not to be done neither, without consent of the Judge. That euery man shall be obedient vnto his iudge, and make publike declaration, which iudge (of our Countreies) hee will accept, to undergoe iudgement before him. Whosoever refuseth to obey the sentence given, shall pay the interests to him of the Confederates, for whose profit & benefit the sentence was deliuered.

And to the end, that these conditions aboue written, may remaine firme, inuoliable and perpetuall: We subnamed Citizens & Allies of *Vri*, *Suites*, and *Vnderwald*, haue put our Seales to these presents, at *Brunen*, in the year of our Saviour *Iesus Christ*, 1315. being the morrow after the day of *S. Nicholas*.

These Cantons hauing conquered their enemies, and confirmed their Alliance, sent men to the Emperor *Lewes*, to aduertise him of all. He at the beginning of the year, held a day imperiall at *Nuremberg*, where the Princes of *Austria* were condemned of high treason, the goods which they had in *Suisse*, confiscated to the Emperor and Empire, and the liberty of the Cantons fully confirmed. The Letters containing this ordination, were given in the campe at *Merride*, the 23. day of March, in the year 1316. & the second year of the Emperor *Lewes*. The same Emperor, about the year 1323. established as Governour in these three Cantons, *John*, Count of *Arberg*, vnto whom (as Lieutenant of the Emperour *Lewes*) the Cantons gaue their Oath.

The Governour promised them also by Letters Patents, that hee would not diminish or preiudice (in any maner whatsoever) their liberties and alliances, nor suffer them to be alienated from the Empire, neither to be reduced vnder the power of them of *Austria*, or of the Noblemen excluded from the Countreies of the

Cantons. Beside, that no man amongst them should be drawne in iustice out of these countreies, and that their iuges should not be taken from any place else; but meere from among themselves. And because the Governours should not infringe the liberties of the Cantons, their power was limited by the Emperour, and prohibited (vnder greuous penalties) from diminishing in any manner whatsoeuer, the liberties granted to the Cantons. The Letters Patents which contained these articles, were given at *Pavia* in the year 1329. and on the day of *S. John Baptist*. The Emperours that succeeded *Lewes*, confirmed these things, and permitted (moreouer) to the Cantons, to elect Governours (for their countreies) among themselves, but in the Emperours name, and to haue highest iustice in causes both ciuill and criminall.

They of *Austria* hauing bin so shrewdly gauld, as hitherto hath bene declared, grew to truce, not because their forces were wholly weakened: but in regard that they were unpeached in war against the Emperor *Lewes*, so that they could not deal with so many matters all at a time.

In the meane while (neuertheless) some incursions and losses were made in *Suisse* on either side. It came to passe, that they of *Wesen* and their neighbours, which liued below the gouernment of *Glaris*, and in diuers kinds mollected them of *Suites*: who came and met them with a main army, and compelled them to craue peace. On the other side, the Abbot of the Hermitage, had caused the three Cantons to be excommunicated, especially them of *Suits*: first by the byshop of *Constance*, & afterward by the Pope. *Fredericke* of *Austria*, who termed himselfe to bee Emperour, likewise banished them but the Emperor *Lewes* tooke away the curse, and by his commandement, *Peter*, Archbishop of *Mayence*, remitted them into the communion of Christians. Also, the Abbot of the Hermitage, wrote to them of *Suits* that hee had renounced the Popes Bull, and would not suffer it to bee serued against them.

During this time, that the truce continued on either part, they of *Austria* drew into league with them, *Herrmin* & *Ewald*, Counts of *Kybourg*, and Lordes of *Dnn*: this happened in the year 1317. By the means

Gouernours choen among themselves.

It is the Nature of tyrants themselves being disquieted, to permit the people not to lue in peace.

The Emperour contradicted the curle of the Bishop & Pope.

Taken forth of the true Originall copy.

A careful and Christian consideration in any Common wealth.

A louing League, wher a particular inuery extendeth it selfe in generall.

The cunning
proceeding
of them of
Austria a-
gainst the
Cantons.

meanes of these Earles, they procured such an hindrance, that the men of *Unterwald* could send no victuals to *Underwald*. In the yeere one thousand three hundred twenty three, they drew to them *Iohn* of *Habsbourg*, Lord of *Rapernwill*, and heyere to the Count of *Hombourg*. Afterward, they combined themselves with him, against the Cantons, because his Landes neighboured to the *Canton* of *Suites*, and lay aptly to cut off all releefe, and rayse warre. The yeare following, *Raoul* and *Herman*, Counts of *Werdenberg*, and Lords of *Sargans*, made alliance also with *Leopold* of *Austria*: but their brother *Henry* tooke part with the Emperour *Lewes*, who (at that time) was excommunicated and deprived of the Empire by the Pope. By these meanes, great divisions fell in the empire, some depending on the Popes decree; others mocking it, and cleaving to *Lewes*, as their lawfull Emperour.

In these troubles, the Cantons maintained themselves carefully, and in amitie with the partakers of *Lewes*; whereto also, many Townes of *Suisse* conformed themselves. For, although (at the beginning) they of *Zurich*, and some others followed the part of *Frederick* of *Austria*: yet notwithstanding, he being prisoner, and having renounced the empire, albeit his brethren continued warre agaynst *Lewes*, they of *Zurich* ioyned with *Lewes*: as with him that then was their onely true Emperour. In the yeare 1327. the Cantons made alliance with the Imperiall cities and townes, that stood fast for *Lewes*, to wit, *Meyence*, *Wormes*, *Spire*, *Straßbourg*, *Basile*, *Fribourg*, *Constance*, *Linaw* and *Vberlingen*: with this League they of *Zurich* and *Berne* combined themselves. But five hundred yeares after, *Lucerna* made perpetuall alliance with the three Cantons. In few words, I will tell you the occasion, after I have first declared somewhat, concerning the beginning and estate of the said City, before it became allied with the Cantons.

The Emperour
excommunicated
and de-
prived by the
Pope.

The Cantons
ioyn with the
Citie that
held for *Lewes*
the true
Emperour.

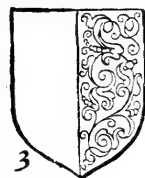
Lucerne ioyn-
ed to the 3.
Cantons.

CHAP. III.

Of the Originall estate of *Lucerna*, before it
lesged it selfe with the Cantons.



The city of *Lucerna* is seated on the river *Russe*, which issueth forth of a great Lake, whereby wee may passe to the three Cantons. Also, at the foote of an high Mountaine, commonly called *Pilates Mount*. The situation is commodious, because this is the way, to traueil by the mountain of *Saint Godard* in *Italy*. From *Fribourg*, the Merchants are transported ouer the Mountaines, and from thence into *Italy*, with beasts of carriage: and (reciprocally) the Merchants of *Italy* descend by the Lake and River of *Russe*, to the *Rhein*, & thence into the Ocean sea.



It is not certainly knowne, neither at what time, nor by whom the Citie was builded: but one saith well, that on each side of the River there is a castle (which are houses nowe inhabited by Citizens) and builded by the *Allemaings* or *Germaines*. Concerning the opinion of *Etterlinus*, who wrote some small history of *Suisse* or *Smetia*, referring these matters to the house of *Austria*, and thinketh that those castles serued as a retreat for robbers and theues: he abuseth his own iudgement greatly therein. For, in the time of *Raoul* of *Habsbourg* (and no sooner) they of *Austria* began to command in these quarters here, when the Dutchie of *Austria* fell to the house of *Habsbourg*. And it is no way credible, that a Prince would euer endure; that theues should make vse of a passage so commodious, for traueiling from *Suisse* into *Italy*.

It seemeth, that *Lucerna* was so named, in regard of a Lanterne, which duly euery night is there advanced, and bright lights clearly shining therein, for benefite

A description
concerning
the situation
of the City
Lucerna.

The time when
and by whom
Lucerna was
builded, is
uncertaine.

At what time
they of *Austria*
began to
rule over the
Cantons.

How *Lucerna*
became allied
to the 3.
Cantons.

of passengers vpon the Lake. And it is very likely, that the high ancient Tower, which (at this day) standeth aloofe on the bridge (as in like manner there is another at *Zurich*, called *Wellemburg*) serued for that purpose. Our graue ancientes & forefathers, termed euery such kind of Tower *Pharos*. A Charter granted to *Guichard* the Priest, auoucheth, that *Lucerna* deriued her name from Antiquity. For, the *Annales* of *Lucerna* do declare, that the *Lucernians* (hauing serued *Charlemaigne* in a warre against the *Sarazins*) obtained of him diuers priuiledges, and especially, the vie of Corners, wherewith they did both summon the batailles and retreats, euen as they doe nowe at this present time.

Be it howsoeuer, anciently, the Canons of the colledge of *Lucerna*, helde great authoritie, as also in many Townes of Germany. This colledge was founded by *Guichard* the Priest, brother vnto *Kasperle*, Leader of the horsemen to king *Lewes*, who was sonne to King *Theodorick*, who died in the yeare seven hundred, & founded also the colledge of Canons at *Zurich*. The colledge of *Lucerna* fell to the Abbot of *Murbach*, by the donation of King *Pepin*. The same Abbot was Lord of *Lucerna*, vntill the time of the Emperour *Albert* of *Austria*: who hauing resolved to establish a new kinde of principality in *Smetia*, as already wee haue told you, bought *Lucerna* of the Abbot of *Murbach*, by giving him foure villages in *Alsatia*, and a certaine summe of money, amounting to the valew of two thousand Markes of money, as it is affirmed.

This City enioyed (formerly) the enfranchisement of many things, & sundry goodly priuiledges beside, so long as the Abbots were Lords thereof: and yet they held no foucaigne iurisdiction: for, the citizens were the greatnes of the city, builded the wals and rampiers, and fortified it (by their owne discretion) in those times. The Prince of *Austria* also promised for his part, to conferre their priuiledges inuolubly, and made shew of being a verie gentle Lord, as he was neuer sparing of goodly promises. But soon after, the dominion of the *Austrians* proved to gripe and oppresse the *Lucernians*, who were constrained (to their great

(disadvantage) to make warre vpon their neighbours. For they were the first that exposed themselves to make incursions on the Cantons, and maintained a garrison in their cities at their great charge. The Tower of *Sbourg*, which standeth yet to this day cōfirmeth what hath bin said for there it was, where the *Lucernians* planted a *Corps de guard*, against the incursions which their enemies made vpon the Lake. When they had no open war, nor any assurance of peace, the *Austrians* did not much care to maintain them. In the meane while, Trafficke ceased, the fields were foraged, and many times the *Lucernians* fell into the hands of their enemies. Moreouer, being gone to warre with them of *Glaris*, vnder the conduct of *Otho*, Capitaine of *Colmar*, to encounter with the Emperour *Lewes*, the wages promised them, was made void and frustrate. They themselves had paid many in other warres, and lent good summes of money on sedules, to Captaines of the *Austrian* Princes; but now, in place of payment, they were handled in such sort, as they thought both their good seruice and mony utterly lost.

Being thus tyred and harried so many feuerall waies, they supplicated and desired (oftentimes) them of *Austria*, to be at peace with the Cantons. But perceiving they traualled all this while in vaine, themselves (in the end) accorded with the Cantons, leauing (nevertheless) the rights of the houle of *Austria* to them intirely. This peace exasperated not onely them of *Austria*, but also many citizens, seruants, and pensioners to Gentlemen, by whom they benefited & enriched themselves. Both the one & other feared, that the City would ally it selfe with the three Cantons, and that in so doing, they would estrange themselves from the *Austrians*. And therefore they conspired together, to oppresse them that had counceiled the people to make this peace, and that they should exhort them to be allied with some other. For this effect, in secret they contracted a league; the substance whereof was this, That at a certaine houre of the night, they of the city should open the gates, and at the same instant, they of *Austria*, (with so many horsemen well appointed) should make seizure of the Citie. Afterwardes, hauing ioyned their

The Tower
of *Sbourg*.

Otho, capitaine
of *Colmar*,
leader to the
of *Lucerna*.

The men of
Lucerna, at
the refusal
of their Lord,
made peace
with their
enemies.

The first
conjunction
against the
of *Lucerna*.

The Charter
of *Guichard*
the priest, out
of the *Annals*
of *Lucerna*.

The colledge
of *Lucerna*,
founded by
Guichard the
Priest, & what
Donations
were thereto
annexed.

The priuiledges
of *Lucerna*,
while Abbots
ruled.

Faire promises
cult no-
thing to op-
pressors of the
people.

The pride
and intention
of the Con-
spiracie.

their forces together, and reduced the City into their owne power: they would punish the friends of the Cantons, break the peace, and plant a Garrison in the city to the end, that afterward no such matter might be againe attempted.

The care and
providence
of the Citi-
zens in a time
of vrgent ne-
cessity.

But the Citizens being advertised, of the traines and ambushes prepared for them, vpon the appointed night did put themselues into armes, & placed good guards at the gates, & provided so fully for their safety, that such as tooke part with the house of *Austria*, durst not bee seene any way to stirre. Then the Gouvernour of *Rotembourg* (with many Gentlemen) being come to the gates, they of the City (to whom he termed himselfe a friend) gaue him entrance, and some small number with him, suffered the rest to stand without. Perceiuing that this cunning tricke tooke no such successe as he expected, and not daring to doe any thing by open force, because he was the weaker, he returned the next morning to *Rotembourg* with his traine, and some Citizens of *Lucerna*, partakers with the *Austrians*, fearing to be punished by the City, went away with him.

The league &
alliance
made be-
tweene them
of *Lucerna*, &
the 3. Cantons

This combination was the cause of hastening the league: between the *Lucernians* and the three Cantons, for perceiuing the injuries and ambushes of the Nobility, and the dangers where-with they threatened them: they thought it fit not to reject the succour of their neighbours, which they accepted, as sent from heauen. So they became vnited together, on the Saturday before Saint *Martins* day, in the year one thousand, three hundred, thirty two.

Extremity vr-
ged against
the *Lucerna-
ns* by them
of *Austria*.

When the *Austrians* had intelligence hereof, they appointed Garrisons in diuers places about *Lucerna*, as namely, at *Sempach*, *Rotembourg*, and *Meyenberg*: by means whereof, they did cut off all victuals from the *Lucernians*: and if any ventured farre from the City, they were either slain, or taken prisoners, so that they were constrained to goe seeke for food with a maine army. The year ensuing, and the seuenteenth day of March, the *Lucernians* going with their troopes towards *Buchnass* (which is a Castle, now called *Hertenstein*, vpon the Lake of *Zug*) the Lord of *Ramsburg*, Gouvernour of *Rotembourg*, for the house of *Austria*, layde

an ambuscado for them on the way, and slew about some fourescore of them. The rest that were scattered in the fields, and looking after pillage, assembled themselves together, neere to *Buchnass*, and charged the enemy to courageously, that they enforced them to flight, hauing first lost an hundred foote, and eightene horse.

The Gouvernour of *Austria* well perceiuing, that ouert power stood not for his aduantage, neither did any way benefite him in his businesse: vnderooke the first traine of ambuscadoes, and priuate practices. There were then at *Lucerna*, many persons that had bene pensioners to the house of *Austria*. This war was verie troublesome to them, for they had lost their pensions, and besides, enjoyed not the reuennewes of their owne inheritances; which (for the most part) lay on the lands of the *Austrians*. The Gouvernour conferred with them, and because they were of the very worst houses in the City, and the cheefest of them: he aduised them to perswade the Citizens to renounce their alliance with the three Cantons, and render themselves again to the house of *Austria*. He shewed them, that they might bee much more endamaged by one Prince, being a potent enemy, & so neere a neighbour, then by the three Cantons, who (in the pasted Warres) could doe them little, or no harme at all.

And forasmuch as it had happened at this very time, that the lower Towne, and the fields about it, were greatly injured by impetuous and extraordinarie raines: the Gouvernour made vse of this accident, to his own aduantage; telling them that God punished them by such a means, because they rebelled against their lawfull Prince. But because these coniurations could not preuaile, nor hee moue the people with all his goodly persuasions; he would compasse his intention by another stratagem, and plotted with close confederates, to massacre the Authors and confederators of this Alliance with the Cantons, taking their faith vnder oath, and Letters signed and sealed. And, because they might be knowne one to another, each of the Conspirators did wear red sleeves, which onely was their noted mark. Whereupon grew the Prob-

The bettel-
gates at *Buch-
nass* and what
successe ensu-
ed thereon.

The second
coniuration
against the
house of *Lu-
cerna*.

When the first
is preaching,
let the Goe
downe.

A massacre
plotted a-
gainst the *Lu-
cerna*ns.

uerbe (afterward) among them of *Lucerna*: Beware the hand of Red sleeves, and it was held for a matter extremely ignominious, to tell any man, that he was one of the red sleeves band.

The number of the conspirators increased, and then they assigned the day for the massacre, which was the last day of June, being the Feast day of *S. Peter & S. Paul*, Apostles. They were to meete vnder the great Arch or Gate, neere to the publike house of the Taylors fraternity: for then the watch for night should cease to walke the round in that quarter: Also, the Lieutenant to the Duke of *Austria*, must haue an army ready to bee let into the City by the conspirators, who (purposely) should open the gates. But God (by his gracious prouidence) discovered these bloody consultations, the very same night as the massacre was to bee executed. For, as the conspirers met in Armes at the place appointed, a yong man, passing accidentally by, without dreaming or thinking on any such matter, discovered the businesse, and vnderstood their deliberation. The night was very darke, by means whereof, he softly slipped away, hying speedily to the butcher or Shambles, where perceiuing by the lighted candles and noise he heard, that diuers were there vp out of bedde, drinking and playing: hee went in amongst them, and tolde them the things hee had heard.

Forthwith they ran to the Gouvernour, and acquainted him with the compact, & the Citizens quickly had warning to arm themselves, and good Guards also sent to the gates: moreover, they rushed in suddenly vpon the conspirators, and tooke them prisoners, before they could giue entrance to such supply as they expected from without. And to impeach the Lieutenant to the Duke of *Austria*, from attempting any thing by manifest force, or violence against the City, it being in this dangerous agitation: the same night they sent (in post) for succour vnto the three Cantons, who also sent them three hundred men early in the morning. After this happy supply was thus come to the, they consulted then together, concerning punishment to bee inflicted on the conspirators. Their Letters were laid before them, and such other guilty persons, who

had escaped out of the tumult, by fauour of the nights extreame darkenesse, were likewise apprehended and imprisoned, as was most conuenient.

Now, in regard that the number of the conspirators was great; and, many among the of the principall houses, who had store of kindred and friends in the city. At request of the three Cantons, their liues were saued, and they punished by the purse, after they had solemnly sworn neuer to attempt any thing more against the state of the city, nor contrary to their alliance with the three Cantons. Heereupon, they of *Lucerna* made a law, whereby it was prohibited to the Citizens, not to make any assemblies or clandestine meetings in any place, nor to bind themselves one to another by Oath: except vpon any bargain they made for monies, they should leave twice as much in the hands of the Seignoury.

At this time, they of *Austria* were reconciled to the Emperor *Fewer*, to whom also, a great accusation was made of the three Cantons & the *Lucernians*. VVho (contrarywise) well excused themselves, and shewed, that they were allied vpon plenty of good reasons, and without doing wrong vnto any man. Whereupon, the Emperor gaue charge to them of *Zurich*, *Herne*, and *Basile*, who were then allied to the house of *Austria*, and friends also to the Cantons (for three yeares before, the men of *Zurich* had assisted them in a Warre against the *Grisons*) to pacifie the difference, and make an agreement of the Cantons with the *Austrians*.

VVherefore, in the yeare, one thousand three hundred thirty foure, by entermise of their Ambassadors, truce was taken for two yeares and an half, on these conditions following. That during this time, they of *Lucerna* should not be constrained to pay the monyes borrowed of them, nor the wages due to the *Lucernians* by the Captaines. That they might make vse and seruice of the Money of the Dukes of *Zofinge*, forged in their Citie: rendering obedience and honor done to the Dukes.

The alliance with the three Cantons, to remaine in absolute integrity, and the Cantons not to hinder the D. of *Austria* from inioying the goods and reuennewes which they helde in the countries of the

Grace and fa-
uour done vn-
derstandably to
the offenders

A law against
conuenticles
and close mee-
tings.

Complaint
made to the
Emperour
by the three Ca-
ntons and *Lu-
cerna*ns.

Conditions
of truce be-
tweene the
Austrians and
the Cantons
agreed vpon.

Cantons. The Emperour was to depu-
te the Commissaries, for hearing the
differences of the Dukes with the Can-
tons, at any time whatsoeuer.

Afterward, the truce was further pro-
longed, and although the peace was
scarcely well assured, but was sometimes
broken: yet they of *Austria* made no
more open warre vpon the confederates.
Vntill after such time as they of Zurich
wring themselves into the alliance, in the
yeare, 1351. Then *Glaris* and *Zug* came in
the yeare following, and *Berne* the yeare
after that: Concerning the estate and al-
liance of these Cantons, we come to dis-
cuss more at large.

CHAP. III.

*Of the Originall condition, and estate of Zu-
rich, before it leagued in with the amity of
the Cantons.*



It is not to bee doubted,
but that Zurich is one of
the most ancient Cities
of *Swetia*. The Annals
of the country doe declare,
that it was builded sixe-
teene yeares after the citie of *Treues* or
Treueris. *Marianus Scotus* saith in his
Chronicles, that *Trebetus*, son to *Ninus*,
builded the city of *Treues*, in the time of
the Patriarch *Abraham*. The *Romane* hi-
stories make honourable mention of the



1

Tigurines, who are they of Zurich, be-
cause they were present in the war of the
Cimbrians against the *Romans*, and over-
threw the Consul *Cassius*. Afterwards,
when *Iulius Caesar* came to the conquest
of the *Gaules*, they were vanquished and
ruined by him. After that time, to the in-
uasion which the *Allemaines* or *Germanes*

made: Zurich was subiect to the *Romane*
Empire, then fell into the hands of the
Kings of *France*; and lastly, came to the
Germane Empire, which beareth y name
and shadow of the *Romane* empire.

There are in Zurich two Colledgi-
all churches; one of men, the other of Wo-
men founded by the Kings of *France*. In
ancient times, these colledges were (well-
necere) Lords & commanders of the citie.
There was also (heretofore) a castle, build-
ed vpon a little hill, nere to the River of
Limagus, where the *Gouernours* (establi-
shed by the Kings of *France*) kepte their
abiding, who were Prouosts of the city, &
of those colledges. Afterward, vnder the
Germane Emperors, those Prouosts still
continued, but they dwelt not in the cas-
tle: because the gouernment was will-
lingly giuen to the Princes. Neuertheles,
since those times, there grew in the city a
councell of fixe and thirty men, twelue
whereof gouerned for the space of foure
moneths. The commonwealth was so or-
dered in the yeare, 1100. and continued
in that estate till the yeare, 1336. and then
it fell to changing, in manner as hereaf-
ter we shall declare.

From such time as the city beganne to
throwe off the yoke of the Colledgi-
all churches, it began also to consider on his
owne freedom, and how it might best
receiue increasing. For, amongst the dis-
sentions of the Emperors and Popes, the
men of Zurich adhered to the Emperors,
and followed *Fredericke Barbarossa*, *Frede-
ricke* the second, and *Lewes of Banaria*,
who augmented thei liberties and fran-
chises, especially *Fredericke* the second.
For, after the death of *Berthoull*, the last
Duke of *Zerungen*, Prouost of the Col-
ledges, and also of the Citie of Zurich:
he receiued the citizens into protection
of the Empire, about the yeare, 1218.
Then afterward, he tooke many priuiled-
ges from the Colledgi-
all churches. Amongst
other, the right of electing the
councell, and graunted it to the citizens,
ordaining, that it should neuer bee law-
full to alienate Zurich from the Empire.
Also, in the time of *Fredericke*, the Citie-
zens made the ditches and walles about
the City.

It came to passe, that they requested
the Priests & were citizens of the Citie,
to furnish their part of charge towards
these

Two Colled-
all Churches
in Zurich, at
a castle once
ruined of Lau-
gus.

A Councell
of 34 men, to
gouern by in-
teruall times.

The begin-
ning of the ci-
ty of Zurich,
and in what
manner it pro-
ceeded.

Zurich next
to be aler-
ted from the
Empire.

the fortifications, and commaded them
moreover, to rid their houses of some
women ill reported of: which offended
them in such sort, as they with-drewe
themselves from the Citizens. But this
difference was appeased by the bishop
of *Constance*. Some few yeares after, the
Pope excommunicated them of Zurich,
because they tooke part with the Empe-
ror *Frederick*. At the same time, they ru-
inated (by permission of the Emperor) the
old Castle, fearing least some (enemies to
their liberties) should get possession ther-
of. At this day it is a very pleasant place,
beautified with Linden and other fayre
trees planted there. And because the Ci-
ty stood excommunicated, and (by con-
sequence) exposed to the violence of any
man: many Gentlemen round about,
much molested the Citizens, so that the
traffick of filkes, being very great before
in that place, was from thence transpor-
ted to *Come*.

In the yeare, 1351. they of Zurich did
take their first alliance with the Cantons
of *Vri* and *Suits*, the tenour whereof you
haue already scene. Some few yeares af-
ter the death of *Frederick*, his Nephew
Conradine laboured to subiect them of
Zurich, to the Dukes of *Suaba*: vnder
the pretence and colour, that they had
long time bin Prouosts and *Gouernours*
thereof. The Citizens maintained thei
liberty very firme and strongly, which
caused *Conradine* to worke so with the
Emperor *Conrad*, that Zurich stood pro-
scribed from the Empire. But *Richard* of
England, king of the *Romanes*, tooke a-
way the proscription, and by Imperiall
Letters, confirmed the priuiledges of
the Citizens. In those Letters, amongst
other matters, these words following are
contained.

A true Coppy of the fauor
done by Richard of England, K.
of the *Romanes*, to them of
Zurich.



By faithfull report, which is
come to our serenity, we haue
vnderstood, that *Conradine*,
Sonne to the late King *Con-
rad*, who named himselfe *D.*
of *Suaba*, not contented with this fault, in

vainely vsurping the honor appertaining to
another, without hauing any right or power
so to do: hath published a sentence of banish-
ment, against our Citizens of Zurich (as if
they were subiects to that Dutchy) planted in
the effect all boosome of vs and our Empire, &
not appertaining any way to that Dutchy, but
immediately to the Empire, according as first
antiquitie hath bene established, and is now
approved in our time, &c. Given at Hage-
naw, the xx. day of November, in the yeare
one thousand two hundred sixty two. And
of our reigne the sixt.

These Letters do render an ample tes-
timony, of the liberty belonging vnto
them of Zurich: notwithstanding, they
tooke no great effect then, because such
as succeeded in the Empire after *Frede-
ricke* the second, to *Raoul of Habsbourg*,
held no great credit, so that (by manie)
they are not numbred among the Empe-
rors, but all this interuall or respite of
time, is referred vnto an *Inter-regnum*,
wherein the most part of all the variances
were decided by the sword, rather then
by iustice and law, and the stronger tram-
pled the weaker vnder their feet. Aboue
all, the Gentlemen that had anie means,
did nothing else but machinate against
the liberties of those Cities that were
their neighbors. All the wayes were co-
uered with theues, & (in brieft) this Li-
cense wrought a meere confusion among
the most wicked and desperate, mouing
them to attempt and execute euery what-
soeuer themselves pleased.

Heereupon, they of Zurich, desi-
ring to conferue their liberty, and main-
taine themselves in peace: sent an hono-
rable Ambassage to the Lord of *Regen-
sbourg*, entreating him to be their *Gouern-
our* and Captaine, vntill the election
of a newe Emperor, and (for that effect)
offered him honest and sufficient gages;
The Gentleman was a neighbour to Zu-
rich, a rich and powerfull Lord in those
times. Hee proudly reiected the honour
which the men of Zurich did him, and
made them answer in this manner. If
the Citizens would obey al his comman-
dements, and subiect the Citie to him:
hee was readie to take them into his pro-
tection, and would be their benign Lord.
But if they refused his offer, they should

V 2

shortly

How and at
what time the
people of Zu-
rich lost thei
liberty.

The truce fur-
ther prolong-
ed betweene
them.

Concerning
the antiquite
of Zurich, and
when it was
builded.

The *Tigurines*
are the people
of Zurich, and
were conquere-
d by *Iulius*
Caesar.

The strong places of the Lord of Regenspourg, neere to Zurich, and his potent Confreres.

shortly bee compelled to accept it, euen in meere despite of them: because their Citie was ingirt and inuoloped with his castles, as Fifth within a Weele, or water Leape.

This vauntery of the Lord of *Regenspourg* was not wholly vain, for he had many strong places neere vnto the citie: as *Wipria* on the Lake of *Zurich*, a mile and a halfe from the citie; *Glanzenbourg*, a Towne and castle of like distance, and on the river of *Limagus*. He had (moreouer) much neerer to the citie, vpon a high Mountaine towards the Sunne-setting, two castles, to wit, *Vilberg* and *Balderie*, impregnable (as was imagined) by reason of their situation. Beside, the Towne and castle of *Regenspourg*, not a bouefine miles at the most from *Zurich*. And, beyond all these, manie Countes or Earles were Leagued with him; among other, the Count of *Kybourg*, dwelling at *Burgdorff*, the Count of *Ruperswill*, of *Togge*, of *Nidow*, of *Arberg*, and the Barons of *Eichenbach*, of *Riggenberg*, of *Kilchberg*, of *Balm*, of *Hombourg*, of *Wart*, and many other. They of *Zurich*, hauing bene to ignominiously refused: addressed themselves to *Raoul* of *Habsbourg*, mortall enemy to this *Regenspourg*; made alliance with him, & within two yeares following, tooke the castles of *Wipria*, *Wipria*, *Vilberg*, *Balderie*, and the Towne of *Glanzenbourg*, mollesting *Regenspourg* in such sort, as at length hee desired peace, and came to make his abiding at *Zurich*. These things hapned in the yeare, one thousand, two hundred, sixtie fixe, and the yeares following.

Pride & scorn full contempt very iustly scourged and rewarded.

Raoul of Habsbourg King of the Romans, and a friend to them of Zurich.

In the yeare onethousand, two hundred, seventy three, *Raoul* of *Habsbourg*, was created king of the Romans, by common consent of the seauen Electours of the Empire. Afterward, being chosen Emperour, the Citizens of *Zurich*, serued him in many Warres, hee finding them still faithfull, and valiant souldiers. In the warre of *Bohemis*, he had two hundred, which he placed betweene the Ensignes in the first ranke: exhorting the others souldiours to imitate the magnanimity of them of *Zurich*, whom (he said) he had well knowne and made prooffe of before. Also, the most part of them dyed in the field, of battaile then giuen, and

the Ensignes of the other were borne (for their honour) into the Temple of the Cordeliers or gray Friars. *Raoul* hauing receyued so many seruices by the men of *Zurich*, gaue them diuers priuiledges: and to honour them the more, beautified their Ensignes of Armes, with a Diadem and Bend of Purple.

Many haue imagined among the vulgar fort, because in the battaile at *Winterberg*, that the Bend was afterward annexed therto, as a note or mark of theys ignominy. But there are many things yielding contrary reasons to this opinion. For, in the first place, the notes of ignominy are not red, but meely black. And afterward, when *René*, Duke of *Lorraine*, tooke away all the marks of the ensignes belonging to the Switzers, in the warre against the Duke of *Bourgonne*; they of *Zurich* would neuer permit, that the Bend should bee taken out of theys Standard. And in the yeare, one thousand, five hundred and twelue, when Pope *Iulius* gaue new Standards vnto the Switzers, the Councell of *Zurich* would not alter any thing whatsoeuer in theys Ensigne, no, nor to what as the bend or Diadem, which they neuer would haue done, if they had bene any notes of infamy.

Moreouer, *Iohn* of *Winterduer*, who liued at that time when they of *Zurich* were conquered by ambuscadoes at *Winterduer*, spake to King *Raoul* these Words: *He crowned the Standard of Zurich with great action of graces.* The same Authour also declareth, that in the warre at *Regenspourg*, *Iaques Muelner*, a citizen of *Zurich*, couered (with his owne body) *Raoul* of *Habsbourg*, who was cast from his horse: and hauing remounted him vpon his own, brought him forth of the prease safe and sound. For which great fauour, *Raoul* did much honour to the man, and loued him singularly; yea, hee was also a deare friend to them of *Zurich*. This they auouch, because *Curion*, and such as were of his minde, did highly wrong the citie of *Zurich*, accusing it of sedition & rebellion against King *Raoul*, who therefore foiled them, and brought them vnder his obedience by armes.

After the death of *Raoul* of *Habsbourg*, they of *Zurich* mainteyned the part of *Adolph*, and to did the Abbot of *S. Gall*, and

The standard of Zurich used away by the enemy at the battaile of Winterberg.

The confederacy of the Switzers, for their ensignes of Armes.

Iaques Muelner, a citizen of Zurich, who couered Raoul of Habsbourg with his owne body.

The Citie of Zurich, after the death of Raoul of Habsbourg.

The Lorde of Werdenberg, his cunning stratagem, against them of Zurich.

Apolitic stratagem performed by them of Zurich, against the Duke of Austria.

Peace concluded betweene Du Albert, & the men of Zurich.

and the Bishop of *Constance*. Now to the end that they of *Zurich* might ioyne themselves with the other: they assayed the Towne of *Winterduer*, and tooke it in the assault, vnder conduct of the Count of *Togge*, and there (in Garrison) was the Lord of *Werdenberg*, with great troopes, in name of *Albert* of *Austria*. The first day they were Victors, but on the morrow, by treachery in the Lorde of *Werdenberg*, who caused the Ensigne belonging to the Bishop of *Constance*, to be carried before him: by this cunning stratagem, the men of *Zurich* were overthrowne and cut in peeces. They attempted againe another warre in the name of *Adolph*, against them of *Groningen*, the which is in the territory of *Zurich*. But *Albert* Duke of *Austria*, sonne to *Raoul*, was offended at their enterprize, being informed by his people, that the greater part of them of *Zurich*, were slaine at *Winterduer*, which caused him to come and besiedge *Zurich*, which hee imagined to bee quite emptic of any defenseue men.

The Citizens made a muster of their men (apt for armes) in the Citie, and on a place very high, where sometimes the Callic stood; and that the Duke of *Austria* Army might easily discerne them. And, because their number might appeare to bee much more greater then it was, they caused all their strongest and stoutest women to be armed, and theys children of biggest stature: which made the enemy to imagine, that there were great store of warlike people within the Citie. Afterward, they sent Ambassadors vnto *Albert*, to remember him, that his Father alwayes loued and maintained that citie; that the citizens had serued him in all his warres, and wherein they (euermore) carried themselves faithfully and valiantly. Wherefore, they intreated him to follow his Fathers steps, and to accept them of *Zurich* rather as loyall and seruiceable friends, then to beleue false rumors spied abroad by their ill-willers, considering withall, that they were ready to giue him satisfaction.

Albert answered the Ambassadors verily kindly, & willed them to come to him at *Winterduer*, where the peace was confirmed betweene him and them of *Zurich*: vpon condition, that they should

acknowledge and honour *Albert* as lawfull Emperour. This peace was continued after the death of *Albert*, and in the warre which his sons made against them that had slaine him: the citizens of *Zurich* kept themselves still faithfully on the behalfe of *Austria*, and fought for them against the three Cantons. After that, in the battell of *Morgarten*, fiftie men of *Zurich* were slaine in the field, as hath already bene declared. Moreouer, when the Emperour was in some troubles, because some had elected *Lewes*, Prince of *Bauaria*; and others *Fredericke*, the Sonne to *Albert*, the men of *Zurich* helde a long time for the part of *Fredericke*.

In the yeare, 1330. peace was made betweene *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, and *Fredericke* of *Austria*, whereat, *Fredericke* renounced his Imperiall Election, and *Lewes* (to recompence him) promised to pay him a great summe of money. And because hee could not presently furnish him therewith, in regard of the Warres hee lately had, to his mightie expences; gaue vnto him foure Townes as a pawn, and security of payment, Namely, *Zurich*, *Schaffhouse*, *Rhinfeld*, and *Neuchamp* on the *Rheme*. But they of *Zurich*, immediately sent Ambassadors to the Emperour, to shew him, that they were incorporated with the Empire, as they could (by no means) be separated from it. Their Letters were shewn to the same effect, read and perused by the Emperour; and then, although hee loued them but a little, because they had taken part with *Fredericke*; yet notwithstanding hee left them to their owne liberties, and in sted of *Zurich*, *Brissacke* was giuen in gage to them of *Austria*.

The Ambassadors had also brought with them, the Deputies of the three Cantons, whom *Lewes* greatly affected, because they had alwayes bene faithfull vnto him. These Deputies declared, that the City of *Zurich* was a louing & friendly neighbor to the Cantons, & had highly serued them many times. Beside, they of *Zurich* promised, that (hereafter) they would be no lesse faithfull & obedient to *Lewes* of *Bauaria*, who was then their onely lawfull Emperour, then they had formerly bene to *Fredericke* of *Austria*. This did much offend the *Austrians*: for,

Worthy seruices done by the of Zurich.

The men of Zurich would not be separated from the Empire, making it known by their Ambassadors.

Zurich, a loving friend & neighbour to the Cantons.

The Citie of Zurich excommunicated by the Pope, for the space of 18 yeares.

A Castle taken and spoiled on the Rheine, by them of Zurich, &c.

The Government of the Common-wealth of Zurich altered, procuring much trouble and molestation.

Accusations against the second order of Trauten.

albeit *Fredericke* had renounced the empire: yet notwithstanding, *Leopold, Albert, and Otho* his brethren, would not ratifie the agreement, but continued warre against *Lewes of Bawaria*. By which means *Zurich* fell off againe from friendship with them of *Austria*, and was excommunicated by the Pope, in such manner, as for the space of eightene years, there was no exercise of ceremonies (according to the Romane Church) vied in *Zurich*. The Priests departed from the citizens, some by their owne meere motion, others were expelled by the Bishops, because they refused to administer the Sacraments. There were none but the Cordeliers or gray Friars, who went forth at one gate, and entered immediately at another.

The Citie standing thus excommunicated, and hated by the house of *Austria*: many Gentlemen, servants vnto that house, much molested the Citizens. Wherefore, in the yeare 1333. they of *Zurich*, with the men of *Strasbourg, Basle, and Berne*, besiedged and took a castle on the *Rheine*, named *Schunaw*, belonging to the Lords of *Geroltsegh*, and ruined it, because it was one of the retreats for theecues. The yeare following, the men of *Zurich* ruined many castles, to wit, *Fronstein*, on the river of *Tofe*, and another nere vnto it, called *Touff the high*. Also *Schenenert*, on the *Limagus*, about three miles from *Zurich* and *Schlatt*, nere to *Eggen*, because the Gentlemen to whom these castles appertained, did greatly trouble the city of *Zurich*.

The next yeare ensuing, the Government of the Common-wealth of *Zurich* was changed; which proued to bee the cause of great garboiles, and the principall occasion, of allying the citizens with the Cantons of *Sweetia*. We haue already told you, that the commonwealth was gouerned by 36. men, and in such sort, as twelue commaunded during the space of foure months. Some difference hapned between them and the people, in regard whereof, the people began to demand an account of their administration, especially, of the twelue that were in the second order. Some were accused among them, of robbing and dissipating (in a small time) the publike treasure, and besides, that they had bound the Citie in

no meane store of great debtes. Eight of those men, finding themselves to bee hardly clear in this case, retired from the city: the other foure, voluntarily resigned vp their charge. Thus the authoritie of twelue ceasing, they grew to a forme of electing Magistrates, being chosen out of euery band of the tradesmen, and by seuerall nomination.

The Emperour *Lewes* confirmed this kinde of Commonwealthe by his Letters Parents, and the succeeding Emperours also approued the same. They that had withdrawn themselves from the Citie, yeelding after to the peoples iudgement, were condemned in seuerall fines: and they that sped the best were banished for three yeares, hauing first faithfully promised neuer to make any conspiracie against the citizens. Heereto also was annexed a note of infamy, to wit, that neyther they, nor any of their children, should euer be admitted into Councell. The ancient men and councillors, being afraid of a iudgement so seuer, beganne to distrust their owne causes; so that nine among them forsooke the Citie. This departure of theirs was conuerted vnto banishment, and their goodes confiscated. As for the rest, nine of them were condemned in great fines, and then banished for two yeares: with this brand also set vpon them, that they nor their children should euer be admitted vnto councell. Others, that stood to their tryall, iustified themselves before the people, and were elected to be of the new councell.

The banished men made their retreat to a Towne, situated on the Lake, two miles (or thereabout) from *Zurich*, named *Rasperwill*, which at that time belonged to Count *John*, of the House of *Habsbourg*. Three yeares before, he had made request to them of *Zurich*, to accept him as a Citizen: willingly they would, and did (at last) receiue him, although he was Leagued with them of *Austria*, and diuers of them also were of his parentage. Heereupon, hee listened the sooner vnto the banished men, and made a confederacie with them, vnder certaine conditions; for securitie whereof, hee gaue them the Castle of the Towne in keeping. These banished men being thus commodiously lodged & fortified, began to

Fleeting of Magistrates among the people confirmed by the Emperour Lewes, &c.

Old Count John desired of them to house him.

How, and in what place the banished men bestell ed themselves.

ac-

The banished men conspire against them of Zurich, & are banished for euer.

Warre raised by them of Zurich against the banished men.

The banished prouoked too thong, for them of Zurich, in warre raised against them.

The success of the men of Zurich, gainst the Count of Habsbourg at Buchberg.

accuse them of *Zurich*, pretending to haue suffered great outrages by them; they defamed the Consull and new councell, and to make attempts against the Citie, yling to this effect) the helpe of some of their friends, that remained still in *Zurich*. Some of them being discovered by the councell, were punished: others fled away secretly, and ioyned with the banished men. And because these banished men had falsified their solemne promises: they were banished perpetually by the Senate, especially they that stood relegated but for a certaine time enioyned them.

Now, because the citizens of *Zurich* stood in slender security, either for themselves or their goods, since those banished men were excluded the city: diuers times they admonished the Count of his duty, that he being a Bourgeois, ought not to continue his fauour to the banished men, but rather to withdraw all helpe and comfort from them. Perceiuing the Count made no reckning of their complaints, they leuiued another Army, and went and besiedged *Rasperwill*, the retire and refuge of the banished men. In vaine was this attempt of theirs, because the banished men had great plenty of victuals, and defended themselves valiantly, which made the other to raise their sieg. Gladly therefore they quitted the place, & so much the rather, because the Count of *Habsbourg*, protector of the banished, and whom most especially they fought for; was not at *Rasperwill*, but in a Castle called *Grimow*, which is at the head of *Zurich* Lake. They disamped thence, & marched with their Army vnto that very place, being conducted by *Diethelme*, Count of *Togge*, who was at controuersie with the other, concerning the castle of *Grimow*.

The Count of *Habsbourg* (with his Army well appointed) was encamped at *Buchberg*, whence he came mainly running vpon them of *Zurich*, who landed suddenly from their Boates; and they granting them no leysure to bee ranged in order of battaile, put all in rout and disorder that were on Land, compelling them to enter their Boates againe, in which confusion they lost not many me, except the Count of *Togge*, who was taken prisoner. But after that all their troops

were ioyned together againe in the middle of the Lake, being moued with anger, and desirous to wipe off the shame formerly receiued: by aduice of their Leaders, they went on shore againe, brauely bidding them the battaile, which they wonne. And such was their successe, that the Count of *Habsbourg*, and many Gentlemen with him, were slaine in the field: moreover, they carried away in their Boates a mighty booty, & fixe ensignes of the enemies. The citizens of *Rasperwill*, hearing of this ouerthrow, to reuenge the death of their Lord, they cut in peeces the Count of *Togge*, who was conuained on Land, so soone as he had bene taken prisoner in the first encounter.

This things hapned in the yeare 1337. And the same yeare, the Emperour *Lewes*, and *Albert of Austria*, second of that name, furnished the Cripple, made peace betwene *John* of *Habsbourg*, Sonne to the deceased Count; the banished men of *Zurich*, and the Consull and Citizens of the City, vpon these conditions following. That the banished men should pay to the citizens (as a fine or amercement) the summe of fixe hundred markes of money: remaining still out of *Zurich* five yeares, during which time, they should not come nere the city, by the space of two miles; which being expired, they should againe be receiued, & their goods remaine entirely to them. The Emperour conceiued, that this new government in the state, would highly strengthen it in these five yeares: for there was appearance of great danger, that if the ancient Councillers were re-established, alterations would ensue in many matters, & nothing else please them, but the old form of rule, as many of their friends and partakers earnestly desired.

This peace lasted not long, for the banished men (fauoured by a great number of the Nobility) made no regard at all of their promises: but molested the citizens, and conspired daily something or other against the city. In regard whereof, by permission of the Emperour, the houses, and all the goods which the banished had in the city, were confiscated. Notwithstanding, the yeare following, by the intermice of *Agnes* Queene of *Hungary*, (who was daughter to *Albert*, first of that name, and after the death of her Father, remai-

The Count of Togge hewed in peeces.

Peace newly confirmed betwene the men of Zurich, & them that were banished, vpon diuers conditions.

The peace broken again betwene the banished men and they of Zurich, yet afterward renewed.

Peace once more renewed, & broken againe the second time.

Meanes desired and undertaken, to resist enemies and maintain their liberties.

Schaffhouse, Constance, & S. Gall allied with Zurich.

A new confederation of the banished men against them of Zurich & the City.

remained in *Smets* the most part of her time of *Fredericke of Austria*, and some other of the Cities: peace was renewed betweene the banished, and the citizens of *Zurich*; yet this was no firmer, or dur'd any longer then the former. For although the banished promised faithfully, that they would stand to the counsell of *Zurichs* sentence, and pay the fines wherein they were condemned; yet would they not make any satisfaction at all.

Many of the house of *Habsbourg*, (among others, the Sonne and kindred to Count *John*, whom they of *Zurich* slew in the battaile at *Grimm*) assembled a great number of Gentlemen, offended with the liberty of *Zurich*, hating that Democraticall government, as being too popular in their opinion: favoured the banished, and provoked them still on against them of *Zurich*. And they on the other side, for their better maintenance, first of all burned two Castles: one neere to the *Tofe*, appertaining to the Lords of *Landberg*, Gentlemen of marke: and the other to the Lords of *Schonenberg* on an high hill above *Elgor*, because these places did much iniure them. And to fortifie themselves yet stronger, they combined amity with the cities of *Constance* and *S. Gall*. Also, because some differences remained to be appeased with them of *Schaffhouse*, and war might be moved from thence: they yeelded willingly (by intermission of Ambassadors to some other cities) & in short time after, comprehended them of *Schaffhouse* in alliance with the cities of *Constance* and *S. Gall*. At the same time, they allied themselves also with the Bishop and city of *Basile*. Afterward they receiued into the number of their Bourgesies, many houses of the Rhodes, or of *S. John* of *Ierusalem*: to be supplied and maintained with Gentlemen, and men of warre, as continually (and from time to time) were in that worthy Order of *Knights of S. John*.

These puissant cities and people round about, being leagued with them of *Zurich* by new alliances, or reconfirmation of their ancient amity: the estate of the city remained more peaceable, and it seemed, that the banished had lost all hope of ever enjoying the city by power. But in this sleeping time, they conspired very secretly, to make themselves Masters

thereof by treason. Count *John* of *Habsbourg*, Son to him that was slaine on the day at *Grimm*, as already we have shewn, was ioynd with them; upon condition, that he should re-establish the banished men, in possession of their goods in the country, and that they should disingage the lands of the Count, morgaged for debts to his creditors. With them ioynd the Count of *Toggenbourg*, *Peregrin Landberg* (who some yeares before, had bene at great debate with them of *Zurich*, though all seemed to be laide asleepe by an agreement made betweene them) the Baron of *Murzing*, and many Gentlemen, partly pensioners and vassalls to the Count of *Habsbourg*, who they gladly endeavored to gratifie, & partly as friends to the banished, who had many ancient friends and partakers in the city, some whereof were well acquainted with all the conspiracy, and others also that would ioyne with them, if the first attempt succeeded well. A farther hope also was conceiued, that no meane number more would come to their part, if they did but see the ancient counsellors, namely, such as were greatly indebted, and could subsist by no other meanes. Such likewise, as in this alteration of the state, were not honoured nor recompenced according to their expectation, and who were unworthy to be seene of others, advanced and preferred before them. Then againe, some others, who were weary of the estate in her present condition, desiring nothing more then nouelty: as in all commonwealths are daily to be found, too many such kinde of people. The resolution of the conspirators was, to make vse of the night time, and to plant armed men in all the streetes of *Zurich*, and to force the houses of *Ravalle Brun*, Consull also of all the new Counsellors, and the rest of their enemies, to massacre them, seize the city, make themselves Lords therof, and take away the liberties of the citizens.

In this manner, the 24. of February, in the year 1350, *Peregrin Landberg*, Count of *Habsbourg*, many Gentlemen, and some of the banished with them, came vnto *Zurich*. The same ranne through the City, that they came to present a request to the Counsell, in behalfe of the banished. At the same time, diuers armed

Lowes of gold and greedy desire of revenge are the only Counsellors of this conspiracy.

Other reasons inducing buyers and sellers to this conspiracy.

Treachery of water, as well as by land.

The admirable prouidence of God in the confederation of Zurich.

In what manner the treason was discovered by a servant of the house where the conspirators meet together.

The care and diligence of the Consull *Raoul le Brun* in such an urgent time of necessity.

armed men had secretly slipped into the city, and hid themselves in the houses of their complices. The Counts and Gentlemen had a very great troope of armed Groomes and Pages waiting on them, ready to execute whatsoever their Masters should command them. Moreover, there were sundry companies readily prepared (both of horse and foote) who in the night should come neere the city, and there to be suddenly let in, after the watch-word was giuen. Others should come by Boates, and on that side where the Lake makes a separation of the city: to rush on by impetuous troopes, & hinder the country-men round about (who were very honest and faithfull to the city) that they should not come that way to help or relence it.

All things being thus ordered and appointed, upon the very same night determined for the massacre, the conspiracy was discovered: more by the prouidence of God, then any counsell or industry of men. For God (vndoubtedly) preferred this city, to be (very soone after) the first, for conferring the *Switzers* liberties, as also, for the retreat of his church.

The chiefe men of this conspiracy, were in the house of a citizen, where they conferred on their affaires, and closely expected the houre of night, when the watch-word was to be giuen abroad. A servant of the house, who neuer had knowledge of this enterprize, being layd vpon a Bench to sleepe, happened to wake by their close whispering, and lending some attention to their talke, obserued their words very carefully, yet siored as if hee had bene in a sound sleepe. So soone as he could conveniently do it, softly he got away, and went directly to the lodging of *Raoul le Brun*, who was Consull then, recuelling to him at full, what danger hung ouer the head of him, the whole council, and all the honest minded people of the city. He also acquainted him with the watch-word, whereby the enemies should be knowne one to another, in the darke obscurity of the night.

The Consull hauing heard the seruants words, armed himselfe immediately, and went towards the Towne-house: the enemies were going and coming already through the streetes, yet he escaped well among them, because hee deliuered the

watch-word readily to them, and so got on to the Towne-house. A servant of his, attired in the garments of his Master, hauing not vnderstood the watch-word, by reason of the great feare and haste the Consull made, was slaine by the enemies before the Towne-house: not so much because he could not giue the word, as for that they tooke him to bee the Consull.

In the meane while, the Consull commanded one of the Officers of the Seignury, to run to the church, and to ring out the watch-bell, after the wonted manner, to signifie the coming of enemies. The Officer seeing the gate before the clock-house to be round engirt with enemies: by a secret doore belonging to the church, got into the clock-house, & rung out the terror to all the city. On the other side, the Consull (himselfe) cryed out aloud on the top of the Town-house, *Arme, Arme, the City is full of enemies*. Now the Ruer named *Limagus*, or *Limatus*, diuides the city in twaine, & those two parts met and ioynd together, by the means of two Bridges made of wood. Immediately, euery one ran to these bridges: but because the planks and boords of the one were not made fast nor nailed, they threw them all downe into the water. By this meanes, all the fury and tempest of trouble, kindled it selfe at the other Bridge, which ioynd neere to the Towne-house.

There is a place of indifferent greatness, at the entrance to the said bridge and house: the enemies got possession of that place, and of another neighboring to it. Heere the conflict grew very sharp, for, from forth the highest roomes of the houses, they of the city hurled downe Tyles and great Stones vpon their enemies, who were also to fight with other citizens, gotten together in great number, and came to ioyne with their best helpe. The Butchers were the foremost men in the fight; for they were then vp in the Butchery (it being builded neere to the Ruer) killing Oxen and other cattell. Hauing heard the noise and out-cries of the Consull, they ran out vpon the enemies, with their Axes in their hands. In memory whereof, and as a testimony of their hardinesse, the common-wealth gaue them a Lyon of Copper or Brass,

The watch-bell reports the enemies being in the City, & summoneth the Citizens together.

Honest care makes vie of any the least meanes of helpe.

Citizens fight for liberty against an unjust invasion of deadly enemies.

which(as yet)they beare yeerely in pomp and triumph through all the city. They were moued to vnder take Arms, by their meanes following.

Traitors doe commonly proue voluntarie and forward towards

The Count of *Torgenbourg*, beeing with-drawne into a house of one of the conspirators, and perceiuing the danger, fearing also his owne skin-coate; after he had a while consulted with his Host: determined to free himselfe from blowes, resolving thus; that if matters fell out well for his companions, he could easily come in againe among the troopes, and speake to them, as if he had bin always in the crowd. But if it happened otherwise, he would be fure to saue himselfe, & learne to meddle with better businesse. According to this conclusion, himselfe, his Host, and his seruant, well laden with money, got into a small Boate, belonging to a fisherman, named *Bax*, who should conduct them along the River out of the city. But fearing lest this *Bax* should discover their flight, the Count commanded his seruant, that so soone as they were out of the city, he should presently kill the fisherman. He being neerer to them then they imagined (by reason of the nights darknesse) vnderstood their purpose and resolution concerning himselfe: wherein he wisely prevented them, by suffering the boat to tile suddenly on the one side, and so they all three together fell into the River.

Mischieuous and wicked counsell, returns many times to the ruine of the author & deuil.

The safety & liberty of our Country, ought to be deare & precious to every man.

Making haste afterward home to his owne house, and waking all the neighbours dwelling about him; hee desired them to take Armes secretly, because the city was in eminent perill, and enemies were hidden in many parts thereof, but he knew neyther how, nor what was their intent. Heereupon, they armed themselves presently, and hearing the Confull still crying, Arme, Arme: waked other friends and neighbours, by whose helpe they got the Bridge, and there raunged themselves orderly in fight against the enemy. It is further said, that the Priests of the great church, being then singing Martins, and hearing this tumult in the night: armed themselves from the houses round about, and entred in among the thickest thronges, fighting valiantly for the freedom & safety of their country. It might so come to passe, that this year the Popes excommunication was first raised, and

that after eightene yeares were expired, the Priests entred into the city againe.

Thus the citizens (by little and little) gathered their strength together, for from euery part they came in full troopes, and declaring their valour in so great a need, the enemies that were in the city (constrainedly) gaue way. Fifteene among them were slaine, and more then thirty seven taken prisoners, among whom was the Count of *Habsbourg*; others saued themselves by fauour of the night. The Baron of *Matzingen*, and *Peregrin Landberg* were among the dead. The Count that fell into the water, was there drowned. The bodies of the slaine lay three whole daies on the pavement, exposed to the mockery of all men, and to be trampled on with the feete of euery passenger.

On the morrow, seuteene, the principall men in the conspiracy, were broken, and their bodies laide on wheeles: eightene were beheaded. The Count of *Habsbourg*, *Huldrich*, Baron of *Bouffers*, and some other, remained prisoners. The Army of the Count of *Habsbourg*, as well that which came on the lake, as the other by land, hearing this tumult in the city, and seeing no man came that should open the gates to them: retired backe in great feare, so that in the morning, the people gathered vp their armes and weapons for warre, which the run-awaies had gladly left behinde them, for their easer escaping.

Matters being thus appeased at *Zurich*, to prevent any more new troubles in the city: the Confull brought an Army into the field, on the second day of March, & being seconded with supplies sent them by the men of *Schaffhouse*; they went and besiedged *Kasperwill*, the Fortresse & retreat of the conspirators. The inhabitants of the Towne knowing that their Count was taken, the banished mangled in peeces, or made fugitiues and vagabonds, and hauing no likelihood at all of succour: on the third day of the siege yielded, and bound themselves sollemnly to the common-wealth of *Zurich*, promising (for euer after) to acknowledge them as their chiefe, and render them all such duty, as formerly they had done to their Count. The Towne taken, they of *Zurich* thought they had gotten two ad-

Diuers of the conspirators ouer-come and slaine.

An ignominious, yet detested hanging of such traitors.

A shameful kinde of death inflicted on some of them.

The Countes army gladly run away.

He that desires to despise a gain of his liberty, may meet (in the end) with his owne

Two advantages for the city of Zurich in their owne opposition for their best benefit.

Enemies to the liberty of the people, gaine nothing by the refusal of peace.

Another Army made out by them of Zurich, upon denying the peace offered against the new & perillous wills.

Another war against the men of Zurich, by the Wadners of Sultz, &c.

uantages. One was, that from thence forward, no pilling or rauge was more to be made of their country, as oftentimes before had bene, and that the city would now safely be preferred from ambushes and treasons. The other, that the kindred and friends to the imprisoned Count, began to treat on peace: fearing to lose all the country about *Kasperwill*, because the Towne and the Count were taken.

Heereupon, the Queene of *Hungary* procured, that truce should be accorded for certaine moneths: but *Raoul & Godfrey of Habsbourg*, being summoned by them of *Zurich* to make peace, declared no affection thereto. Considering withall, that diuers Gentlemen, neighbours, but enemies to the men of *Zurich*, incited them rather to make warre. So all hope of peace being quite cut off, the sixth day of September (the same year) they of *Zurich* conducted their Army towards the country of the *Marche*, situated at the beginning of the Lake of *Zurich*, towards the Sun-setting, then being in obedience to the Count of *Habsbourg*. The cities of *Constance* and *Saint Gall*, sent succour to the men of *Zurich*, and hauing spoyled & burnt all the country, they besiedged a Castle, called *Kasperwill* the olde, and followed it so closely; that the besiedged, hauing no more meanes of resistance, yielded, & went away with their liues saued. The Castle was ruined downe to the ground, and they of the *Marche* promised fidelity and subiection to the common-wealth of *Zurich*. This done, the Army went to a Towne, called *Kasperwill* the new. They brake downe the Bridge that ioyned to the Lake, beate downe the Castle, and most part of the walles of the Towne, and hauing heard (for certaine) that *Albert of Austria* meant to come aid them of *Habsbourg* with great forces: they set the Towne on fire, and burnt it wholly, not leaving any iote thereof remaining.

At the same time, certaine Gentlemen, named the *Wadners of Sultz*, dwelling in *Alsacia*, declared warre against them of *Zurich*, taking their Merchants, pilling & outraging them by all manner of ways. They of *Basle* and *Strasbourg* withdrew, & gaue suppurtance to these wars there. Vpon these indignities, they of *Zurich* were moued, to seize on about eight score and ten persons of *Basle* and *Strasbourg*,

that were come on pilgrimage to the Chappell of the Hermitage. As slaying by this meanes, whether they of *Strasbourg* and *Basle*, compassionate the imprisonment of their citizens: would expell from their countries those Gentlemen that were the cause of this disturbance. This fell out to proue but a very vaine hope, for these cities and their Bishops, offended with this vniust detention of their pilgrims; ioyned themselves with *Fredericke of Austria*, *Friburg in Brisgaw*, *Selsstad*, *Brisac* and *Colmar*. Hauing vniited their forces together, they resolved to make warre on *Zurich*, and demand their prisoners by Armes. The men of *Zurich*, finding themselves not strong enough, in regard of their precedent warres, seditions and lesse of mer, which had greatly impaired them in power: deliuered backe the prisoners, and so turned aside this dangerous tempest.

Now because they had suffered great outrages, and saw no likelihood of any better successe to ensue: they sent Ambassadors to *Charles IV.* to whom they made their business knowne. They told him, that hauing taken (in a iust warre, & within their city) the Count of *Habsbourg* their enemy, for maintaining their cause against him, they were molested and assaulted by Gentlemen neighbours. But that which most of all greued them, was, to see those Gentlemen assisted by *Fredericke of Austria*, and other potent cities of the Empire. And because *Zurich* was an Imperiall City also; they made their recourse to him, as being the sole head of the Empire. They humbly desired him, to lend them both aide and counsell, and to take order by his power and authority, that (in succeeding times) the Princes of *Austria*, the cities and Towns of the Empire, nor any other Gentlemen might make warre against them, contrary to all right and reason. But rather to permit, that their city might enioy her wonted liberty, in peace and quietnesse: considering, that they were ready (as they ought to be) to answer before the Emperor, to all whatsoever any man could object against them.

The Emperor hauing heard the complaint of them of *Zurich*, answered the Ambassadors most humanely; that he coueted nothing more, then to haue their liber-

To avoid and put by a great danger, it is good to pallie one of lesse power.

The men of Zurich demand succour of the Emperor, by sending their Ambassadors to him.

The milde & honourable answer of the Emperor to the Ambassadors.

The negotiation of the men of Zurich, with Albert of Austria.

liberty continue in full perfection, and would do his endeavour, to accord them with *Fredericke of Austria*, and his associates. But he could give them no succor, nor attempt any thing by force, against the house of *Austria*, the Nobility of *Germany*, or the Cities of the Empire: because (at that instant time) they were far stronger then he. Wherefore, they of *Zurich* should devise to pacifie their differences with such enemies: by some reasonable agreement, wherein he would assist them to his power.

The Ambassadors departed away very sadly with this answer, and came home againe to *Zurich*. And because (at that time) *Albert of Austria*, Sonne to *Albert*, was in *Svetia*: they of *Zurich* sent presents to him by Ambassadors, to whom he gave kinde entertainment, and tolde them, that he would come meete them with an ample power, for he desired to be a friend to them of *Zurich*, and had some matters to acquaint them withall. Afterward, when the Ambassadors came vnto him againe at *Bruges* in *Svetia*, he was become an enemy to *Zurich*, by accusations and reports of the Noblemen, and spake sharply to the Ambassadors, saying: That they of *Zurich* had done him great wrong in ruining both the old and new *Rasperiwills*, and spoiling the *Marche* likewise, because they were in his Seigneury. He therefore demanded, that they should restore what they held from him, rebuilde those places which they had ruined, and repay their pillages with ready money, & in so doing, hee would pardon them all those wrongs.

How the lands of John of Habsbourg belonged to Albert of Austria, in manner of a right by title.

As concerning his maintaining the lands of *John of Habsbourg*; they belonged to him, in manner following. *Garnier*, Count of *Hombourg*, Lord of *Rasperiwill* the elder, and of three castles, seated vpon one Mountaine named *Wartenberg*, nere to *Basile*, dying without children; the succession fell vnto that *John of Habsbourg*, which was slaine at *Grimow*. But *Cato* and *Albert*, Princes of *Austria*, laid claime to them, being the stronger (I know not whether they had any other title) and all the other goods of *Garnier*, including both *Rasperiwill* the elder, & all the *Marche*. Nevertheless, they rendred all vnto *John of Habsbourg*, and he to hold it of them as in Knights fee, and so became their val-

saile and pensioner. Thus you see, why *Albert of Austria* said, they had done him wrong, and wherefore he demanded satisfaction.

The Ambassadors of *Zurich* made answer, that (from those places) ambuscadoes had beene made against their city, their citizens spoiled and slaine, and in those castles their banished men were harboured. Therefore, seeing they had ruined *Rasperiwill*, which no longer was an abiding for Noblemen, but a retreat for thees & banished men, they thought it no way meete, that any should be compelled to build it againe, or in the selfe same place. They entreated the Prince to consider seriously on euery thing: they being alwaies ready, to debate their cause before the Princes and cities of the Empire, and in any such place as hee would appoint. The Prince answered them in choller, that this was not a difference which stood in need of any Iudges, to beate downe his castles, and waste the places of his Seigneury. But it all were not reduced againe to the first condition, and full satisfaction made: he would employ all his forces, and constrain them of *Zurich* to do it. In briefe, he would haue no other debating of this cause, but by the point of the Sword.

The Ambassadors hauing made their answer to the councell of *Zurich*, & they perceiuing also euidently, that the citie would very shortly be besieged, because all the Noblemen were already in armes: the men of *Zurich* well knowing, that in expecting aide from the Emperor or the Empire, was meere to abuse themselves; resolved to combine alliance with the Cantons, for the better preferuation of their common liberties. Till then, they maintained themselves in amity one with another, and although in the day at *Morgarten*, they of *Zurich* gaue succor to the Duke of *Austria*; yet notwithstanding, the Cantons were not offended therewith, but rather tooke pleasure, to approve the hardinesse and valour of the men of *Zurich* in fight.

Hauing then so maine an enemy (in common) against them all to wit, the Duke of *Austria*; both the one and the other then might easily iudge, that their forces being thus combined together, they had thereby the better means for re-

Innocence such esteem more an art more of profit whereunto attend in this

refistance. Moreover, the Cantons were not ignorant that this their alliance with them of *Zurich*, did highly accommodate them for prouision of victuals; because there was a very excellent market at *Zurich*, and the Lake was apt to transport both food and Merchandizes. Wherefore, after that the men of *Zurich* had sent their Ambassadors to the Cantons, to require their alliance in loue, and freely had acquainted them with their present dangers: the Cantons embraced their motion very thankfully, and (soone after) sent their Ambassadors to *Zurich*, with plaine power to confirme this alliance, which was fully resolved on in the Moneth of April, in the year one thousand, three hundred, fifty one, and engrossed in writing at the beginning of May following. Now albeit *Zurich* is the first, coming thus into alliance with the *Switzers*; yet notwithstanding, because it is a citie much renowned and mighty; the first place was giuen to it, and *Zurich* named to be the first Canton. The men of *Zurich* (yet to this day) do hold that name and ranke, among all the thirteene Cantons, as well in dayes occasions of the *Switzers* accounts, as in all Ambassages, and other publike actions whatsoever.

This vnty of them of *Zurich*, caused warre (so much the sooner) to come vpon them: for the Prince of *Austria* was already very angry with them of *Suits*, *Pri*, and *Anderswald*, which first of all were leagued together: neuertheless, hee assured himselfe (one day) to bring them vnder his yoke. For, because the country was barren, and not conueniently grounded for warre; there grew some apparance, that (at length) it might bee subdued, albeit they were good Souldiers, and well resolved for fight. But when *Lucerna*, which was vnder the dominion of *Austria*, ioynd with them, and then (soone after) *Zurich*, a free citie, and cheefe of all other in the country: the Prince became much more moued and troubled: for he was not ignorant, how greatly this alliance had strengthened and authorized them of *Zurich*. And therefore he concluded, to lay hold on this occasion, to make warre on the men of *Zurich*, and besieged their citie; to eslay if thereby he could vnknit this knot of combination, before any other (following examp: of

the former) should make any more new leagues. See heere the true cause of the warre, and I dare maintaine, that no cause (concerning the ruine of *Rasperiwill*) incited it; because (at all times) when peace was treated on after the warre began: they of *Austria* neuer viged that article, concerning the building againe of *Rasperiwill*; but rather that they of *Zurich*, should renounce their alliance with the cantons.

Thus then, in the Moneth of September, the year 1351. *Albert of Austria* besieged *Zurich*. He had encamped with him, *Lewes*, Count of *Brandenburg*, *Fredericke*, Duke of *Teck*, the Duke of *Yfflinge*, and the Burgeaue of *Nuremberg*. The Bishops of *Wircebourg*, *Bamberg*, *Frisingen*, *Caire*, and *Basile* sent him succour. He had five and twenty Counts or Earles in his Army, namely; *Enrad*, Count of *Wirtemberg*, conductor of the Army; *Lewes*, count of *Ottingen*; *Frederick*, count of *Ortenberg*; the two counts of *Schmanlech*: the two counts of *Ternanges*; the two counts of *Furtemberg*; the three of *Tierstein*: they of *Habsbourg* and *Kybourg*; *Raoul* and *Herman* of *Werdenberg*; *Albert* and *Henry* of *Nellembourg*; *Guillaume* of *Kilchberg*; *Immer* of *Strasbourg*, of *New-chistle*, of *Nidow*, of *Arberg*, of *Fribourg*, of *Zolerin*, and of *Metbourg*. Likewise the cities of *Strafbourg*, *Basile*, *Fribourg* in *Brisgoye*, *Soleurre*, and some others sent aide to the Duke. It is said, that he had in his Army two thousand horse, and five thousand foote. On the other side, the foure Cantons sent a good Garrison to them of *Zurich*. The Souldiers and the citizens fortified the city, and made diligent prouision of all things requisite to withstand the siege, and to defend it: so that (on both sides) there were some sallies and skirmishes.

But few daies after the siege, peace was made, by the intermise of *Frederick*, count of *Togge*, and of *Hertzog* *Reichberg*, commander of *Rhodes*, abiding at *Pateuil*, with them of *Basile* and of *Berne* on condition, that the *Switzers* should refer themselves vnto the definitive iudgement of *Agnes*, Queene of *Hungary*, to whom, eyther side should send their Ambassadors, and that which was concluded by them, with plurality of voyces, cyther party should ratifie. For this effect, they of *Zurich* were to giue in 16. Hostages, of the cheefe of

The principal intention of the Duke of Austria.

The first besieging of the City of Zurich.

There neuer wants store of helpe to be found, when any people are to be oppressed.

Peace made, on what condition.

A traine is made, to entrap them by a sheete of paper, that could not be cut, come by force.

of the City, and *Albert* promised by his Letters, that no wrong should be done unto them. The foure Cantons would not accept of this peace, alledging, that no trust ought to be given to the Queen of *Hungary*, who would not faile to giue sentence in fauour of *Albert*, he being her brother. Neuerthelesse, the men of *Zurich*, who had a good opinion of the woman, did so presse the other Cantons, that they subligated together the conditions: adding this exception (in common) that their alliance should continue in full force.

The Duke of *Austria* chose for Iudges, *Immer*, Count of *Strasberg*, and *Peter* of *Stoßfelen*, commander of *Tannenfels*. They gaue sentence in behalte of their Master, whereby it was appointed, that they of *Zurich* were bound, to renew (according to their former condition) the olde and new *Rapperswiler*, and giue satisfaction to *Albert*: tending backe *Lucerna* vnder his government, and surrender also great store of possessions and rights, in the territory of *Vnderwald*. They tooke away likewise from them of *Suits*, their right of fishing in the Lake, and their ancient possession and vse of many Forrefts. Finally, they condemned all the five Cantons, in great fines of money: neuer hauing any regard, what wrongs the city of *Zurich* had endured, by them of *Rapperswil*, nor other reasons and defences proposed by the Cantons, and by *Philip Kyen*, Knight, and *Peter de la Baume*, Consull of *berne*, their Iudges deputed.

Queene *Agnes* approved the sentence of *Alberts* Iudges. She was a witty woman, that had an outward appearance of great sanctity, as we vse to say, from the teeth forward. At all times when she saw her brethren forward to make warre, but greatly vnfurnished; then would she be sure to procure truce or peace betweene the *Switzers* and them. Onely to this end, that they might assemble their troopes together in the meane time, and bee the better provided for a sudden assailing the at vnawares. Yet all that while, she would still protest, that she did all this for the enioying of peace, and in meere compassion which she had of the *Switzers*.

Now albeit this sentence was most vniuilly, yet notwithstanding, the *Switzers* promised to ratifie it. But the Duke being

not contented with all this, commanded them of *Zurich*, to set at liberty (without eyther fine or ranfome) Count *John* of *Habsbourg*, their prisoner taken in faire warre, and of whom the Iudges made not any mention. Hereupon, they of *Zurich* would not yeeld to any thing, by which occasion, the Duke imprisoned their hostages, contrary to his faithfull promise, planted a Garrison on the Frontiers, and prepared himselfe for a new warre.

CHAP. V.

How Glaris, being conquered by the Cantons, came afterward to be accepted into their louing alliance.



HE *Switzers* seeing that all hope of peace was vtterly frustrated, & that they must needs re-enter into war: determined among themselves, to inuade the country of *Glaris*, for seare lesse (in that quarter) the enemy would make courses on the lands of the confederates, and especially on them of *Suits*. Wherefore, the very same yeare, and in the Moneth of Nouember, the men of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*, ioyned together, and led their troopes towards *Glaris*. Without any blow imitted, they made themselves Masters of the whole country, taking oath of them of *Glaris*; and in regard of their faithfulness, as also their approued valour in war, which they had well tried oftentimes before; they re- ceiuied them into their alliance.



Glaris is a strait Valley and long, containing a league and an halfe of the Germane measure, neere to the Riuer of *Limagus* or *Limmat*: it took name from the principall Towne of all the Country, being engirt on three sides with very high Alpes: hauing the *Grifons* on the South side, & towards the East, *Vri*, & *Suits* to the West, and on the North, the field called the *Gris- sons*

The determination of the *Switzers*, that peace was made void, and war must needs be undertaken.

A breuie description of *Glaris*.

The Abbey of *Secun* given to *S. Fridolin*, by two brothers.

sons country, by which, the Riuer of *Limagus* runneth along the Valley, and enters into the Lake of *Zurich*. *Glaris* had bin subiect a long time, and for the space of many yeares, to the Abbey of *Secun*, & was giuen to *S. Fridolin*, by two brothers, named *Ours*, and *Landolphe*. They of *Glaris* paid tythes to this Abbey, and certaine constituted rents, beside taxations of some inheritances. They were not charged with any imposts, or subsidies whatsoeuer: they held their owne lawes, & a councill among their cittizens. True it is, that the election belonged vnto the Abbesse; but the Prouostship or government (both of the Abbey and country) was the Emperours onely, & in his power.

What means the oppression of any people to life, subuerting their liberty, & at length to dispoſe all in their owne pleasure.

Afterward, *Frederick Barbarossa* gaue it to *Otho*, Palatine of *Bourgogne*, from whose successors, it came to them of the house of *Habsbourg*. Vnder pretence of this authority, *Albert* of *Austria*, Sonne to the Emperour *Raul*, made himselfe Lord of *Glaris*, in despite of the whole country: who had promised to the fore-named Abbey, neuer to be separated or alienated from it. This vſurpation was the cause, that many Noble families forsooke the country, and withdrew themselves thence, some to *Vri*, and others to *Zurich*. They of *Austria* being well fortified, expelled out of his house the Baron of *Suanda*, a rich Gentleman, and well beloued in those parts, appropriating all his goods to themselves. They vſurped also the rights of the Maiordome of *Glaris*, & brought in a nouely neuer before practised: sending Governors into that country, to haue a seuerer eye ouer the people, and to iudge them by proceſſe in law.

Glaris yeelded willingly to the *Switzers*.

Those Governors were very rude and insolent, so that the people (in despite of the *Austrians*) yeelded themselves voluntarily to the *Switzers*, when they came to warre vpon them, and made perpetuall alliance with them. *Gautier de Stad*, Governour for them of *Austria*, departed from *Glaris*, after the inhabitants had sworn fidelity to the *Switzers*, withdrawing himselfe not far off, namely to *Wesen*. But they of *Glaris* chose among themselves (according to their ancient custome) a *Maior* or *Amman*, and their vsuall number of counsellors. And because they expected nothing more, but that the *Austrians* would soone come againe to molest

them: they strengthened their walles, and trenched their Valley, neere to a Village named *Naisfell*, where was the easiest entrance into the country; that needed no fortification, but only there, all the rest being engirt with Mountains round about.

During these alterations at *Glaris*, in the Moneth of December, they of *Zurich* marched with their Army towards *Bada*, where was a great Garrison of the *Austrians*, that by their often out-roides made much waste on the Lands of *Zurich*. To requite them with money of the same stamp, they of *Zurich* forraged the country about *Bada*, and burnt the Subburbs of the Towne, getting vpon the Mountain, to come neerer to them. But towards *Tetiuille*, on the Mountain, a Capitaine of the *Austrian* horsemen, named *Ellerbach*, made firme the passage with foure thousand men. They of *Zurich* were no more then 1300. (some say they were much lesse) notwithstanding, they set vpon the enemy, and wonne a very remarkable victory, leauing there 700. enemies slaine, among whom (as is credibly aouched) there were 65. Gentlemen.

The yeare following, *Gautier de Stad*, not long before Governor of *Glaris*, hauing leuied an Army, prepared himselfe, to subiect the country again to the house of *Austria*. Hee tooke occasion to do this, because he had receiued intelligence that two hundred men of *Glaris* were in Garrison at *Zurich*. But the other inhabitants ouercame him in a ranged batel, where he was slaine, and a great number of the Nobility, the 2. day of February.

The selfe same day, the *Austrians* that were at *Zug*, being gone by Boates to *Arre*; did let vpon the lands of *Suits*, but met with the like welcome as *Stad* had at *Glaris*. In like manner, all the confederates sent an Army to forrage *Berne*, and other neighbouring places, from whence the *Austrians* issued forth oftentimes, to set vpon the *Lucernians*: As (on the other side) the *Austrians* put to fire and blood *Cusnach*, and some other places, yet not without their owne great losse. About the holidays of *Pentecoste*, the *Lucernians*, assisted by the three Cantons, tooke (by assault) a Castle, called *Habsbourg*, seated on the Lake of *Lucerna*; cut in peeces all them that were there in Garrison, & ruined it quite fro the top to the bottom.

X 2 CHAP.

Of the day at *Tetiuille*, where the men of *Zurich* had a worthy victory gainst their enemies the *Austrians*.

The ouerthrow of *Gautier de Stad*, late Governor of *Glaris*.

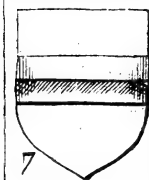
Another overthrow opening the same day.

Courtes and our readers need only for paye.

CHAP. VI.

Of Zug, and at what time it came to be comprehended, in league and confederacy with the other Cantons of the Switzers.

IN those times, Zug hapned to be thus comprized in alliance with the *Switzers*. It is a Towne betwene *Zurich* and *Suits*, seated at the foot of a Mountain, rich in pasturages, and vines planted on the sides joyning to the Lake, which aboundeth with plenty of Fish, common to them both of *Zug* and *Suits*. It is reputed to be the capitall Towne of certaine people, which accompaied the of *Zurich*, in the warre of the *Cambrians* against the *Romans*. Sometimes these acknowledged diuers *Gē-*



lemen as her Lords: but afterward, fell into the hands of them of *Austria*, who, during the warre against the *Switzers*, maintained there an ordinary Garrison, which did many harmes to them of *Suits* and *Zurich*. And this was the cause, that in the year 1352. and the Moneth of Iune, the men of *Zurich*, with the foure other Cantons, prepared an Army to go against *Zug*. The Soldiers finding their strength far too weake, would not attend the *Switzers* coming: but withdrew to *Bremgarten*, and other places thereabout. But the Townesmen, who would be faithful to the Duke of *Austria*, maintained the siege for fifteene daies space: neuertheless, hauing received a very violent assault: they yeelded themselves, & took an oath to the *Switzers*, on this condition. That if within a certaine time appointed, the Duke of *Austria* brought an Army, to cause the siege to be remoued: they would returne againe vnder his obedience, and stand acquitted of their oath giuen to the *Switzers*. To effect this business, they sent their Ambassadors, to require succour from the Duke of *Austria*: he being then in the Abbey of *Champ Royal*, about fifteene leagues from *Zug*,

& there the Ambassadors let him vnderstand their charge and message.

It chanced at that instant time, that the Duke was walking in a Gallery, demanding of his Faulconer, whether hee had (that day) sed his Hawkes or no? The cheefest of the Ambassadors, named *Herman*, taking him at that word, said. Alas! my Lord, haue you not more care of your Subiects, the of *Hawks*? Especially now, when the enemy hath so strictly engirt vs, as if you send not present supply, constrainedly we must surrender our felues? The Prince returned this answer. It is well, yeeld your felues; before it be long time, we will recouer againe whatsoever wee haue lost. And because they of *Zug* well saw, that it was in vaine to looke for any comfort thence: they ioyned themselves in vniuy and alliance with the *Switzers*.

Hardly were the Letters of this alliance written, for combining thus the Cantons by oath: but *Albert*, Duke of *Austria*, now the second time besiedged the city of *Zurich*, about the midst of Iune. But at the end of the Moneth, by intermise of the Marquesse of *Brandebourg*, peace was made, on these conditions following. They of *Zurich* should set at liberty *John of Habspourg*, their three yeares prisoner, without eyther fine or ranfome. Also, that the Duke of *Austria* should acquit (frank and freely) the hostages of *Zurich*, whom he had likewise imprisoned. They of *Zug* and *Glaris*, absolved of their oath taken to the *Switzers*, should (as before) yeeld obedience to the house of *Austria*. In the meane while, nothing should hinder, but that the alliance of the *Switzers* must stand firme.

In the time of this treaty, *John of Habspourg* came forth of prison, without paying any ranfome; but the hostages of *Zurich* were not released, according to (worn promise: for before they could get forth, they were compelled to pay sixteen hundred crownes for a ranfome, & yet could not enjoy eyther peace or safety. For so soone as the Count of *Habspourg* was released, hee gaue *Rapperswill*, and the places neighbouring about it, to *Albert* of *Austria*, who immediately fortified *Rapperswill*, and planted a Garrison there, whereby a new warre was engendered. For the Soldiers of that Garrison ranne in on the Lands of *Zurich*, and slew fifty men at

Meile,

By reason & oppression, people are (offensively) beleaguered and distressed, and alienated from the Duke.

A second besiedging the City of *Zurich*.

Concluded at the peace concluded.

The crafty designs of such men, as hold neither piety nor honour in due respect and estimation.

Concerning the situation & first estate of Zug.

The Cantons made an Army forth against Zug.

Zug being assaulted by the Cantons, yeelds it selfe vpon condition.

Meile, which was a Village belonging to one of the Chanoins of *Zurich*.

Hereby we may plainly perceiue, that the Duke of *Austria* did but seeke occasion, whereby to begin the warre againe. The year following, as the Ambassadors of *Suits* were gone (in name of the five Cantons) to require of them of *Zug*, the obligatory oath of their alliance, according to the Articles of pacification: they of *Austria* expelled them away with outrages. In regard whercof, they mustred their forces together againe, and made themselves Masters of *Zug* the second time, and then commanded the citizens, to giue their oath to the *Switzers*. In the same year, 1352. the sixteenth day of March, *Berne* ioyned it selfe in alliance with the *Switzers*. But we are to speake somewhat in this place, concerning this city, which is the most powerfull among all them in *Swetia*.

At what time *Berne* allied it selfe with the *Switzers*.

By whom *Berne* was builded.

Berne made an Imperiall City.

Zug is assailed by the enemies to libertie.

CHAP. VII.

Of the building of Berne, the situation and condition thereof, and how it was yeelded to the Empire.



Berthoul, first of that name, & the last Duke of *zingen*, builded the city of *Berne*, and being offended with the noblemen, who had caused his male children to be poisoned in their youth: he submitted it to the Empire, & affranchised it. The Emperor *Fredericke* the eleuenth, ratified the Dukes will, and after the death of him, in the year, 1218. a Governour was sent to *Berne*, named *Otho* of *Ranenbourg*, in name of the Empire. But some yeares after, for good seruices done by them of *Berne* to the Emperor: hee gaue them much greater priuiledges and franchises, exempting them also from hauing any more Governour.

In the troubles and confusions which happened in the Empire, the Count of *Kybourg*, Lord of *Burgdorff*, strove to abolish the cities liberty, leaguimg himselfe (for that purpose) with Gentlemen his neighbours, and the Towne of *Fri-*

bourg, which *Berthoul* the fourth had builded. And his Son had giuen in charge to both these Townes, to continue friends for euer. As concerning the occasion of this war, it grew thus. The men of *Berne* had bought certaine Lands beyond the River of *Ar*, & began to prepare a bridge, which the Count would not suffer, hee being Lord beyond the River. Whereupon they of *Berne* (desirous to make themselves as strong as their enemies) did put themselves into the protection of the Count of *Sauoye*, who repelled the attempts of the Count of *Kybourg*, and hauing obtained peace, enlarged the compasse and roundure of the city. Then after warre was moued, betwene the Count of *Sauoye*, and the Duke of *Bourgonne*, the Count promised the men of *Berne*, that if they carried themselves valiantly, and he prospered in his attempt; he would grant them whatsoever they would demand of him. They performed their duty so well, that the enemy was discomfited: and then (as in recompence) they desired nothing else of the Count of *Sauoye*, but their ancient liberty, and he granted their request, and kept his promise most faithfully with them. After that time, they of *Berne* were alwayes friends, and allied to the house of *Sauoye*.



The City being reintegrated into her wonted liberty, before they entred into league with the *Switzers*, had many and very difficult warres, as well for conservation of their liberty, as enlarging their limits. They gaue a battaile to *Godfrey* of *Habspourg*, in the year, 1241. but that was to their owne disadvantage, because the enemy was far greater in number. Moreover, *Raoul* of *Habspourg*, accompanied with them of *la Tour* and *de Gruyere*, besiedged (two severall times) the City of *Berne*; vnder colour of accusing them of *Berne*, that they had violated the publicke faith of the Empire, in taking prisoners, and euill entreating certaine Lewes. *Albert* of *Austria*, Sonne to the Emperor *Raoul*, did twice bid them battaile before the city, and many citizens were there slain.

The men of *Berne* had diuers wars before they came to be in number of the Cantons.

A great league and combination made against the City of Berne.

slaine. In the yeare 1291. the Counts of *Sauoye*, *Neuberg*, and *Grugere*, the Bishop of *Lausanna*, the Lord of *Tour*, beside some Townes and Gentlemen, made a league against *Berne*: but by the aide of the Counts of *Kybourg* and *Arberg*, as also the city of *Solleurre*, the men of *Berne* wonne a mighty battaile, at a place called, *The hill of Thunder*. *Aldrich Erlach* was cheefe of the *Bernish* Army in that warre. During the yeares following, many of the Castles, neighbouring to the city, were taken in war, and demolished by them of *Berne*. They also had victories in the warres moued in the vale of *Simnia*, and in many other places, against the Noblemen that much molested them, whereby they greatly enlarged their limits. Also the inhabitants of the vale of *Hafell*, who were at freeliberty, ioyned with them of *Berne*. This happinesse of theirs, so enflamed the malice and enuy of the Noblemen against *Berne*, as thereon ensued the memorable battaile giuen at *Loupen*.

The famous and memorable battaile giuen by Count and Gentlemen, against the men of Berne at Loupen.

Many Counts and Gentlemen, hauing leuiued a well prepared Army, of sixteen thousand foote, and three thousand, five hundred horse, at the least, went and besiedged *Loupen*, which is a small Towne appertaining to them of *Berne*, who were about five thousand, assisted with three hundred men of *Vri*, as many of *Suits*, as many of *Vnderwald*, and as many of the Vale of *Hafell*, *Rasoul Erlach* being chiefe of these troopes. This small number overcame the enemy in a ranged battaile, nere to *Loupen*, where dyed in the fiedle, the Count of *Sauoye*, who was sent to the Campe by his Father, onely to treat on peace: but the other constrained him to make one in the battaile. There were slaine also, the Counts of *Nidow*, of *Arberg* and *Valentia*, fifteen hundred horsemen, among whom were fourescore Gentlemen of marke, and about three thousand foote. This battaile was fought the 21. day of Iune, in the yeare 1339.

A fortunate and successful pursuit of victory, against them of Kybourg and many townes more.

After this successfull day, they of *Berne* made warre (to their aduantage) against them of *Fribourg*, who were vassalls to the house of *Austria*, and also to the Gentlemen about *Fribourg*. For at *Schoenenberg*, they of *Fribourg* were ouerthrowne, and lost many of their men, their country forraged, and the Subburbs of their

Towne burnt. *Signow*, *Lugnow*, *Burgdorff*, *Longuall*, *Pyneith*, *Arberg*, *Erlach*, *Nidow*, *Tum*, and other Townes and great Villages, were either spoiled, or taken by them of *Berne*. Finally, *Agnes* Queene of Hungary, made an end of this warre, by means of a peace which they compounded. In all these warres, the men of *Berne* euer felt, that Gentlemen, no better then vassalls to the house of *Austria*, most laboured to oppress them: whereas (contrariwise) the amity of the *Switzers* did highly aduantage them. But in the meane while, and contrary to their hope and expectation, they were drawne into a new warre; wherein they of *Vnderwald* ioyned themselves with their enemies. The Lord of *Engenberg*, and the Prouost of the Abbey situated betwene the two Mountaines, were Bourgeois of *Berne*. They were Governours or Bayliffs also of that country, which lies nere to the Mountaine of *Brunie*, and the Lake of *Brientz*.

It came to passe, that they of the country, accounting the government of these two Lords to be rude and harsh: began to mutiny against them, and after they had called to their aide the men of *Vnderwald*, who were nere neighbors; they tooke the Castle of *Engenberg*, in absence of the Lord, set it on fire, and denied the Prouost such duties and tythes, as they were accustomed to pay. They of *Berne* sent Ambassadors, to exhort them of *Vnderwald*, not to succour such seditious persons against all right and reason. But they of *Vnderwald* made no reckoning of this aduertisement, but went and encamped with the seditious at *Brientz*. On the other side, the men of *Berne*, hauing required their allies of *Solleurre*, *Tum*, *Sienne*, and *Morat* to send them succour, and it being sent them; marched with all their troopes to *Brientz*, gaue battaile to the seditious and them of *Vnderwald*, compelling them to flight, and retire into the neighbouring Mountaines. They of *Vnderwald* (storming at this disgrace) called their confederates of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Zug*, and *Glaris* to helpe them: but they of *Berne* sent their Ambassadors to those Cantons, offering the iustice & equity of their cause, and to haue it tried before them.

Heereupon, a day was held at *Lucerna*, where

An unexpected waite of the men of Berne, against the men of Vnderwald.

The reason of the warres beginning and proceeding.

Amity or alliance being vniuall in the ruine and overthrow of their confederates.

Alliance and league perpetuall made by them of Bern with the Cantons.

where the Deputies of the *Switzers*, hauing heard the reasons alledged on either side, commanded them of *Vnderwald*, to renounce their alliance with them of *Brientz*. On the same day, the men of *Berne* made a perpetual alliance with the three Cantons, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*. Now, although this alliance is made but with three, yet *Zurich* and *Lucerna* are comprized therein. For the three first Cantons bound themselves to succour them of *Zurich* & *Lucerna* whensoever they called them, and to bring with them the men of *Berne*, who by the same alliance are tyed thereto, if *Zurich* and *Lucerna* do desire it. In reciprocall manner they of *Zurich* and *Lucerna*, promised solemnly, to go asist (with all their power) the men of *Berne*, if the three Cantons call them thereto.

The third time of fledge made to the City of Zurich.

Immediately after this alliance made, the city of *Zurich* was besiedged agayne the third time. For, *Albert of Austria*, accused the Cantons before the Emperour *Charles* the fourth; who hauing heard the answer of the Cantons, made a truce, vntill his returre from a voyage, which hee was constrained to vndertake, about some affaires of the Empire. Being returned, he came to *Zurich*, where he heard either parties, and directing himselfe vnto the *Switzers*, especially to them of *Zurich*, he aduised them to renounce this alliance: adding withall, that the city was Imperiall, and could make no alliance without consent of the Emperour. But the confederates rendred a sufficient reason for what they had done, exhibiting their priuiledges, and making it manifest, that the alliance contracted between them, could not any way preiudice the rightes of the Empire. Seeing he could not driue the *Switzers* out of this league, then he made his re-courte to *Albert*, desiring him to sell *Lucerna*, *Glaris*, and *Zug* vnto the Empire, because the difference did concerne those three places especially. But *Albert* audaciously answered him; That he would rather buy some Townes, if the Emperour would sell him any, then let him haue any of his for money.

A proud answer of Albert of Austria to the Emperour.

Once againe the Emperour pressed the *Switzers*, to suffer him to end the difference, and promise to tye themselves to such orders as he should set downe, assuring them that *Albert* would do the like.

But the *Switzers* would not consent thereto, without plaine exception of their priuiledges; and the Emperour vrged his authority, without any reuerfation: by the which meanes, all this long imparlance serued to no purpose, but only that a truce was taken for some time. Which being expired, the Emperour being incessantly importuned, ioyned with *Albert of Austria*, and besiedged *Zurich*. The besiedged (by diuers ambassages) intreated the Emperour, not to presse thus into the house of *Austria*: for they desired nothing but conservation of their priuiledges, and would not reiect any composition whatsoever, if it were reasonable.

Then the Emperour began to summon *Albert* to listen to a pacification; which hee would not doe: in which respect, the Emperour raised the sledge, and returned home. That which also moued him hereto, was, because his Camp stood composed of soldiers, who were (almost all) prest forth of Imperiall Townes and Citties; & (in his opinion) bare more affection to the *Switzers*, then to the house of *Austria*, albeit those souldiers (dur the sledge) would obey none other then the Emperour. After the Emperours departure the duke of *Austria* also speedily got him gon: hauing heard, that the other Cantons had set forth supply vnto them of *Zurich*. Neuertheless, hee lodged his troopes in Townes, Villages, and Castles round about, enioyning them, not to suffer the Cantons to haue any rest, but continually to make incursions on their Lands.

The siege raised from Zurich by Gods most singular providence.

At length, in the first year of this war, by authority and intermise of the emperour *Charles* the fourth, peace was concluded betweene the Prince of *Austria*, and them of *Zurich*. Now because it would seeme a troublesome matter, to insert heere the whole Tenure at large; we will be satisfied with a breefe Summary of the Articles, which are these following.

Peace made between them of Zurich, and the Duke of Austria.

Articles of Peace concluded on betwene the Duke of Austria and Zurich.

1. *Whosoever hath bene taken on either side in this Warre shall be restored againe.*

2. *They of Zurich shall not receive into the*

The Emperour ioyned with Albert of Austria.

the number of their Bourgeses such as remaine under the domination of the Duke of Austria: but if any will retire themselves to Zurich, they may be receyved. Provided, that they bee of the number of them, which the Citie might receive, before this peace was made.

3 Such as hold any other way then in service, shall be under the iustice of the lords of those Fees. And they which make use of another mans possessions, shall surrender them, or shall stand bound to answer the same in Law: except it be for the goods of the banished.

4 From hence forward, they of Zurich shall not ally themselves with the servants of the Duke of Austria: or contrariwise, they shall helpe to recover his rights.

5 If any difference happen to be mowed, betweene the Duke and the Cantons: It is ordained before hand, that some Iudges shall consider on the cause.

6 Those alliances which the Switzers haue made together, shall remaine in their full power and integrity.

There are diuers other Articles in this pacification: but I am onely contented with these, as beeing the principall and cheefest.

It fell out, that diuers interpretations were made vpon this agreement, which likewise began new contentions: yet they were still qualified, before they came to hand-blows, for either sides purfe being emptied of money, and their forces sayling, made them vnwilling to heare of any more warre. *Albert Bucheimer*, Lieutenant to the duke of Austria, pressed them of Zug, to giue their oath of fidelity vnto his Prince, which they would not do, but with exception of their alliance made with the Cantons, or else to stand acquitted by the sayde Cantons, to whom they had giuen their faith. This difference was referred to the Emperor *Charles* the fourth, who finally gaue iudgement, that they of Zug should stand exempted from alliance with the Cantons: because (quoth he) the Articles of pacification doe declare, that the Switzers shall not possesse any of the Dukes Townes, neyther hinder any way his government in them.

Now, although this sentence was greatly greuous to the Switzers; considering, that in one of the Articles, the

alliances made, were (by name) excepted, and onely ordained, that no new Alliances should be made with the vassalls to the house of Austria: yet notwithstanding, they were so ouer-glutted with war, as they weryvpon the point to leaue Zug to the Duke of Austria; if they of Swits (who had not (as yet) signed the peace) had not opposed themselves against it. They then lodainly gathered their troops together, and went to Zug, demanding againe the faith of the Citizens, who (for their part) had sent their Deputy to Swits to require confirmation of the faith first giuen. This done, after some long debating and consulting, it was at length concluded; by means of the Lorde of *Torberg*, that truce should be confirmed for the space of eleuen yeares, which was till after the decafe of *Albert*. During this truce, they of Zug and *Glaris* continued allyed with the Switzers, and al that while were thereunto subiect, acquitting themselves of all duties due to the house of Austria. The Duke received from Swits a man, from foure yeares to foure yeares, whom hee confirmed *Amman* or Maior at Zug: And he gaue as *Gouernour* vnto them of *Glaris*, *Godfrey Mulser* of Zurich. Afterward, the truce being expired, it was againe confirmed for a longer time.

The sonne of *Albert*, named *Leopold*, greatly hated the Switzers; but he durst not meddle with them, leant hee should gaine as little thereby, as his Father had done. And therefore he would worke his will by others, setting the Switzers at variance with the Englishmen, who hauing spoiled the country about the *heime*, entered into *Smetia*, where they did as much harme to the Austrians, as to the Cantons. But hauing bin beaten in some encounters, after they had forraged in *Swetia*, and all the countrey about *Mombelizar*, *Bisile*, *Strasbourg*, and run into diuers other places, they retired home to their own houses, & hapned Anno 1376.

Six yeares after, war was mowed against the Count of *Kybourg*. Hee was enforced to take (by treason) the Towne of *Solluerre*, allyed with the men of Berne, and at the very same time, they of Austria would haue surprized *Dun* and *Arberg*, Townes appertaining to the Canton of Bern. Consequently the Count of *Kybourg* made

The Switzers being wearye of war, would yeeld to their owne iustice, rather then to heare of any more trouble.

A truce concluded on the 11 yeares, lasting till after the decafe of *Albert*.

War made by the Englishmen against the Switzers.

War made against the Count of *Kybourg*.

made open war vpon them of *Solluerre*, to whom they of Berne and the other Cantons sent supply. The Duke of Austria, who (so lately before) had made alliance with the Switzers, fortified (vnder hand) the Count of *Kybourg*, and (contrary to his faith) furnished him with vi-uals, and other necessities for warre. Neuertheless, the Count was not able to endure the burthen of amity agreed on betweene them of *Solluerre* and Bern, but sold them *Burgdorff*, for the summe of forty thousand Crownes.

The Duke of Austria had a difference, in what manner I know not, with the Imperiall Cities and Townes. They made a league, wherein Zurich, Berne, *Solluerre*, and Zug were comprehended: but the Duke brake all in sunder by his cunning devices, pacifying himselfe amiablely with the Townes of *Suaba* and *Franconia*. And as for the Townes on this side the *Rheine* in *Halatia*, hee conquered them in one battell. This victory did to aduance his hopes, as he began to consult with himselfe, how to bring the Townes of *Smetia* vnder his obedience, and the occasion of the warre grew thus. *Peter of Torberg*, *Gouernour* of *Wolhouse*, and in the Vale of *Emilbuch*; and *Herman Grunenberg*, *Gouernour* of *Rottenbourg* for the Duke of Austria, who had engaged these places vnto them, tyrannized on the people, and did many outrages to the neighbours of the Lucernians. The people being tyrannically dealt with all, sent men to Lucerna, to desire acceptation into their Bourgeship. But the two *Gouernours* hauing discovered it, caused the Deputies to be hanged, and all them that had anie hand in the matter, recompensing them with death, that had faithfully employed their paines, to giue life againe to their languishing country. Moreover, they imposed new passage Tolles at *Rottembourg* on the Switzers, or else they might haue no passage there.

The Lucernians, too much prouoked by so many iniuries, being ayded by the men of Swits, *Vri*, and *Vnderwald*: made themselves masters of *Rottembourg*: the 29 day of December, in the yeare, 1381: spoyleing the Castle, which *Grunenberg* had forsaken. They did likewise beate downe the walles of the Towne, and filled vpp the Ditches: for feare least the

Austrians should lodge any Garrison there, wherewith to molest the Lucernians againe. Some short while after, they of *Sempach* were receiued into Fellowship Bourgeship with the Lucernians; & two hundred men were put in Garrison by the Lucernians, into the Towne of *Kichenfee*: but the Lieutenants to the Duke of Austria, hauing lodainly sent an Armie, tooke this Towne by assault, cut throats of the whole Garrison, put most part of the inhabitants to the sword, burned all the rest along, in the same fire wherewith the Towne was embrased; shewing no pity to aged, sicke women; or children. On the other side, al the Cantons, except Bern, took a place in those parts, named *Meyenberg*; & there planted a garison but the Austrians (faining a flight) drew the Switzers soldiers forth into the open field, where they slew fourescore and one of them, and compelled the rest to retire speedily into the Towne. The Cantons aduerted heereof, called their people together, set fire on the Towne and Castle, leaving not a iote of them vnruined.

These beginnings and entrances into warre, seemed to threaten the Switzers with a farre greater confusion: & therefore, they of Austria made their preparations carefully, yet with great pomp, and every day (by Letters and Heraldry) denounced warre against the Switzers, at the beginning of the ensuing yeare. The Switzers considered likewise on their owne affaires, and provided to set vpon all those enemies, which had enclosed the round about. The men of Berne, who had not boudge as yet, being solicited by many messages from their confederates: ruined two Castles, to wit, *Torberg*, and *Kopping*, belonging to *Peter of Terberg*. They of Lucerna, *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*, spoyleing the Castle and Towne of *Woolhouse*, as also *Liele*, *Rinsch* and *Baldy*. The men of Zurich ioyned their forces with the Cantons, and after they had made some courses & waste in the countries neerest to their limies: in retiring backe, they tooke (by assault) the Castle of *Rumelange*, and set it on fire. And because the Duke of Austria made the mustering of his people, especially at *Brug* & *hada*, neere to Zurich: it was imagined, that he would go and besiege that Citie also. And this was the reason, why the

Richenfee taken by assault burnt, and all in it flame or burned, by them of Austria.

The Confederates ioyned their powers together.

A new variance concerning the Canton of Zug, & referred to the opinion of the Emperor.

To minime the people they must be divided.

Warre begun by Leopold of Austria, against the Switzers.

Tyrants neuer want excusable and monstrous cruelties.

The Lucernians were at Rottembourg.

four Cantons sent sixteen hundred men to succour them of Zurich.

Duke Leopold understanding that such a Garrison was at Zurich, marched so dauntly with his army towards the Cantons, which seemed then naked of the most part of their troops. But this enterprise was discovered by the spies, & therefore left the city of Zurich, in the citizens guard, and returned back those sixteen hundred men which marched under their Ensignes day and night; and so diligently, that they arrived at *Sempach*, even at the same instant as the duke came to lodge his troops there. That day was the ninth of July, and battell was given the very same day, wherein Leopold sonne to *Albert* the wife, and Nephew or youngest child to the Emperor *Albert*, was slain in open field, with six hundred seventy six Gentlemen, whereof there were three hundred and fifty more remarkable then the rest by reason of their Helmes and Burganets, beautified with Coronets and goodly plumes. After so faire a victory, the Cantons began to extend their strength thoroughout all *Switzerland*, and chastised such as hadde forraged their country, pilld the Citizens, & moved Warre vpon no occasion: many Castles were ruined, and many Towns taken.

Trace fully agreed vpon for the space of a year, but being expired new quarrels arose againe.

In the year, one thousand, three hundred, fourescore, and seauen, the second day of the month of February, truce was agreed on for a year, by the entremise of some Townes. The times of truce being expired, the citizens of *Wesen*, on the *Lake de Rine*, deliuered vp their Citie to them of *Austria*, who slew the Switzers that were there in Garrison. Afterward, the enemy (with great forces) to the number of eight thousand at the least, set vp on the Landes of *Glaris* the ninth day of Aprill. Some say, that they were about sixteen thousand men, conducted by *Donatus* Count of *Togge*, *Peter* of *Torberg*, *John* of *Klingenberg*, *John* Counte of *Werdenberg*, Lord of *Sargans*. This last man made choise of two thousand men, which he brought by *Beglinge*, to enclose the Switzers, and make them turne their backs with shame.

A bargain made, but without any certainty.

The other marched boldly on towards the *Walles*, which they of *Glaris* had fortified and made fromg their coun-

tries entrance the year before, gaying thereby such assurance of the wall, as the victory was almost intirely in their hands; yet they beganne to pillage, and burne all that was about them. Meane while they of *Glaris* met together in a neere neighbouring Mountaine, to the number of three hundred and fifty, and thirty beside, which they of *Suits* had sent from the nearest valley. This ouer-little Troope, by greatnesse of courage and resolution, met with the enemy in a verie narrow passage, where they saluted them with such impetuous stormes of great stones, & wherof the place afforded no scarcities, drawing them into a place more open, they pressed and pursued on them with such extreme boldnesse, that the great armie was forced to flight; after they had renewed the charge eleauen several times, as the *Annales of Glaris* do testify, for, so often did the enemy labour still to set vp on them.

The Count of *Werdenberg*, looking from the height of a Mountaine (which hee had betaken himselfe vnto) and perceiving the ouerthrow of his associates, saued his owne stake, as wisely as he possibly could. There were two thousand enemies slain in this battaille, and about five hundred were drowned in the *Lake*: because the multitude of *Rinne*-wayes, brake downe the Bridge in their haile, whereby they should passe from *Glaris* to *Wesen*.

After this battell, the Cantons showed themselves still in many other skirmishes against the Austrians, taking towne and Castles, either by force or composition: but they fought no more battells. For by entremise of the Cities of *Constance*, *Vberlingen*, *Rauenbourg*, & *Rottuile*, truce was taken for seauen yeares: and afterwards it was prolonged, euen so farre as for the space of twentie yeares; and finally, peace was made for the terme of fiftie yeares.

Peace being established for such length of time, brought some more ease & quietnesse to the Cantons. But in the year one thousand, foure hundred and one, the war of *Appenzel* began, & continued seuen whole yeares. *Appenzel* is a Region of *Switzerland*, seated neere vnto the Alpes, towards the East, and on the Head of the *Lake of Constance*. At this day, it

A notable victory obtained by 380 Switzers, against 8000 enemies to their last.

Townes and Castles taken by skirmish, but no more battells given or fought.

The beginning of the warre of *Appenzel*, and how long it continued.

is one of the thirteene Cantons; but as then it was no way allyed with the Switzers: it is only acknowledged (as a Lord) the Abbot of *S. Gall*, who was then called, *Cuno de Seouffen*. Some difference happened between the Abbot and them of *Appenzel*, and after it had long time bene debated in *Lawe* before Iudges; they fell at length to pleade theyr cause at the swords point. The Townes neere to the *Lake of Constance*, did take part with the Abbot, who had funded them from the men of *Appenzel*, with whom they were allyed and combined. The Abbot hauing leuiued an army of the inhabitants of those townes, gaue battell to the men of *Appenzel*, who ouer-came them, droue them in disorder, with great losse of their men.

After this foile, they of *S. Gall*, of *Appenzel*, and of *Suits*, associated theselves together. The Duke of *Austria* ioynd with the Abbot; but they of *Appenzel* proued still victorious in all other encounters. And after they had conquered a great part of the country about them, ruined many Castles, and taken diuers Townes: at length they compeld the Abbot to craue peace, & leaue them in their wonted liberty.

Seuen yeares after these troubles were ended, a new warre kindled it selfe, betweene *Frederick of Austria* and the Cantons. The occasion was, because *Fredericke* had carried away (from forth the Council of *Constance*) *Pope John* the 22. He was put to banishment from the Empire, and excommunicated by the council. By this decree of the Emperour, and of the Council, the peace for 50. yeares was broken, the Cantons absolved of their Oath, and commandement given them to take armes against the Emperour: which they did, and toke in that warre *Libersheim*, *Bada*, and other places belonging to them of *Austria*.

In the year, 1422. the Switzers ledde their army by the Alpes, and by the *Grisons*, to besidge *Bellizona*; it being a Towne which the Count of *Monfax* had sold to them of *Suits*, *Fris*, & *Vnderwald*. The Duke of *Milaine* seemed to say, that this place appertained to him; and thereupon tooke it by intelligence. To recover it againe, the Switzers conducted their army thither this year, then in *An*.

Townes divided from *Appenzel* to take part with the Abbot, yet foiled in fight.

A new warre happening betweene the Cantons, and *Fredericke* of *Austria*.

A war of the Switzers, for the recouerie of *Bellizona*, from the duke of *Milaine*.

no 1425. and the year following 1430. But they could not take the Towne notwithstanding, they made haucke, and forraged the *Valleyes* round about neighbouring, and belonging vnto the Duke of *Milaine*.

But in the year, 1436. they of *Austria*, by cunning trickes and subtle devices, raised a great ciuill warre among the Switzers. First, betweene the Canton of *Zurich* and the men of *Suits*, to whom (soon after) the other confederats ioynded themselves. The Duke of *Austria* (first of all) ranked himselfe with them of *Suits*: and then (soone after) made alliance with the men of *Zurich*, and gaue them assistance. There were some encounters, and the Switzers besiedged *Zurich*: but there was no battaille more memorable, then that which (not long after) was given at *Bafile*, the year, 1444. and the 26. day of August.

The Dolphine of France, who was afterward King, named *Lewes* the 11. had brought a puissant army betweene *Montbelliard* and *Bafile*: provided partly by the praides of *Pope Eugenius*, to breake the Council of *Bafile*, and partly by the emperor *Fredericke*, as wishing well to the Switzers. Sixteene hundred Switzers entered into battell against that great armie, and made a terrible slaughter of them. True it is, that all the sixteene hundred men were slain likewise, as being ouerborne with the meere multitude of their enemies: but they brake the whole armie in such sort, as they forooke all *Germanie* immediately, to get themselves into France againe. This memorable day, might well be compared with the battell of the *Lacedemonians*, at their passage of the *Thermopylae*, considering the magnanimity of so small a number: who, for the safety of their country (euen all *Germanie*) opposed themselves valiantly, against an infinite of enemies. In these ciuill Warres were made many Truces, which was the cause, why such as haue written thereof, do not agree together in the computation of the yeares. The common opinion is, that this war lasted seuen yeares: but it began in the year, 1436. & firme peace was made and ratified in *Anno*, 1450.

A year after this peace, the Abbot of *S. Gall* made alliance with foure Cantons of

Cunning devices prepared onely to ouerthrow the peop.

The battell of the Switzers against the Armignacs before *Bafile*.

A verie long mountaine, which passeth from *Leucadia*, thorough the middle of *Greece*, to the *Egean* sea.

Diuers alliances of the Switzers with their friends & confederats.

of the Switzers. And the yeare following, they of Appenzel allyed themselves with seauen Cantons. And againe a yeare after, the City of Saint Gall, with fixe Cantons. Consequently, and in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, fifty foure, the men of *Schaffnau* allyed themselves with the fixe Cantons. But I shall make better mention of these alliances heereafter, and in apert manner.

These alliances were no sooner made but a new warre beganne to shew it selfe, against *Sigismund* Duke of *Austria*. Pope *Pius* had excommunicated him, I know not vpon what occasion, and fo incited the Switzers to warre. On the other side, the Lords of *Grandier*, brethren of *Graz*, a Towne in *Styria*, hauing bene dispoiled of their goods by *Sigismund*, desired ayde of them of *Zurich*, who had receyued them into the number of their Burgesses. Then the Switzers went and assaulted *Winterthur*, tooke *Rapperswil*, *Diesfrow*, *Frauenfeld*, and *Turgau*. In the end, peace was made, Anno 1460. by the meanes of *Lepes Duke of Bavaria*. Afterward, in the yeare, 1466, certain Articles of peace & mutuall amity, were set downe in *Wittenberg*. Ten yeares after, war was renewed against the Duke of *Austria*, so that the Switzers led their troopes towards the Towne of *Mulhouse*, on the Frontiers of *La Franche Comté*. This Town had made alliance with the Cantons some moneths before: and in the same yeare, a Towne vpon the *Rheine*, neere to *Basile*, named *Walzhut*, was besiedged by the Switzers.

In the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, seauenty foure, began the Switzers warre against *Charles* Duke of *Burgogne*. It grew hot, and wonderfull sharp, in the yeare seauenty fixe, for two battailes were fought, in both which the duke was vanquished; but it tooke ending at the beginning of seauenty seauen, by reason of the Dukes death, who was slaine in *Lorraine*. The Princes of *Austria* were the sparkes to kindle this war. For *Sigismund* Duke of *Austria*, hauing ill performed his businesse in warre, which he maintained so long a time against the Switzers, was constrained to agree with them, although much against his minde. In the meane while, to torment them by some other meanes, he engaged those Landes

which hee helde in *La Franche Comté* (as *Montbeliard* and *Basile*, neighbors to the Switzers) to *Charles* Duke of *Burgogne*, the most potent Prince of his time, aduenturous, and of an high hand. *Sigismund* periwaded himselfe, that (as manie times it falls out among neighbours) some difference would shortly grow betweene Duke *Charles* and the Switzers: for they had sent Ambassadors to the Duke, to pray him renew the ancient amity of the house of *Bourgogne* with the Switzers, and confirme the Articles of peace, not long before concluded with *Sigismund*, in so much as concerned the engaged countries. But the ambassadors could neuer gaine access to the Prince, in regard of their hinderance by *Hagenbach*, chiefe Minion to the Duke of *Bourgogne*, and established Governor by him ouer those countries. This *Hagenbach* was the principall fire-brand wherby to kindle this war; for he gaue many outrageous words vnto the Switzers, & daily kept company with theyr enemies, as *Heudorff*, *Eptingen*, and some other Gentlemen, who had threatened the Switzers with war.

Hee tyrannized also cruelly in those pawned countries, so that the poore subiects who were able to performe no more, intreated most earnestly Duke *Sigismund*, their ancient Lord, to disingage them, & receiue them againe vnder his gouernement. This request was quickly granted them by *Sigismund*, a Prince verie benigne, and (for his facility) fir-named the Simple.

But the Duke of *Bourgogne* desired not to purre the money againe. And on the other side, the tyranny of *Hagenbach* still increased, so that hee grew inupportable to the people, & neighboring Lords. There were some other thornes between the Switzers and the D. of *Bourgogne*: because *Cousin Ramont* being seruant vnto him, had sent away diuers chariots from them, laden with Hides. In the meane while, King *Lepes* the eleuenth, who desired not greatly the Dukes life, and had proueed (neere to *Basile*) the valour of the Switzers horsemen, made alliance with them. And although himselfe would not meddle with the warre, yet he could vbet on the Switzers, and (by vnderhand trickes) furnish them with money, to the end that necessity should not inforce any

pacifi-

Sigismund engaged *Norrey* the Land & *Basile* to the D. of *Burgogne*.

Minion and dition Princes, are oftentimes fire-branded to kindle warre.

D. *Sigismund*, fir-named the Simple.

The Switzers were much voyde of application.

pacification. He accorded *Sigismund* likewise with the Switzers, and made an Alliance betweene them. Soone after, *René* Duke of *Lorraine*, *Strasbourg*, and *Basile*, with theyr Byshoppes, *Colmar*, *Slestadt*, *Montbeliard*, and some other cities, ioyned themselves likewise into this confederacy.

During this time, *Hagenbach* was taken in a place, named *Brissac*, and the D. of *Austria* hauing consigned the money at *Basile*, for which hee had engaged his countries, re-entred vpon possession of them, and (by sentence) caused *Hagenbach* to be condemned, and his head publickly fennit off. Contrariwise, Duke *Charles* made warre vpon the byshop of *Cologne*, pretending, that the Princes Office, or protection of the Byshopprick appertained to him, and therefore planted his sledge before *Nuss*, aboue *Cologne*. The Emperor *Fredericke*, accompanied with the Empires forces, encamped nere vnto him, to fight with him. And, according to right and maiesty of the Empire, sent vnto the Switzers and their confederates, to assault (on their side) the Duke of *Bourgogne*, that his forces might be broken and scattered. But immediately after, hee shewed himselfe to bee of the house of *Austria*, and (consequently) an enemy to the Cantons. For so soone as the Switzers were entered into *Bourgogne*, and had won a batell, and taken some Townes, hee made peace with the Duke of *Bourgogne*, wherein the Princes of the Empire were comprized, and the Townes which had succored the Emperour in this warre. But the confederates were excluded, to wit, Duke *Sigismund*, Duke *René*, the Cantons, and the forenamed Townes.

Duke *Charles*, being deliuered from the warre which hee had against the Emperour and the Germaines: turned all his forces vpon the Switzers, and theyr Allies. There were some encounters on either side: but the very greatest efforts and valour, shewed themselves in three battailes, whereat the Duke himselfe was present in person. The first was fought at *Grandson*, neere to the Lake of *Yuerdun*, which (at this day) is called the Lake of *Newcastle*. This Towne had bene taken by the Switzers, and re-taken againe by them vpon composition: neuertheless,

the Duke of *Bourgogne* (contrarie to his promise) hanged and drowned the Souldiers of his Garrison; but (soone after) hee receiued wages answerable vnto his owne perfidie and cruelty, the Switzers overcoming him in a field of bat-taille. True it is, that then hee lost not many of his men, for the *Cavalerie* sustayned, and meere ly covered the Infanterie being broken and disordered, and the Switzers had not their Horsemen there, because they came not at a convenient time: yet notwithstanding, the Duke of *Bourgogne* lost his baggage, wherein hee had great store of Riches and Treasure.

Then afterwards, there was another battaile fought at *Morat*, neere to *Berne*: the Switzers (after a great ouerthrow of their enemies) wonne the day, and it is sayde, that eightene thousand *Bourguignons* lay slaine in the field; and to this day, there is still to be seene huge heapes of dead mens bones, as a credible Teitimony of that victory.

The third battaile, was fought before *Nancy* in *Lorraine*, besiedged by the duke of *Bourgogne*: but the Switzers (set in succour vnto the Duke & *ene of Lorraine*, (who had fixe hundred men at the battle) well nere all Frenchmen well provided) eight thousand foot, and the other confederates three thousand more. With all these forces Duke *René* gaue battell to *Charles*, who had many more to attend him: neuertheless, he was overcome, & (in flight) slaine by the Switzers, and so (with him) dyed all this warre. A yeare after, the Switzers passed the * *Leopontine* Alps, which mountaine is now called *S. Godard*, & went to gine battell to the D. of *Milaine*, in a place named *Tornico*. The occasion of the war, was, because the inhabitants of the valley towards *Tornico*, subiects to the Canton of *Vri*, complained of diuers outrages doone them by theyr neighbours, who molested and troubled them in the vse and possession of certaine Forrests. The Switzers Ambassadors, being vnable to reconcile this difference, the men of *Vri*, craued succour of theyr confederates, and ledde their Armie to *Belluzona*. But because they could not besiedge it in regard of the winter: they leste fixe hundred men in Garrison at *Tornico*, which is not farr from thence.

Y These

Warre by the Switzers, against *Sigismund*, Duke of *Austria*.

Articles of peace at downe writing, yet war ensued there-on againe.

Warre of the Switzers against the D. of *Burgogne*.

The battell that was fought at *Grandson*.

The battell fought at *Morat*.

The battell fought at *Nancy*, where Duke *Charles* of *Burgundie* was slaine.

* *Leopontii*, people of the Alps, next to the *Salsatia*.

War vnder-taken by the Switzers, against the D. of *Milaine*.

These two places are vpon the *Tessin*, a Riuer passing thwart the Lake *Maïor*, and so goes to *Pania*.

The *Millane*s came in great troops, to set vpon the Garrison of the *Switzers*, which being shut vp in the firaies of the Mountains; the more speedily and easily slew foueteene hundred of them, and chased the rest quite out of the Valley. This battaile was fought about the third day of November, 1478. And in the Month of December following, by the intermise of the King of *France*, peace was made between the Duke of *Millane*, & the *Switzers*. In the same year, Pope *Sixtus* made alliance with the *Switzers*, and before other priuiledges, he gaue them also strong pardons. Two yeares after, the *Switzers* sent feuen thousand men to aide King *Lewis* the eleuenth, according to the tenour of the alliance before contracted. But they hauing passed so farre as *Chalons*, the King (who had obtained the height of his enterprife) hauing then no occasion elsewhere to employ them; sent them backe againe with very good recompences: where-with many of them were so earnestly allured, that they stroue among themselves, who should first take pensions or wages of the French.

The yeare after, they of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*, made a particular alliance, because they conceived, that their associates had carried themselves inhumanely on their behaife, in the war against the Duke of *Bourgonne*. For the forenamed cities and townes had bin at great charges, as well for conduct of their victuals, as also the carriage of the Artillery: moreover, they furnished more people, then the other cantons did. Neuerthelesse, when they shold diuide the spoile and booty, which was very great and rich; the cantons that had defraied nothing, neither brought any such number of men, tooke their part of the booty by equall portion. In regard of which iniury (as they pretended it) and some other light offences; these cities and townes, desiring to provide particularly for their owne affaires; allied themselves onely together. But the other cantons were heereat greatly offended, especially, they of *Vri*, *Suites*, and *Vnderwald*: maintaining, that it was not law-

full for the *Lucernians*, to make any new alliance without their knowledge and consent.

This matter was debated diuers daies together, in a Councell holden at *Stantz* in *Vnderwald*; and finally by the meanes of an Hermit, named *Nicholas* of *Vnderwald* (who was then in verie great authority among the *Switzers*, by their reposed opinion of him, that hee was a holie man) the parties were accorded to conditions, to witte: That the fore-named Townes should depart from that nouell alliance, and altogether (by a common consent) should agree on causes then debated; as that *Fribourg* and *Solleurre*, should bee receiued into the number of the Cantones of *Swetia*, so that there should be tenne Cantons: And because the former eight (which were and are called the olde Cantons, because they allied themselves together before the other) had made a bodie of a Commonwealth together of the *Switzers*, for the space of fixe score and nine yeares, or thereabout; I will heere set downe a Summarie of the a titles of the alliances which those olde Cantons made, and of that which was subscribed vnto at *Stantz* by a common consent among the Cantons.

A briefe Summary, of the Alliances and Confederations, made betwene the 8. ancient Cantons of Swetia.



He principall & first Chapter or Article of the leagues and alliances, doth concern the aide and succour which one ought to giue another, against such as wrongfully shall assaile them: wherein all things are verie well ordered, gouerned by equity, and according to reason. For, to the end that no warre may be lightly moued, and vpon small or slender occasions; it is first of all ordained, that the Cantons which are offended, shall make knowne the merite of the cause to the Councell in generall for that Canton established. And then, if it do appeare, that offence and out-rage is done, it may demand succour and assistance.

Conditions concluded by the Hermit, and Cantons, for a general consentment.

The first Article of the leagues, concerneth mutual succour, and publique assistance.

Concerning the alliance of Glaris.

Every Canton is not allied with all the rest.

Vi, Suites, and Vnderwald.

The *Lucernians* in their necessity.

All the Cantons haue not their rights alike.

assistance.

In some other alliances, namely, that of *Glaris*, this knowledge is deferred to other allied Cantons. After that the equity of the cause hath appeared, & the outrage receiued: the Canton interessed, may require the Confederates to come and helpe it. In the interim, the Canton may not make recourse to whom it liketh best; but onely to that which is allied to it in some especiall manner. For (as I haue hitherto shewne) euery one of the Cantons is not allied with all the other. In the first place, concerning them of *Zurich*, allied by antiquity with fix of the cheefest Cantons; they may demand ayde of all those fixe. Since then, they made alliance with them of *Berne* and *So* (by consequent) they are bound likewise to giue them assistance, being thereto required. The *Bernishmen* may call vnto their assistance, them of *Vri*, *Suites*, and *Vnderwald*, by reason of ancient alliance: and they (reciprocally) may call to their ayde, and for their other confederates the Canton of *Berne*. But by reason of the new league, they of *Zurich* and *Berne*, must require ayde one of another. The *Lucernians* (in times of necessitie) may haue recourse to the men of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Suites*, *Vnderwald*, and *Zug*. They of *Vri*, *Suites*, and *Vnderwald*, may call all the other Cantons. And they of *Zug* haue the same right as the *Lucernians*, that is, to require aide from the Cantones of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Suites*, *Vnderwald*, and *Lucerna*. They of *Glaris*, haue recourse vnto the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Suites*, & *Vnderwald*.

Now, although that all haue not their rights alike heerein; yet notwithstanding if one Canton require one or two of his allies to come and succour him: all the Cantons must assemble together, because they which are first called, shall giue aduertisement to the other. But, about all things, they shall send their Ambassadors to the Chappell of the Hermitage, or to a place named *Kienholz*, and if question bee made of an acte, which concerneth the men of *Berne*: they must advise altogether (by all meanes) to appeale the difference in friendly manner, or according vnto right, or (if it may not so bee done) how they may assuredly giue suc-

cour. Their alliance speaketh expressly, that such as are called vnto assistance, shall not vse any fraude or deceit, neither any frivolous or vaine excuse, but to assist with all their power.

And because it may so happen, that a Canton shall bee so sodainly assailed at vnawares, as the enemy may stoppe all the passages, and so (by consequent) the Canton can compass no meanes of crauing succour, neyther by Letters or Ambassadors. For this it is provided and expressly ordained, that in such a case, and when most neede is of speediest helpe: the confederate Cantons, shall assist with all their forces, euen as if they had bene (by name) called thereto. In the alliance with them of *Berne*, it is ordained; That if the enemy assaile the higher countrie, the confederates shall make spoile on the other, vpon the Landes of the enemy: thereby to scatter his forces. And the same to bee done in the higher countrey, if the enemy intrude vpon the lower. They that are called to succour, shall come at their owne expences, and without any wages. Onely in the alliance of *Berne*, with *Vri*, *Suites*, and *Vnderwald*, mention is made of Wages. Namely, of a *Sol Tournois* (each day) for euery man on foote. Neuerthelesse, if the Warre be in the countrey of *Ergow*, then they of *Berne* shall pay nothing. But there is a Village or Hamlet, neere vnto the first Lake of the Riuer *Ar*, which is called *Punderfer* beyonde which, such foote Souldiours as come to assist the one or other party, shall receiue that aforesaid Wages.

If the warre last of any continuance, and that they must besiedge and batter some Towne, Village, or Castle, and the same is fully concluded and agreed vpon, by common consent and aduice of the Cantones: then that Canton, in whose fauour, and on whose limites, the Towne or Castle of the Enemy is besiedged, shall pay onely the charge and expences, as well for munition, powder, conuoy of Artillerie, Pionners, as all other things necessarie and requisite in a batterie. Neuerthelesse, if the Warre bee vnderaken, not onelie in the name of one Canton, but of vnder name of the *Switzers* whole Commonwealth:

Y 2

No fraud or excuse to bee vsed in giuing succour.

When any Canton shall be suddenly vnawares assaulted by the enemy, and when no help can be required.

Aide on their own expence, and without wages, or else what wages is to be receiued.

For a warre of long lasting and besieging or battering Townes, or Castles.

They of Millane goe against the Switzers, and a battaile is fought.

Pope Sixtus allyeth with the Switzers, & giues them large pardons.

The feedes of waite among the Switzers, quite mothered by me. n. of a Hermit.

A particuler combination of some Cantons by themselves from the rest.

Of wrong done to the whole Nation, or in particular in places farre distant.

Orders for the Soldiers of the Swissers.

The second Article concerneth publicke controversies.

Judges chosen to heare and define variations, and a Superarbitrator added to them.

then they shal euery one pay their shares alike.

Likewise it comes to passe many times, that some such as dwell far off from *Swetia*, doth offer wrong to the whole Nation, or to one part in particular; in the meane time, no knowledge is had how to pursue this warre, eyther because the enemy is too farre distant, or keepeth no certaine abiding, where he may bee dealt withall. For such, it is ordained, that if (by any occasion) they, their goods, or any of their complices can bee apprehended on the lands of one of the Cantons: hand shall be laid on them, & they constrained to satisfie them whom they haue offended. Finally, to preuent & hinder, that none shall abuse, or be abused by the *Swissers* Soldiers, leading them whether they list: in many alliances, the limits wherein some stand bound to succour other, are prescribed and determined. The limits are partly to the Cantons confines, according to their extendure forth, or a little more further out: but they may not passe the ancient bounds of *Swetia*.

The second Chapter or Article, is touching publicke differences or controuersies, between two Cantons or more. Forasmuch as it cannot be otherwise, but the very best friends and confederates, may sometimes haue cause to disioyne & sunder: our predecessours did denie, to stay the consequence of such differences, to wit, that no warre should follow, as fearing lesse alliance and kindnesse might thereby perishe, & vterly be broken. First then it is ordained, that the other Cantons shall send their Ambassadors, to take order, that the variance may amiably be ended, or according to right, and it is established to be administered in manner following. Each party shall chuse two Judges of his owne Canton, to whom they shall promise by oath, that without any affection or loue to their country, they will iudge on the difference. To these foure Judges, a fifth must be added, named Vniptre or Superarbitrator: who is elected sometimes by the Iudges, and sometimes by the parties. If the one canton will not vndergo iudgement, nor suffer his right to bee examined: the other cantons stand bound by alliance, to succour him that consents, that the contro-

uerfie should bee ended by the Arbitrators.

The third Chapter or Article, concerneth alliances. The foure first Cantons do determine, that it is not lawfull for any one among them (without the will & consent of the other, to bind themselves by Oath, or make alliance with any, whofoeuer it is. Likewise, in the alliance of *Glaris*, it is saide, that they may not make any alliance or confederacie, without consent of the other Leaguers. For otherwise, the other Cantons may referue to themselves, the liberty and authoritie of making new alliances, yet leauing (in meane while) the ancient stil in full force. They kept also the freedom, for increasing and diminishing their alliances, by a publicke and common consent. And ordained in like manner, that these alliances might bee renewed by writing, or by word of mouth, and to bee confirmed by Oath, if neede required, from five or ten to an hundred yeares. If this might not bee done commodiously, yet notwithstanding, they were to be obserued firmly.

In the fourth place, are added exceptions; because certaine Cantones, which anciently did concerne the Empire; as *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Vri*, *Suites*, and *Vnderwald*, excepted the Empire, and the rightes thereof, from which they pretended no derogation by this alliance, in any manner whatsoever.

Lucerna and *Zug*, excepted the rites of the Duke of *Austria*. By the alliance of *Glaris*, are excepted all rights and deuoiues due vnto lawfull Lords and Magistrates. Likewise, in all these confederations, are excepted the ancient alliances, rights, priuiledges, and customes of the Cantons, together with their Castles, Villages, and Hamlets: so that those rights remaine found and intire to euery one.

Now, although the other Chapters and Articles are not of any such importance; yet notwithstanding, they tend to maintenance & conseruation of peace and quietnesse. There is one for the punishing of homicides or Men-killers. Hee that killeth any one of the Confederates, shall loose his head: except hee can make good proofe, that hee did it in defence of his owne bodie, and for safetie

The third Article touching alliances, and beginning with the first Canon.

Liberty to augment and lessen leagues and alliances.

The fourth Article touching exceptions, and the liberties of the Cantons.

For punishing of homicides and banished persons, and the several liberties of offence.

safetie of his life. Whofoeuer shal be condemned and banished from his Canton, shall stand banished and excluded also from the countries of the other Cantons: and whofoeuer lodgeth or asisisteth any such person, shall be guilty and punished in some other nature.

There is another Article, which prohibiteth the exacting or vrging of names to wit, if any Lay-man attempt to pay himselfe in his debtes, by the name or meanes of Iudges of the Church: onely causes Matrimoniall, and manifest Vltury, are to be referred, and sent to the Court for the Church. No man shall exact a pawne of any one, except of his debter, or him that standeth pledge for him. Neither shall he receiue pawns of his owne priuate authority, but by consent of the Iudge. No one shall engage himselfe for another man.

Concerning iudgements, it is ordained, that each man may haue, & assigne his Iudge. He that shall not appeare according to the assignation, but falleth into default, and interesteth the contrarie party by his absence, shall pay his charges. Causes shall be pleaded in the Audience Hall of the Canton, where the aucte makes mention of the deed doing. Iustice is to be done without fraude or deceite. And euery man shall content him selfe with the iudgements, Lawes, and customes of the Canton, where his cause is pleaded.

Although that these Articles, and other such like, may seeme to bee of small consequence: yet notwithstanding, because thereby (oftentimes) great debates do arise, yea, warres with our alliances, in discouering them distinctly & at large, it contents me (for mine owne part) that I haue thus briefly & summarily toucht them.

The Tenor of the Arrest or Agreement made at Stantz.

Here, we ordaine, that no one of the eight Cantons, either by it selfe, or aided by others shall enterprize to make war on any one of the said Cantons, or any other joynd there-with in this alliance. Neither shal offer any wrong

to their bodies, goods, Townes, Countreys, or people, nor robbe or despoile them of any thing to them appertaining. If any one of the eight Cantons shall do otherwise (which God forbid) and outrage any of the other. To the end it may bee remedied, and order giuen, that our alliance may remaine firme, so that wee may liue together in peace like Brethren: all the other Cantons shall ranke themselves with that which is offended, and conferre the rights thereof, in good faith, and without any fraud. And if some particular person, or many together, shall doe wrong or iniurie vnto some other particular body: that then speedily, and without any contradiction, they shall be chastised by their Magistrate (in what place soeuer it is) according to the quality of the offence, and as they haue deserved. Neuerthelesse, if any one shall commit such insolences vpon the iurisdiction of another, and moue it to be troubled, answere may bee made him in the very same place, and he iustly punished, according to the right and custom of the country.

Secondly we say, that hence forward, none shall attempt to make anie assembly, and therein to purpose anie thing whatsoever (either secretly or publicly) in the Cities, Townes, or Countries of *Swetia*, whereby any damage or danger may ensue, without making it first known, and with the consent of the Lordes of that Canton. Whofoeuer swerue, and endeouere to make any such assembly, or shall fauour it, either by worde or deede, shall bee chastised by the Magistrate, according to the exigence of the act, and that without the least hindrance or delay.

In like manner, and by common consent, we expressly ordaine, that (honour and oath reserved) it shall not be lawfull for any one, to encite the subiects of any Canton, to do any thing derogatorie, to the obedience due to the Magistrate, or moue the people to any disobedience or reuolt. And if the subiects of any one of the Cantons, shall bee rebellious against the commandements thereof: that then the other Cantons shall succour it faithfully, and reforme those subiects to their duties, according to the agreement of our alliances.

Of insolencies committed on the iurisdications of other men.

The 2. Article concerneth assemblies or Conuenticles without knowledge & consent of the Magistrate.

For disobedience to Magistrates, or infringing their orders and decrees.

The third Article concerneth the Military discipline of the Cantons, answerable to that of Sempach.

Thirdly, because that after the battell of *Sempach*, our Ancestors resolved upon some ordinances, concerning matter of warre: it seemed good to vs, to explicate in this agreement, that which is perpetual, even the principall Article of those ordinances, and in regard of our selves and our successors, to set it downe as followeth. If one Canton or more, do bring an Army into the field, marching with colours displayed against the enemy: all they that march vnder those colours, must continue together for the fight, as honest men ought to do. And according to the example of our Ancestors, what necessity sooner is enforced, be it to fight in ranged battaile, in skirmish, or otherwise, how short or long soever the time be: it is to be carried according to the orders Military, made after the day of *Sempach*.

The fourth Article concerneth matters of contracts passed long ago by our Ancestors

In the fourth place, we haue ordained, that those contracts passed long time since, by our Ancestors, as concerning Ecclesiasticall persons, and other things, in the year, one thousand, three hundred and seuentie; shall be obserued inuolubly, firmly, and from point to point. And to the end, that the memory thereof may be perpetuall, at all such times as our alliances may be renewed by oath: those two transactions and ordinances, concerning affairs of warre and Ecclesiasticks, together with this amiable agreement, shall be publickly read, among and with the Articles of alliances. But to the end, that yong men, and they of meaner yeares also, may the better remember our alliances, and obserue them the more faithfully; we haue agreed, that hereafter (from five yeares to five yeares) the alliances shall be renewed throughout all the Cantons, by oath, which shall be given for this effect.

For yong men and they of vnder age.

The fifth Article concerneth booties conquered in warre, & the ranfomes of prisoners.

Finally, we haue accorded, that when any warre happeneth, all the booty conquered from the enemy, and those fums payed by prisoners for their ranfomes: shall be distributed (by equall portions) among the number of Soldiers, which the Cantons or Townes haue in the Army. But the Cities, Townes, Castles, Countries, passages, anuall renewes, iurisdiccions, and other things of the same nature, though conquered in warre, shall be equally parted or diuided among the

Cantons, according to their ancient custome. If we permit any of these things to be bought or solde to any; the money payed, or arising thereby, shall be distributed among the Cantons by equall portions.

We haue determined and published this louing agreement, and in this manner, that all such as haue or shall carry Armes with vs, all Subiects, citizens, inhabitants, confederates, and parties ioyned with vs, may haue their iust portion in the booties. But as for Cities, Towns, Castles, Countries, men, renewes yearly, iurisdiccions, ports, and conquered passages: such things doe belong to the Cantons onely. We make exception in this accord, of our perpetual alliances, intending that nothing thereof shall be infringed; but that this present transaction shall be inuolubly maintained, yea, faithfully and without any fraud, for the confirmation and manutention of our alliances.

This Attest was ratified with the consent of all, in the yeare, 1481. in the house for particular alliances of our Townes: And by common accord, they of *Fribourg* and of *Solleurre*, were receiued into the number of the Cantons. And then the common-wealth of the *Switzers* (for the space of twenty yeares) stood composed of ten Cantons; whereto consequently, *Basile* and *Schaffhouse*, and then *Appenzell* were added. But before we speake of their alliances, we must say somewhat as concerning *Fribourg* and *Solleurre*: then will we summarily declare, what they did, after their receiuing into alliance.

CHAP.

Thereof is a making and publishing this amiable agreement is generally a broad.

Fribourg and *Solleurre* receiued into the number of the Cantons, making them ten.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Towne of *Fribourg*; who was the first founder thereof: And how it came into league and alliance with the Cantons.



The originall of the Towne of *Fribourg*.

The diuers deportments and carriage of the *Fribourgers*.

Fribourg fold for the King of the Romans.



The perpetual alliance made between the *Fribourgers* and the men of *Berne*.

Fribourg is a Towne, seated vpon the River of *Sana*, builded by *Herthoult*, fourth of that name, Duke of *Zeringen*, some few yeares before *Berne*. These two Townes maintained themselves long time in amity: but after the Dukes death, *Berne* became subiect to the Empire, and *Fribourg* fell into the hands of the Counts of *Kybourg*, that dwelt at *Bourgsdorf*, which was the cause, that (by succession of time) they tooke their affection to them of *Berne*. First of all, they were prefer'd in the warre with *Godfrey*, Count of *Kybourg*, against the *Bernians*. Soone after, their friendship was renewed againe, but yet with this exception, that if the Lords of *Fribourg* were at discord with *Berne*, the *Fribourgers* might follow their Lords part, without any prejudice to that louing accord. Some short while after, the Count solde

Fribourg to *Raoul*, King of the Romans, and from thence forward, about the space of two hundred yeares it remained vnder the dominion of *Austria*. During which time, the *Fribourgers* being conducted and commanded by them of *Austria*, were present in many fought battailes, giuen to the *Bernians* at *Loupen*, at *Schonenberg*, and elsewhere. Againe, afterward they renewed (diuers times) their ancient alliance and amity with the men of *Berne*. In the yeare 1413, after they had bin tormented (in many kindes) by Noblemen, they contracted a perpetual alliance with the *Bernians*: and yet notwithstanding, continued subiects to them of *Austria*. This amity endured forty five

yeares, at the end whereof, warre being moued betweene the Prince of *Sauoye*, and the *Fribourgers*: they of *Berne* followed the faction of the Prince of *Sauoye*, to whom they had bene allied, and stood friends a long time. There were some courtes on eyther side, and a battaile fought neere to *Grierts*, wherein the *Fribourgers* had the worst. The yeare after, the Ambassadors to the King of France, of the Duke of *Bourgonne*, and of the Cantons, made a peace. And the yeare following, *Albert* of *Austria* being come to *Fribourg*; some certaine men of the Towne comploted with him, to make warre vpon the *Bernians*. Matters grew on so forward, that there was some apparance of sedition, and one was ready to run vpon another: if the men of *Berne* (by a singular providence and adreffe) had not appealed the commotion, by the sending of their Ambassadors.

Albert perceiving that *Fribourg* fauoured the Cantons, and leaned to that side, and that the citizens, who enioyed the priuileges of their Ancestors, obeyed not entirely to what he commanded them, and that oftentimes (according to their alliance) they followed them of *Berne*, and went in warre with the Cantons: he began to lose all hope of remaining any longer Master of the Towne. For this cause, the chiefe Master of his household came to *Fribourg* (sent by the Prince as some say) where he caused instantly to be noyed through the Towne; that the Prince wold very suddenly come thither, how soone he knew not. Heerevpon, he borrowed and got together, all the siluer Vessels, Tapitrics, and such like costly moueables, to adorne that house in the Towne, where it was saide that the Prince should alight and lodge. But (by vnder-hand meanes) the Master of the household, caused those goods to be secretly transported out of the town.

The day being come, of the Princes appointment to be there, he rode forth with his horsemen, as it were to meet his Master, accompanied with the worthiest men of the Towne. Being farre enough off, no Prince came; but only such horsemen as he had sent before, to attend the Master of the household, and the charge he had. When they were come into a place of security, he saide to them of *Fribourg*,

The enemies of peace put themselves forward into the greatest danger.

Albert seeing he should lose *Fribourg* before he could quit it, tooketh the latter hand or course.

A cunning trick of the Master of the household.

bourg, who rode in his company to honour the Prince, that for the confidence they reposed, in their league made with the men of Berne, and combined amity with the Cantons: they were rebels to the Prince, and therefore it stood with reason and iustice, that the Prince should get what he could from them: as namely, the silver vessels, and the other goods brought from the Towne.

Speaking these words, hee galloped away with his traine to meete the Prince with the spoiles of *Fribourg*. But the citizens, being thus vnworthily handled, made a far stricter alliance with the Bernians, and ioyned themselues also with the confederates, vpon certaine conditions. So that during the warre against the Duke of Bourgogne, the Cantons sent a thousand men for Garrison into *Fribourg*. And the *Fribourgers* likewise, were present in the batailles with their confederates, against the Duke of Bourgogne, carrying themselues very valiantly in that warre. Afterward, they were receiued (with them of *Solleurre*) into the number of the Cantons, as heereafter we shall tell you.

CHAP. IX.

Of the City of *Solleurre*, being one of greatest name in *Suetia*.

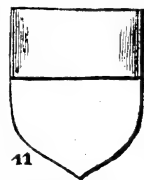
Solleurre is one of the most ancient cities or townes in all *Suetia*. It is called by many, the Sister of *Treuer*, which was builded (as the ancient Annals doe make mention) in the time of *Ninus*. The olde Roman inscriptions, which are yet to be seene at *Solleurre*, do testifie the antiquity of the city. But by the warres and courtes of the *Allemaignes*, *Hunnies*, and *Francians* in *Gauls*, vpon the declination of the Romane Empire; *Solleurre* was ruined, as many other cities and townes were in like manner. But after that the *Francians* became Lords & Masters, it was rebuilded, and yielded in subiection to the Bishop of *Genewa*. For it is said, that in the Church or Temple of *S. Vic-*

tor, neere to *Genewa*, these words are found written.

Acta sunt hæc regnante Domitiano, Episcopo Genensensi, quo tempore etiam Castrum Salodorense Episcopatus Genensensis subditum erat, &c.

These things were made and done, in the time of *Domitian*, Bishop of *Genewa*: during which time, the Castle of *Solleurre* was subiect to the Bishop of *Genewa*, &c.

In the times of the *Allemaigne* or *German* Emperors, *Solleurre* was daily numbered with the Imperiall cities & townes: yet (notwithstanding) in such sort, as the collidge of the chanons enioyed the principal priuiledges and franchises. And it is saide, that they haue the same rights as the chanons of *Zurich*.



11

The Dukes of *Suaba* were Pro-nobles or Governours of this city, as likewise of other Imperiall townes in *Suetia*. They of *Solleurre* (in ancient times) made an

alliance with the Bernians, I cannot well tell in what year; but since that time, the two cities haue borne good and loyall amity together. And (almost) in all the warres the Bernians had: the men of *Solleurre* euermore succoured them with happy successe.

Vpon the contention moued betwene *Lewes* of *Bauris*, and *Fredericke* of *Austria*, which should be Emperor of them both: they of *Solleurre* tooke part with *Lewes*, by which occasion, the Pope excommunicated them, and then they were afterward besieged by the Duke of *Austria*. But they of Berne sent them foure hundred men for their Garrison. Moreover, they had warre against the Count of *Kybourg*, who wonne a battaile of the, by treason of one of their citizens. Finally, in the year, one thousand, three hundred, fifty and one, they made a perpetual alliance with them of Berne, & continued alwayes good friends with the other Cantons. So that after the warre of *Austria*, wherein *Leopold* was slaine; they made peace and alliance with the house

Solleurre numbered among the Imperiall cities.

The Duke of *Suaba*, Governour of *Solleurre*.

The men of *Solleurre* communicated by the Pope, for taking part with the true Emperor.

There is nothing gained by goods ill gotten, and losing the hearts & obedience of subiects.

The original and antiquity of *Solleurre*.

Solleurre rebuild and subiect to the Bishop of *Genewa*.

Their receiving into the number of the Cantons.

CHAP. X.

Of the Switzers wars against them of *Millaine*, against the *Venetians*; and at the conquest of *Naples*.



HE men of *Fribourg* and of *Solleurre*, being admitted into ranke with the Cantons; the *Switzers* made these warres ensuing. In the year, one thousand, foure hundred, eighty and seuen; *Iustus de Sillum*, Bishop of *Sion*, leuied an Army of *Valachians* and *Switzers*, which he led beyond the Alps, against the Duke of *Millaine*. But the issue of that voyage was vnfortunate, because the Duke ouerthrew them: so that they were enforced to returne home againe to their owne houses, after they had lost very many of their men.

The year following, the *Switzers* sent succour (according to the tenour of their alliance) to *Sigismund*, Duke of *Austria*, against the *Venetians*. And then afterward, they were in pay with the King of *France*, *Charles* the eight, who had renewed the alliance, which his Father made with the *Switzers*. They were first in *Bretaigne*, where the King won a great victory against the Duke, at *Saint Aubin*. Then againe in *Italy*, when *Charles* conquered the kingdome of *Naples*. And at *Formio*, when hee gaue battaile to the Princes of *Italy*, that were leagued against him. In all these warres, the *Switzers* did good and faithfull seruice vnto the King.

In the year, one thousand, foure hun-

dred, & ninety, another ciuill warre kindled it selfe in *Suetia*. The Abbot of *S. Gall*, had begun to build a new Abbey at *Rosack*. The citizens of *S. Gall*, they of *Appenzell*, and the subiects to the Abbot (partly moued by a kinde of deuotion, as vnwillingly that the bones and reliques of *S. Gall*, should be carried any where else; and partly also for their owne profit, fearing lest the packs of linnen cloth (which grew to great gaine among them) should be transported to *Rosack* conspired together, and at vnawares, went out in Arms, and ioyning together in troopes, went to beate downe the new building, which was not (as then) fully finished. The Abbot not a litle moued with this injury, called the foure Cantons, wherto he was allied, to aide him. The sixe other Cantons, mediators for peace, exhorted the of *S. Gall*, to decide this difference with the Abbot, by course of right in law. But because the confederates alledged, that great wrong was done them, in building a new Abbey, and (by that means) abolishing their ancient priuiledges; therefore consequently, they had iust occasion to vndertake Armes, and would not haue it debated in iustice. The foure Cantons with some other people of their allies, brought their troopes to *Turgau*: but this warre was appealed without blowes. For first of all, they of *Appenzell* made peace with the *Switzers*, who took from them the Valley of *Rheussce*. Then afterward, the city of *S. Gall* being besieged, peace was made betweene the citizens & the *Switzers*; by the means of *George*, Count of *Sargans*, *Gaudenius*, Count of *Metsch*, and the Lords of *Constance*. In like manner, the subiects to the Abbot were reconciled, after each one had paid his fine.

Some short while after, followed the last warre against the house of *Austria*, which the *Switzers* called, the warre of *Suaba*: the Emperor *Frederick* did spread the seeds abroad, but after his death, his Sonne and Successor *Maximilian*, gathered them together. *Fredericke* had procured, that certaine Princes, Lords, and Townes should make an alliance, which they rearmd, The great league of *Suaba*: and (among other matters) to oppresse especially (as was conceived) the liberties of the *Switzers*. The Emperour was

Strife about the bones and reliques of *S. Gall*, & the building of a new Abbey.

The Abbot craved aide of foure Cantons.

The war vnderaken of *S. Gall*.

A war ended, and neuer a blow smitten.

The last war against the house of *Austria*, termed the war of *Suaba*.

a great league
to oppress
the liberties
of the Swit-
zers.

was chiefe of this league, which was beneficiall to *Germany* in one kinde: for by that means, the wayes were more free & assured, theuere were taken and punished, and their castles and places of retreat beaten to the ground. There had bene (long time before) some enmities betweene the *Switzers*, and some of their neighbours, vassalls to the house of *Austria*.

Day by day the fire lay kindling, and the *Switzers* suffered insupportable iniuries and outrages. On the other side, they of *Austria*, grieved the *Grisons* with nouell charges, and had cast them out of their ancient possessions in some places.

Vpon this occasion, and to provide for their owne security, against the violence of their enemies; the *Switzers* and the *Grisons* made a perpetuall league together.

A league of
the Switzers
and Grisons,
against their
enemies.

Moreover, King *Lewis* the twelfth, desirous to recover the Duchy of *Milaine*, which he auouched to belong vnto him: purchased the amity and alliance of the *Switzers*, who in such a perillous time, thought good not to refuse it, neyther to let to fit and apt occasion slippe them.

Diuers victo-
ries of the
Switzers.

Many goings and commings were betweene them, to pacifie this businesse, and the parties on eyther side took arms, in the yeare, one thousand, foure hundred, ninety nine. Many encounters they had in this warre, and the *Switzers* still remained victors: except once, when they were put into route, neere to *Constance*.

But they recovered their honour againe the same day, hauing freshly recollected their forces, and then giuing battle to the enemy, enforced him to forsake the place. Moreover, they and the *Grisons*, in eight other as great encounters as skirmishes, had still the aduantage: as at *Mont de Lucé*, at *Trefse*, *Harden*, *Fraßenz*, on the plaine of *Malsä*, nere to *Basile*, in the Forrest *des Freres*, in the vale of *Leime*, and lastly, at the Castle of *Dornach*, appertaining to them of *Solowere*.

They of *Austria*, being tired and spent with so many losses, came finally to a composition; by the intermise of *Lo-*

douicke Sforzza, Duke of *Milaine*, who sent thither the Vicount *Galeazzo*. And so peace was made, vpon this condition, that the liberties of the *Switzers* should remaine in their integrity, and they were confirmed in the possession of all those places which they had taken before from them of *Austria*. In like manner, the jurisdiction in criminall causes, at the command of *Turgaw*, which they of *Constance* had enjoyed vntill that time, was giuen to the *Switzers*.

Thus you see the last warre (except that of the *Grisons* against *John Iaqués de Medicis*, Lord of *Musl*) that the *Switzers* had to this present time, to maintain the liberties of their countries, against the violence and force of forraigne Princes. They were afterward present in many other warres, and wonne renowne of being hardy and valiant men: but those warres were made partly in Italy, partly in France, vnder authority and command, eyther of the King of France, or of the Dukes of *Milaine*. For immediately after the peace made with them of *Austria*; the Vicount *Galeazzo* began to make secretly a leuée of *Switzers*.

Contrariwise, the King of France demanded succour all openly, according to the tenour of the league, which was granted to him. Notwithstanding, contrary to the will and Edicts of the leagued Lords; *Galeazzo* enrolled five hundred *Switzers*, by the aide of whom, together with an army of Lance-Knights, which he had got together, Duke *Lodouicke* recovered *Milaine*.

Soone after that, the Frenchmen being come with a puissant Army to besiege *Nouars*, the *Switzers* that were then in Garrison, perceiuing it to bee a place, not of defence, nor well munit, nor wherein they could any way resist the enemy; agreed to depart, and repaired home to their owne country. The Duke tooke the habite of a *Switzer* Soldier, and mingled himselfe among the rest, only to escape: but happening to be knowne and discovered, by a certaine man named *Turman* (who afterward was hewed in peeces) he was taken and led prisoner into France, and kept in the Castle of *Loches*. For the rest, they do great

Behold what
gaines they
get, that lay
about to abul-
ish the peo-
ples liberty.

Rest and qui-
etudine doth
well helpe to
enter long re-
st and labour
(penitence).

The French-
men besieging
King of Nau-
sa.

great wrong to the *Switzers*, that impute to the whole Nation, the faulte of one man onely. If they will charge all them that were with the Duke, because (maulgre his will) they composed with the French: yet (for all that) they must not couple the whole Nation of *Switzers*, with them in that action. Considering, they that did the deede, were not sent by their Cantons, to succour Duke *Sforzza*; but followed his faction, against the Edicts of their Lords. Hereeto may be added, that they appeared not to be partiall, or hare-brained in the busines, when they departed by composition.

In the same yeare, when these things were done beyond the Mountaines; *Huldreich*, Duke of *Wirttemberg*, made an alliance for twelue yeares, with the common-wealth of the *Switzers*. In like manner, the Emperor *Maximillian* renewed the hereditary alliance, made formerly by Duke *Sigismund*, with the cantons of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Vri*, and *Vnderwald*. In the yeare, one thousand, five hundred and one, two potent cities on the *Rhine*, namely, *Basile* and *Schaffhouse*, were ioyned to the number of the *Switzers* cantons.

CHAP. XI.

Of the City of Basile, and diuersity of opinions, how it receiued that name: As also the originall and antiquity of the City.

*A people of
Belgia, neere
to the River
Rhene.



HE City of *Basile*, capitall & cheefest in the country of the * *Rauracians*, is the very greatest of all the cities and townes in *Sweetia*. It is not knowne at what time it was first of all built. *Amianus Marcellinus* maketh mention in his history of it, calling it *Basilica*, and testifieth, that the Emperor *Gratian* erected a Fort hard by it, to bridle the courtesies of the *Allemans*. There are some other, who do thinke that it tooke name of *Basilica*, Mother of the Emperor *Iulian*. *Phlegonius*, the enfranchised seruant of the Emperor *Adrian*, maketh

Opinions
concerning
the name of
Basile.

mention of *Basilica*, in a little Tract which he wrote of admirable things, and of people that liued long: but it is not well knowne, whether hee meant this city or no, whereof we now speake. But the opinion of them is most probable, that hold the city of *Basile* to take name, from one of the Romane Colonies, sent by *Augustus* into the country of the *Rauracians*, before named.



But *Basile* is in the number of the free cities of the Empire, and hath obtained (for very long time) verie franke and liberall priuileiges, from the Romane Emperors. The Bishopricke and Vniuersity encreased the renowne thereof. And as it is a neighbouro to the *Switzers*, so hath it bene likewise very carefull for maintaining it selfe in amity, long time before it came to bee allied with them. For after the Pope had excommunicated the Emperor *Lewis* of *Bawaria* (in which case all *Germany* was combusted with great troubles) they of *Basile* made alliance, and promise of mutuall succours, with them of the three first Cantons; and afterward, in the yeare, 1327. with *Zurich*, *Berne*, and many other cities and townes of *Germany*. In the yeare one thousand, three hundred, forty five, they made a particular alliance (for 2 yeares) with them of *Zurich*, and then renewed it for three yeares after. Againe, in the yeare 1365, by the procurement of *Leopold*, Duke of *Austria*, an Army of Englishmen came and forraged the country of *Halstatia*, besieged *Strasbourg*, and threatened *Basile* with the same behavior, because the citizens of the lesser *Basile*, engaged by the Bishop to the Duke of *Austria*; would not submit themselves wholly to his will.

On the other side, *Basile* being not strong for resistance of an enemy, by reason of an earth-quake, which had cast downe the walles and many houses, and fire had consumed and done as great harme: *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, and *Soleurre* sent a strong Garrison to *Basile*: so that the Englishmen durst not besiege the city, but retired thence, because the

Basile num-
bered among
the free Cit-
ies of the
Empire.

The men of
Basile were
friend with
the Switzers
a long time.

Englishmen
inuaied the
Country of
Halstatia, by
Duke Leopold
meaneas.

A strong gar-
rison sent to
Basile.

Empe-

Katherine the
Widow to
Duke Leo-
pold

The Dolphin
of France
brought an
Army into
Germany.

The Basilian
Army with
the Switzers
against the
Duke of Au-
stria.

War between
the Emperor
Maximilian,
the Switzers
and Grisons.

Emperor Charles the fourth, also brought an Army against them. In like manner, in the warre of them of *Basile*, against *Katherine* of Bourgongne, the widow of *Leopold*, in the year one thousand, foure hundred, and nine, the Bernians & they of *Soleurre* sent succour: the other Cantons employing themselves carefully, to accord them with the house of *Austria*. Moreover, at the time of the councill of *Basile*, when as *Lanes* the Dolphin of France, brought a great Army into *Germany*, to breake the councill, and made warre on the *Switzers*, by the instanc & working of the Duke of *Austria*, who had procured him to come: the *Switzers* maintained and defended the city and councill, against the encountering of a strange enemy; as an example very remarkable, it being not above sixteen yeares, since they had cooped with great troops of the French. True it is, that they all (well neere) lost their lives there: but yet they did fo weaken their enemies troops, that he tooke part with the which fled fastest.

They being thus auoyded, the men of *Basile* ioyned their forces with the *Switzers*, and so made warre together on the Duke of *Austria*. In like manner, when *Charles*, Duke of Bourgongne, made himselfe so terrible, and affrighted all the world, they of *Basile* ioyned in alliance (for ten yeares) with *Strasbourg*, and other cities on the *Rhene*. Afterward, with *Sigismond*, Duke of *Austria*; *René*, Duke of *Lorraine*, and with the Cantons. In this warre they shewed themselves both faithfull & valiant, for their confederates. Finally, a great warre being moued betwene the Emperour *Maximilian*, the *Switzers* and *Grisons*: they of *Basile* remained neuters, without giuing succour to eyther side, nor receiued their Garrisons; but they furnished them both with victuals and munition. In this war there was a battaile giuen (almost) against the walles of *Basile*, afterward at *Dorneck*, where the *Switzers* wonne a faire victory ouer the enemies, whom they did beat backe to the gates of *Basile*. But during all this war, the citizens of *Basile* fauoured equally both the one and other side. To conclude, by the diligence of *Lodouico Maria*, Duke of *Milaine*, the Ambassadors on both sides met at *Basile*, & peace

was made betwene the Emperour and the *Switzers*.

The *Switzers* allowed well of this expedient, in the men of *Basile* during this warre, and the Emperour *Maximilian* (for his part) seemed not to improoue it. But the Noble-men, who were deadly enemies to the Cantons, held *Basile* (almost) in the ranke of a foe, because the city did not then shew it selfe openly, as an enemy to the *Switzers*; and not onely the subjects to the house of *Austria*, but many more, who till then had beene citizens; with-drew themselves to the Count of *Ferrara*, and about *Montbeliard*, into *Halasia*, and to *Brisgow*, countries appertaining to them of *Austria*. Being in those places, they ceased not to outrage (both with words and deeds) the inhabitants of *Basile*, who being moued with such indignities; the yeare after the war ended, to wit, one thousand, five hundred and one; made a perpetuall alliance with the Cantons, and so were left in peace with their neighbours, who stood in awe of the *Switzers* succour.

The Emperour
and the Switzers
no way
disturb the
dealing of
the men of
Basile in the
warre.

CHAP. XII.

At what time Schaffouse was receiued into the number of the Cantons; and the antiquity thereof.



*S*chaffouse, accepted the very same yeare, to be numbered among the cantons, is not of so great age and antiquity. It is seated on the Riuer of *Rhene*, within *Germany*, and yet notwithstanding, the Bridge is in *Sweita*. In the time of the Emperour *Henry* the third, the Counts of *Nellenbourg* builded there an Abbey, which standeth yet to this day, and it is thought, that it gaue a beginning to the citie: as likewise the cities of *S. Gall*, *Lucerna*, and many more in *Germany*, haue deriued their originall from Abbeyes. The *Rhene* is also another cause of the cities encreasing, continuing so for some thousand of yeares since, beneath the citie, where

The original
and foundation
of Schaffouse

Many cities
in Germany
tooke their
names of Ab-
beys.

No Boates
able to passe
the water at
Schaffouse.

Concerning
the name of
Schaffouse.

A great Tolle
of Customs
for salt.

Schaffouse at
liberty at the
first, but after-
ward aliena-
ted by the em-
perour.

Schaffouse
subiect to
the Dukes of
Austria for 85
yeares.

wherewith it is (in a manner) enclosed. It falleth downe from a very great height, with such a dreadfull noyse, and remouing vp againe into the ayre so vehemently, that it maketh there a continuall fogge or myst. And for this cause, and the vncapableness of any Boats to passe there, all such as descend downe the Lake of *Constance*, and from *Cella* on the *Rhene*, are constrained to discharge at *Schaffouse*, which hath beene conceived by many, to giue that name to the City, to wit, of a *Squisse*, or of a Boate, which the Germanes call *Skiff*, or *Schiff*, thence to be termed *Schaffouse*. Neuertheless, the vulgar sort, taking vp a false etymologie of the word *Schaff*, which signifieth a Sheepe; haue grounded their opinion strongly thereon, and forged Armes also of the same nature. There is a great tole or custom gathered in this City, especially for the passage of Salt: which appertained in ancient times, and before the foundation of the City, to two Noble Families, to wit, of *Turn*, and of *Stad*, which remaine yet to this day at *Schaffouse*.



At the beginning, the principall dominion or sway of the City, belonged to the Abbot, who elected and chose one halfe of the Magistrates; but (by little and little) they exempted themselves from his gouernement, and obtained many good priuiledges and franchises of the Emperours. But *Lewes* of *Bauaria* (weakened by long warres) could not pay the Duke of *Austria*, such monies as he ought him, according to an agreement made betwene them, which caused him to alienate and sell *Schaffouse*, together with some other Townes, and so (by that means) it became dismembered from the Empire. After that time, *Schaffouse* remained subiect to the Dukes of *Austria*, for the space of fourescore and five yeares, euen vntill the councill of *Constance*: for then *Fredericke* of *Austria*, because hee brought Pope *Iohn* the two and twentieth out of the councill, was banished by the Emperour *Sigismond*, who caused him

to bee so narrowly pursued, that all his goods were partly pillied, and partly confiscated to the Empire, without any other meanes of helpe.

In this warre, *Schaffouse* became re-ruined to the Empire; and the citizens (hauing giuen a good summe of money, to the Emperour) obtained great priuiledges vnder Letters patens: and therein was plainly expressed, that (thence forward) their City should not any more be alienated from the Empire. But *Fredericke* the third, of the house of *Austria*, being Emperour: laboured to subiect it againe, and that the city of *Schaffouse* might remaine to his successors. And therefore hee permitted Duke *Sigismond*, to compell the citizens to sweare fidelity to him; which they refused to doe, but with exception of their priuiledges, and they would not receiue the Princes Ambassadors into the city, but vpon that condition. Contrariwise, the Ambassadors pressed them earnestly, to oblige themselves to the Prince, without any exception, and propounded certaine Articles, for the maintenance whereof, they required oath: threatening the citizens with very great harmes, if they would not yeelde to that which they demanded of them.

The men of *Schaffouse*, seeing the Ambassadors persist still in their opinion: to make good their owne parr, receiued the *Switzers* Ambassadors into their citie, and made alliance (for some yeares) with them of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*, so that the Ambassadors of *Austria* returned backe, and performed iust nothing.

Before this, they of *Schaffouse* were in good amity with the *Switzers*, and from the yeare, one thousand, three hundred, forty five, made alliance (for some time) with them of *Zurich*. But because they were subiects to the house of *Austria*, against whom, the *Switzers* had (well neere) continuall warres: they could not then entertaine firmly this amity, but were compelled, to go in war against the *Switzers*, vnder the Ensignes of the *Austrians*. But after this last alliance, they were very good and faithfull friends vnto the Cantons, and bare them company in many warres and battailes. For immediately after the alliance

Schaffouse v-
nited to the
empire againe,
and great pri-
uiledges gra-
ted thereto.

The Switzers
Ambassadors
received into
Schaffouse, &
alliance made
with them.

The Switzers
had continu-
all warre a-
gainst the
house of Au-
stria.

began: the *Austrians* came and assailed the *Switzers*, and namely them of *Schaffouse*.

The Cantons made war on *Sigismund* of *Austria*, by the Popes command.

The men of *Schaffouse* accused by *Peregrin de Hendorff*.

Inursions made on the *Austrians* lands, by them of *Schaffouse*.

A new alliance of *Schaffouse* for six years, made with the cantons.

(till then) had not any particular acquaintance.

The tenour of this alliance, is (almost) answerable to that of the ancient Cantons. For in the first place, they binde themselves to aide one another. Afterward, they establish a forme of judgement, for reconciling or auoyding such differences, as should happen between them of *Schaffouse* and the Cantons. Then followeth in what manner debts ought to be paid, & what meanes are to be vsed in such cases. Then for the punishment of homicides, or men-killers. The last Article concerneth the new & ancient alliances, to wit, the one side shall make no new alliance, without the will and consent of the other: And that the ancient alliances shall alwayes be esteemed of most advantage, & to preceede all the other.

After all this, the warre of *Bourgonne* hapned, and some yeares consequently, that of *Suba*, moued by the Emperour *Maximilian*, against the *Switzers*. In both these warres, they of *Schaffouse* did their duty exceeding well, furnishing men and money for the weale-publike: by which meanes, they entred into the good grace of the Cantons, much more then ever they did before, and wonne great honour. Also, the yeare after the last warre, to wit, 1501. they made perpetuall alliance with the *Switzers*, and were enrolled in number of the Cantons, obtaining the 12. ranke or roome.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the warres of the *Switzers*, since such time as they came to be in number of the Cantons, and making them twelue.

After that *Basile* and *Schaffouse* were numbred with the cantons, and that they were 12. during the alliance which they had made with King *Lewes* the 12. in the yeare, 1503. some among them (in great number) went for him in the war of *Naples*, without leaue neuertheless, and against the Edicts of their Magistrates. As the *Switzers* and *French* might brag of small happinesse, in the first warre of

A breake of the Articles and conditions of this alliance.

The Spaniards brought in first out of the Indies into Christendome, & bestowed it on the French, at the siege of *Naples*.

An honour to be made in the *Switzers*, not to beare arms against their Allie.

The Cardinal of *Sion* a warriour and capital enemy to the French

Wars in Italy, the French & *Switzers* not fortunate in the war of *Naples*.

Naples, vnder King *Charles* the eight: so their fortune proued little better in this last warre. They, who (during the first warre) were left in Garrisons, in strong places and Fortresses of the Kingdome; dyed of diseases for the most part. Such as escaped in this warre, in recompence of their traualle, brought home to their owne houses, that villainous contagion of the Pockes, which afterward was tearmed the Spanish disease, the *Neapolitane* cull, and the *French* Pockes: At the last war they were ouercome in two batailles, and lost a great number of their men. The yeare 1507. the Cantons sent succour vnto the King, who (by their meanes) made himselfe Master of the field, which the *Genewayes* had planted in a Mountaine, that commanded ouer their city, which (soon after) yielded it selfe.

At the same time, the Emperour *Maximilian* demanded men of the *Switzers*, and they promised him a leuue of 6000. men, provided, that he should not leade them against the King of *France*, their alie: but because he would not accept this condition, the leuue remained, and was not made.

Soone after, to witte, in the yeare 1509. the league of alliance betweene the King of *France* & the *Switzers*,ooke ending, and the Emperour, Pope *Iulius* the 2. the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, leagued themselves together, and made warre on the *Venetians*, wherein the *Switzers* serued the King of *France* for wages. The yeare following, Pope *Iulius* made alliance with the *Switzers*, by the meanes of *Matthew*, Cardinall of *Sion*, who immediately after the alliance concluded, led sixethousand *Switzers* into Italy; vnder pretence of defending the lands of the Church, against the Duke of *Ferrara*. But his true intent was, to surprize and expell the *French* out of *Milaine*. The *Switzers* hauing discovered his purpose, would not follow the Cardinall against the *French*, and their Lords had likewise forbidden them: so that the Pope sent them into *Suetia*, without paying them their wages, wherat they were very highly discontented.

In the yeare 1511. perpetuall alliance betweene the *Switzers*, the houses of *Austria* and of *Bourgonne*, was renewed. On the other side, the Ambassadors of *France* desired the *Switzers* to renew the alliance

with their King: but the most part of them were displeased, because so soone as the first alliance was expired, the King had denied them all their payes and yearly pensions.

And albeit that a very great number among them, were no found well-willers or friends to the Pope, who likewise had not payed them: yet notwithstanding, fearing lesse hee should excommunicate them, they durst not alie themselves with the King of *France*, who then was enemy to the Pope. Hereupon, hapned a disgrace to be done them by the *French*, for they had taken at *Lugano*, a Herald of the *Switzers*, with letters from the Seignieur about him: first, they drowned him, and to despight the *Switzers*, the Coate of Armes, which the Heralds and Officers to the Cantons vse to weare, they sold at open port-sale, or out-cry, as we commonly call it.

The *Switzers*, in the very strongest of winter, led their Army ouer the Alpes, where hauing burned some Villages, they returned backe againe, without performing any other memorable deed. But the yeare following, Pope *Iulius* (who had lost a great bataile at *Rauenna*, at encountering there with the *French*) called them to helpe him, and therefore they sent into Italy, an Army of twenty thousand me. They being ioyned with the *Venetians* (then reconciled to the Pope) tooke at their artiuall *Cremona* and *Paula*, driving the *French* out of the whole Dukedome of *Milaine*, so that nothing remained to them, but only the Castle of *Milaine*. In regard of these worthy exploits, the Pope gaue the *Switzers* the title, of *Defenders of the Church*; enriching their Standards with diuers Images, and publicly gaue to the whole Nation of the *Switzers*, two great Standards, which they call, *Paner*, that is, *The Sword and Bonnet*, as a noted mark of liberty. *Maximilian Sforza*, re-established in his paternall domination by the *Switzers* succour: made alliance with them, and gaue to the Cantons *Lugano*, *Locarno*, *Mendrisin*, and the Vale of *Madia*.

He gaue also to the *Grisons*, their confederates, the Vale *Telina* or *Volturna*. Likewise *Charles*, Duke of *Satouye*, whose predecessors had particular alliance (long time before) with some of the Cantons:

Z 2 made

The *Switzers* offended with the King of *France*, about their payes & pensions.

Great wrong done to an Officer of Armes.

The *Switzers* reuenged on the *French* in very notable manner, and called, *Defenders of the Church*.

The *Sword & Bonnet*, signes of liberty.

Great gifts bestowed on the Cantons.

made alliance with all the Switzers, for 25 years after following.

In the same year, the King of France solicited the Switzers, to become againe allied with them: but because hee would not set free the Caste of *Millaine*, and some discovery was made beside, that his Ambassadors laboured to corrupt some particulars by gifts, and to buy their voyces for faire money layde downe; they were commaunded to depart out of the Leagued countries; and so the warre was renewed again. For the King sent a great Army into *Italy*, under the conduct of the Lords of *Triunife* and *Trimouille*, who besieged *Maximilian Sforza* in *Novara*. Hee was then accompanied with foure thousand Switzers, to whose ayde, eight thousand more were sent. Their vanguard being arrived at *Novara*, and they within being ioyned with them, they gaue the battell to the French, vanquishing & drifiting them out of *Italy*. *Guichardin* the Italian, an Historian much renowned, writes that the Switzers won such honor by this victory, as many have made no difficulty in equalling this happy successe of theirs, with (almost) all the braue exploits of the Greekes and Romanes. Notwithstanding, the field was deere enough bought by them, because fourteen hundred Switzers were there slaine, and the most part of them by the Cannon, before that they could come to handye strokes. Which made the people of *Suetia* to murmur in many places, and all blame fell on them that tooke part with the French: so that diuers withdrew themselves from *Suetia* for a time onely, and two only had their heads smitten off in those mutinies and commotions: for the rest, all was well pacified, without any effusion of blood.

After this victory of the Switzers, the Emperor *Maximilian*, quitting the amity and alliance of the King: aduised the Switzers, to enter France by Bourgongn, with an army of six thousand men; where (wel-neere) sixteene thousande other voluntary ioyned themselves, together with some troopes of horse belonging to the Emperor, vnder the conduct of the

Prince of *Wirttemberg*. There they besieged *Dijon*, the capitall City of all Bourgongne. But the Loide of *Trimouille*, an olde Capitaine, being not of strength to defend well the place, agreed with the Switzers, on conditions, that the King should acquit whatsoeuer he pretended to the Dukedome of *Millaine*, and paye them (at certaine appointed times) fixe hundred thousand Crowns for assurance whereof, he gaue them foure Lordes of marke, as hostages, with whom the Switzers departed thence immediately.

Nowe, although it was a matter most palpable and notorious to all men, that this composition warranted the kingdom because that *Dijon* being taken, the Switzers might haue run vp so farre as to the gates of *Paris*, or ioyned themselves there with the English; and beside that king *Leues* hadde not a sufficient Army to make head against them; yet notwithstanding, he would not ratifie his composition. For he would not admit (by any meanes) that his rights to the Dukedome of *Millaine*, should be so much as talk of. The Switzers seeing themselves thus handled, and highly offended with such slye trickes: threatened to kill the Hostages, except the confirmation might be brought within a certaine time. Neuerthelesse, the winter grew extreame vpon them, and yet they refused to re-enter France in the month of Nouember: But the King sent his Ambassadors, who laboured (by all meanes) to make a perpetual peace with the Switzers. In the meane while, they could no way ioyn, because the conditions which the King propounded, were very unreasonable: which was the cause that the time spent it selfe in dayes and deliberations, in meere talke and friuolous disputes, whereby the enterprize of marching into France, was quite broken. Concerning the rest of these meetings and assemblies, they were thus considered on, that in the month of December, the same year, they of *Appenzel* were added to the Cantons number, and held the thirteenth place.

CHAP

*Dijon.

Meanes made to get the Switzers out of France.

The King of France refused the former composition agreed on by Treaty.

Much talking and nothing done.

Appenzel the 13. Canton.

The King of France is denied to be leagued with the Cantons.

The victory of the Switzers over the French at Novara, very famous.

An Armie of Switzers, by counsell of the Emperor, entered into France thorough Bourgongne.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Originall of Appenzell: how it took that name. The Lawes, Customs, & manner of gouernment there obserued.



Appenzel is the name both of a Country, and of a Village. The country is situated somewhat about S. Gall, between the high Mountains, and on the Frontiers of the Grisons country. The inhabitants liue (scatteringly) in Villages, and among the number of them, there are eight chiefe and principal, which haue euery one their Temple or parish church.

The maine head of all is the village of Appenzell, whereof all the rest of the countrey beareth name. This Countrey was sometimes vnder the gouernment of the Abbots of saint Gall, and because they alwaies vsed to dwell in the chiefe town or village, wher they builte a very strong Castle, named *Clawx*: the village was therefore cald Appenzel, which in Latine is, *Abbatis Cella*: that is to say, *The Chamber or dwelling of the Abbot*.

The people of Appenzel aimed at liberty, first by armes, and after peace made, they bought liberty for themselves & their children, by meanes of a great sum of money, which they paid to the Abbot. They had wars which continued seuen yeares, against *Cuno de Stouffen*, Abbot of S. Gall; to whom the towines about the Lake of *Constance*, and belonging to *Frederick D. of Austria*, the bishoppe of *Constance*, the Count of *Wirttemberg*, & many Counts & Gentlemen gaue succour. Yet they of Appenzel would not yeild themselves for all this, but being ayded by the Citizens of S. Gall (who at the beginning, were partakers with the Abbot, but afterward ioined with them of Appenzel, won som battels, tooke fise Townes, and more then sixty Castles, part whereof were quite ruined. In this war, they leagued themselves with the Switzers, who were enemies vnto the

house of *Austria*. Some say, that they allyed themselves with *Suits* and *Claris* onely; but others doe maintaine, that it was with *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suites*, and *Vauderwald*. This Warre tooke ending in the yeare, 1408. and by meanes of the Emperour *Emper*, agreement was made between them of Appenzel and their enemies, in the City of *Constance*.

This being done, the men of Appenzel framed a forme of gouernment to themselves, which yet they hold vnto this day. For till then, each village had her ensigne, and her estates apart, or by it selfe. Now there was but one Ensigne, one assembly of their estates, and one Council, composed of the most honest people, and the notable persons in all the Villages throughout the countrey. Then three yeares after the peace was made, the Abbot of Saint Gall attempted a new suite against them: but then they made alliance with *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Vauderwald*, *Zug*, & *Clar*, which so offended the Abbots of Saint Gall, as, about the yeare one thousand foure hundred twenty fise, *Henric Mansdorf* (then Abbot) prevailed so far, that they of Appenzel were proscribed by the Emperour, and excommunicated by the Pope. Banishment was no great hurt, or inconuenience to them in any manner whatsoeuer, because the countrey (being round engirt with Mountaines, and not Trafficking almost with any bodie) no inuasion could bee made vpon them. As concerning the excommunication sent from the Pope, they refused in an assembly of all the countrey, not any way to care for it. And therefore they expelled all the priests (that obserued the command of the Pope) out of their Countrey, and would not permit them to administer the Sacraments: amongst all which they killed but one.

The Abbot of Saint Gall, perceiving that this course did him not any seruise; and that (on the other side) the men of Appenzel ranne verie fiercely vpon such, as durst teagme them to be excommunicate, and ruined the Castles of manie Gentlemen. Finally, by helpe of the Bishoppe of *Constance*, and the Noblemen of *Sabab*, hee accused them before the Electours of the Empire, imploring theyr helpe and aide in this extremitie. The Electours sent to the Switzers, and to

Their league with the Switzers.

Their forme & manner of their order and gouernment, first by themselves, and afterwards in due fashion.

People are banished & excommunicated, because they maintain their countries liberty.

The Abbot of S. Gall appeales to the Electours.

Z 3 the

The Switzers
would not
war on their
neighbours.

the Cities of *Susa*, that they should bring them of *Appenzell* vnder obedience. But the *Switzers* would not make any war on their neighbours and fellow citizens: but rather laboured to make peace, which was agreed on foure yeares after this ex-communication, the men of *Appenzell* hauing bene (before) overcome in two encounters, by the Count of *Toggenbourg*.

Warre made
vpon the No-
ble-men by
them of Ap-
penzell.

This peace lasted not long, for the Gentlemen, neighbours to *Appenzell*, about the Lake of *Constance*, assembled a great number of horsemen, wherewith to invade them of *Appenzell*. But they disappointed their hope, and got before them; possessing themselves of *Rineck*, & of the Vale of *Rhegnsee*, in the year, 1445. The Lords of *Hagenwil*, who helde that country in pawne or pledge: caused them of *Appenzell* to be censured with banishment, by the Imperiall Chamber established at *Rotwil*. But gaining nothing by the bargaine, they solde them their right, for the summe of fixe thousand crowns, and tooke off the censure. In the year, 1452. they made perpetuall alliance with seauen of the Cantons, and (after that time) ioyned themselves with the *Switzers*, in the warres against the Dukes of *Austria*, of *Bourgonie*, and the league of *Susa*, wherein they shewed themselves both faithfull and valiant. Afterward, in the yeare, 1513. they were receiued into the number of the Cantons.

When anger
helps not, pa-
tience must
preuaile.

Appenzell re-
ceiued into
the Cantons.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning the alliance made betwene the five last Cantons; And a breuiste of their Articles, binding them together in confederacy.



ALL the latter cantons, except *Rafle*, long time before their receiuing into this ranke, were allied to the other ancient Cantons, and then afterward, at sundry times they were receiued and numbered with the cantons,

according as wee haue noted already.

Now those Cantons doe hold this right about their confederates, that they deliberate, and giue aduice in their dayes of consultation, for all occasions concerning (in common) the common-wealth of the *Switzers*. They haue a share or part, in all commodities and discommodities of the comminality. They gouerne (in equall authority) all the Baluicks by them obtained, and partake equally and publicly, all booties gotten in warre. For the rest, the Articles of alliance of the old Cantons, and latter with the first, are almost alike.

The first and principall Article, concerneth mutuall succour or assistance, wherein there are diuersity of clauses. The Cantons which shall be called, ought to succour their associate or companion, without any fraud or delay. If a Canton be so suddenly engirt by the enemy, as he cannot call the other, neither by Letters nor Ambassadors; yet shall not they forbear (for all that) from giuing succour, and in as speedy manner, as if they had receiued expresse aduertisement. If the latter Cantons doe conceiue, that a wrong is done vnto them; yet notwithstanding, they shall moue no war against any person, without the will and consent of the olde Cantons. If their enemies will debate their cause in iustice, and accept the *Switzers* for their Iudges, or others of equall and indifferent iudgement: the Canton may not attempt to pursue his right by Armes. Euery one of the Cantons, at their owne charge and expences, shall come to succour the other, and send such numbers of men as they would haue, and according as they shall see it commodious, wherewith the other Canton must content it selfe. In like manner, the limits are prescribed, wherein the auncient Cantones stand bound to send helpe to the new: And the limits are the confines of the Cantons, as they then stand. There is likewise mention made, concerning charges and expences, at the besiedging and battering of Townes and Castles. And the Lawes agreed vpon at *Stantz*, touching the partage of booties, which also are herein confirmed.

The second Article declareth, what kinde

What rights
and priuile-
ges belong
to the Can-
tons.

Articles of al-
liance of the
latter cantons
with the first.

The limits
on & bounds
of succour to
be sent.

Of differen-
ces betweene
two Cantons
or many.

No subjects of
one Canton
to be entre-
tained by an-
other Canton.

An especiall
suetie of the
conditions
most materiall

kinde of course is to be obserued, if a difference do happen betweene two Cantons or many: But wee shall speake in our second Booke, what forme of iudgement is in the case to be kept. Moreover, there is mention made, concerning actions in cases of injuries betweene particulars, and what Iudges they are to take note of in that kind. Then for the exacting of names: Concerning commerce, and free Traffike, and what bargaining ought to stand free for buyers, as well on one part as the other. That no Canton shall receiue the citizens and subjects of another Canton: till they be first left at liberty, by them vnder whose dominion they were before. That the new Cantons shall not make alliance with any whosoever, without consent of the olde Cantons. If war is moued betweene the old Cantons, the latter shall remaine as newters, and labour onely to agree the parties. Each Canton shall keepe his or her ancient priuiledges, rights, and customes in their true integrity.

Behold the principall conditions of the latter alliances, wher namely it is decreed that the new Cantons shall not moue any warre, without aduice of the old, neyther refuse that which is right, nor any honest condition of the country, and other such like things, concerning warre, are established fully. And because that the most part of the latter Cantons, are vpon the limits and euen out (as it were) of *Smetia*; they ordained, that no one shoulde attempt to make any warre, except it were for some matter of very great importace: and so much the rather, because it is very hard to conduct and maintaine an army in those quarters.

CHAP. XVI.

Here we are to speake of the Switzers wars in Italy, when the French undertooke to recover the Dukedome of *Milaine*, &c.

The death of
Lewes, the 12
K. of France,
after whom
succeeded
Frances de
Valois.



N the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, five hundred, & fiftene, King *Lewes* the twelfth dyed. He had newly fought by

his Ambassadors, the amity and alliance of the *Switzers*. Neuerthelesse, in the meane time, he made great preparation for war, pretending to recover the dukedome of *Milaine*. *Frances de Valois*, his kinsman, and his sonne in law, came after him (as successor) to his crown; who following the deliberation of his father, had also his minde and eye fixed on the *Milaneses*. The *Switzers* (on the other side) allied with the Emperour *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, *Sforza* Duke of *Milaine*, and with Pope *Leo* the tenth: undertooke to defend *Milaine* against the French. Wherefore, after they vnderstood the King of France his preparation they sent (at their first leuy) six thousand men to the Duke of *Milaine*. Afterward, the tenth of Iune, they made another leuy of 13000. men, which they sent also to ioyne with the first.

King *Frances* passed ouer the *Alpes* in the meane while, by vnaccustomed waies, shunning the Garrisons of the *Switzers*, which were vpon the vusual passages, and entred into *Italy*, with an Armie verie potent, of French and Germanes. This was the reason that the Cantons sent twelue thousand men more thereto, so that the campe of *Switzers* onely, consisted of one and thirty thousand men. Now, although the Kings troopes were well provided and reloued, yet they would not hazard any thing, nor set vpon so great an Army of *Switzers* as being such indeed as hardly (at any one time) had so manie euer before bene in the field. Here vpon by their Deputies, they began to treat on peace with the Colonels of the *Switzers*: who likewise (for their part) were not far off from it in disposition, because they considered, that their confederated princes did not march on roundlie with them.

For first of al, their wages was not paid them, according to promise. Moreover the Emperour had not sent his companies of horsemen, as he stood bound to do by the confederacy. And contrarywise, he had not prohibited the *Lance-Knights* (which hee might haue done in regard of his authority) from going in seruice with the King: but suffered them (by troopes) to depart from Germany, and enter into France. Finally, although the forces of the Pope and King of *Spaine* were neere-

The Switzers
attempt to
guard Milan
against the
French.

The Camp of
Switzers, was
31000 men in
number, and
neuer so ma-
ny of them
seene before
in the field at
one time.

Reasons indu-
cing the Swit-
zers to listen
to peace when
it was moued.

yet notwithstanding, they could hardlie be perswaded to passe the *Pas*, and ioine themselves with the *Switzers*. Beside, there were messengers going and coming betweene the French and them, & from them to the French. Wherefore, the *Switzers* seeing themselves without money, and forsaken of their Confortes: made peace in the village of *Galleras*, with the Deputies to the King of France, vnder honest conditions. Which having bene confirmed by some Cantons, immediately twelve thousand *Switzers* took their way to *Coma*, and returned home to their country, without tarrying for the rest, who likewise prepared to depart the next morning. But the Duke of *Millaine* would not accept the conditions of this peace; and the Cardinall of *Sion*, (a great and perpetuall enemy to y French) laboured by oblique meanes, to break & frustrate all.

It came to passe, that by cunning tricks and ployes, the thirteenth day of September, the *Switzers* of the Guard to the Duke of *Millaine*, and some others beside offended with the King, in the night time brake in vpon the French, sending worde instantly to aduertise their companions, in what danger they were, and incited their present succour. The other, imagining that it would be a great shame vnto them, to forsake their friends in such a neede, and being made to belecue with all, that the French had begunne this boyle, went with all their troopes to assist them. The fight was very sharp on all sides; but the night parted them. In this charge was slaine *Frances*, the Lorde of *Bourbon*, the Lord of *Imbercourt*, also the Count of *Sancerre*, the Prince of *Talemand*, sonne to the Lorde of *Trimoille*, the Lords of *Bussy d'Amboise*, and manie other: which made some to holde opinion, that the *Switzers* were Maisters in this conflict, and a brute ran thorow *Italy*, that they remained conquerours. But the very same night, the King hauing mounted his Artillerie on their carriages, leuelled the battalions of the Gascoignes and Germaines, re-assembling the horsemen of their Regiments, and sending *Bertolomeo d'Aluiana* with the Armie of Venetians: very early in the Morning, he gaue battaile to the *Switzers*, whom he vanquished, after they had lost manie

of their men.

The *Switzers* seeing the victory in a contrary hand, withdrew them-selves to *Millaine*; yet in such sort, that their retreat fauoured not of flight. For, they brought backe the Artillery which came out of *Millaine*, and marched in ranke of battaile, hauing their wounded Men in the midst among them, and going but a very softly pace: yet in all the French Army, not a man, eyther Horse or Foot, durst pursue them. On the morrow, hauing left the Duke of *Millaine* fiftene hundred men, to strengthen his garrison in the Castle, they returned into *Swetia*, by the way of *Coma*. But, by reason of their foile, the French recovered the dukedom of *Millaine*.

The Emperour *Maximilian* contested hardly to take it from them againe, & the yeare following, he ledde into Italy (to effect that hope) an army of Germans and *Switzers*: but he could doe nothing, and so was glad to come backe again immediately. As for the King of France, hauing well felt how deare a price this victory cost him: he neuer ceased till hee hadde made peace and alliance with the *Switzers* in the end. Perpetuall peace, betwene the French and the *Switzers*, was made in the yeare one thousand, five hundred, and eightene, the last day of November: and the alliance was confirmed three yeares after, to wit, in Anno one thousand, five hundred, twentie and one. The Articles both of the peace and alliance, are set downe in their due place, heereafter following.

CHAP. XVII.

A Discourse, concerning the Alliance of the Switzers, with the King of France.



T that very time, all the Cantons, Zurich onely excepted, made Alliance with the King of France. And, although they of Zurich were ear-

The retreat of the Switzers backe to Millaine.

The Dukedom of Millaine recovered by the French.

Perpetuall peace betwene the Switzers and the French.

The men of Zurich were peacefully minded, and little giuen to warre.

Taxations imposed vpon the new league

Certaine reasons why the men of Zurich refused to be allied with the king of France

The allegations of Huldreich Zuinglius, why Christian men should not make themselves hye-lings in warre.

Chap. 17.

Alliance with the K. of France.

nefly sollicited by the rest, to ioine in this league with them: yet for all that, they could neuer bring them to the point of yeelding to this alliance. In the first place, the yeares going before, *Mathen*, Cardinall of *Sion*, who came verie often to Zurich: by his Orations and perswasive speeches, had wholly estranged them from the French. On the other side, *Huldreich Zuinglius*, being then a principal minister at Zurich, in his ordinary preaching and Sermons, ceased not to turne the people, from taking wages to goe in warre seruices. Shewing by arguments & remonstrances of great weight, that it was not lawfull for a Christian man, to set himselfe to sale for a price of money, and go shed the blood of such as are (oftentimes) innocents, and neuer did him any manner of wrong. He sayd, they ought to follow the manners of the ancient *Switzers*, who (by their manhood) had planned liberty in their country. All which while, they wholly estranged themselves from such course of liuing, their liues wer maintained by their trauell; neuer binding themselves vnto any Prince, neither hadde they any freedome that was to be sold.

And as hee had words verie readie at command; so he approved by great store of sound reasons and arguments, that such alliances did but enserue & meerely prostitute the liberty of the Switzers to forraigne Kings and Princes. So that the men of Zurich, being (otherwise) people of peace, and little addicted to martial affaires; were much moued with his speeches, and abhorred this new League. On the other side, the Captaines that hadde bene in the warres in the times of King *Charles* the eight, and *Lewes* the eleuenth, dissuaded them from the league, as being farre vnlike to the alliances with former Kings. For, in precedent times, after that the *Switzers* had well vnderstood & comprehended the occasion of the war; they made choise of such Captaines and soldiers as they should send to the king, according to their promise. But in the New League, the Cantons neither chose Captaines nor Soldiers, neither cared what became of all, what the occasions of the warre were, nor whether they were iust, or no. But, if the King were to deale with any people, he chose such Captaines

of the Switzers as himselfe pleased, and caused them to come whether he thought good. By which meanes, the Cantons had not any power ouer their Men for warre, except they might counter-mand them, when any warre was moued in the country.

Moreover, many saide, that this new League was contrary to the ancient and perpetuall alliances of the *Switzers*. For, in the first Article they stand bounde, to guard all the Prouinces of France, against all enemies whatsoever they are. True it is, that the first alliances were exempted, but immediately is added, that if the ancient allies begin to make warre vpon the French, the Cantons ought to fend succour to the King, against the other: whereon ensued (as it seemeth) that if any one of the Cantons, or of the Confederates, could not haue reason (in friendly manner) of the King of France, and would pursue his right by Armes; the other Cantons are bound to warre on him, according to the new League, and contrarie to the promises of the ancient alliances.

Moreover, it is not any long time, since the Switzers denied their troopes to the Emperour *Maximilian*, alleading (for their excuse, because he would haue had them serue at his Coronation) that they were occasioned (for many reasons) to keepe their men of warre (as then) at home in their owne country. Therefore it appeared to them verie vnfitting, that they should then allye themselves with the King, who would make a Leuye of them, so soone as the alliance was concluded.

They conceyued also, that it would be farre off from their ancient grauity and magnanimity, if they should league themselves so stricktly with the King of France; of whom (but a yeare and an half before) they had written vnto the Electors of the Empire; that it was no way expedient that he should govern the affaires of Germanie, so that if he should be elected Emperour, they were not minded to giue him obedience. And, as concerning the commodities of the alliance, which many did make lowd proclamations of: there were others of opinion, that the profite would fall into some particular purses, and especially of such, as enriched themselves by the pensions of France; but the Com-

Articles concerning the ancient and perpetuall Alliances of the Switzers.

The Switzers denyed their troopes to the Emperour Maximilian, and vpon what cause.

The Switzers denied obedience to the King of France: hee were chosen Emperour.

monwealth of the *Switzers* would be no way benefited by the bargain, as very easily was to be proved.

For in the first place, the country had no need of any strange horsemen or infantry, having worke enough to doe in nourishing their owne breed for that employment. Moreouer, the hope of helpe, and money from *France*, robbed the *Switzers* of all their true force and courage. In following the example of their predecessors, they were best to let their hope leane and rest vpon God, to serue and honour him in sincerity of heart, and vprightnesse of conscience. That not onely hope in God, would faile and diminish by such a League, but also it was to be feared, that it would very strongly break and corrupt their ancient manners, cause all husbandry to cease, giue ouer honest trades and exercises, and engender nothing but idleness. And then is easily known what followeth dissolution in diet and apparrell, drunkenness, whoredomes, adulteries, thefts, and blasphemies. For these are the fruites of warre, and the Arts that are learned in the armies of strange Princes.

For a small conclusion, the euent and successe of precedent alliances, haue both instructed and guarded many (especially the men of *Zurich*) to weigh well & consider on nouell combinations. For, albeit that some fewe did sufficient seruice to the nation, as that which was made against the Duke of *Bourgongne*: yet notwithstanding, the most part of those alliances, brought it into great extremities. Because in such strange warres they lost many of their people: or els in those countries, they were rudely hurried and agitated, by factions and seditions. For these reasons, and diuers other considerations, the inhabitants of *Zurich* could not (as then) be induced to ally themselves with the King of *France*.

But the other confederates, who were not of any such opinion, maintaine what they did, by reasons enow. First, they declared, and would prouoe it, that euery voyage in war was not condemned by the word of God: but that many holie persons had made wars; wherein they were aided and succoured by others, as in like manner they had assisted their Allies. Secondly, that the war of the *Switzers* was not mercenary nor vendible; because

they went to the seruice of a King onely, (with whom they were ioynd by an honest alliance) with the will and consent of their Lords.

Thirdly, that if the King should moue a warre, which all men knew to be vniust; then it remained in the power of the Lords of the Leagues, to deny him succour. But if the occasion were doubtfull and vncertaine: the souldier had nothing to doe to make any curious inquisition thereof: it only appertained to the King and his Councell, to render a reason for it. Fourthly, that the *Switzers* Countrey was greatly peopled, but narrow, hard, & barren in many places, and could not furnish for many men with nourishment: wherefore the commodity was not to be condemned, which the King had offered voluntarily.

To these we will adde, that the *Switzers* ought to consider, with what neighbors they were enclosed, from wherof enuyed them, and others pryed into their Liberties: so that it was both well and wisely done, to fortifie themselves with strange succour against them, and that trust and hope in God, did not prohibit the vse of humane assistance. Also, this was a means to traine vp the *Switzers* in martiall discipline, which is necessary for all Commonwealths: and in regard wherof, warlike people haue euermore bene highly respected. Finally, although that some alliances haue discommodited the Countrey; yet notwithstanding, the *Switzers* haue sped well in the more part, especially, in those which they had with the kings *Lewes* the eleuenth, *Charles* the eight, and *Lewes* the twelfth. And therefore they must needs expect a happy yssue of this which they contracted with a King powerfull & fortunate.

This was the discourse then made concerning aliance with the Frenches: I learned of my predecessors, which liued in those times. The selfsame question hath bene often and seriously debated & handled, euen in my time, by men well grounded in the affaires of State, to whome (as yet) I referre the further knowledge of the case.

The *Switzer* Countrey doth red with plenty of uery barren.

Martiall discipline was necessary for all Commonwealths.

of



Of them that are Allyed and Leagued with the CANTONS.

And first, The Abbot of Saint Gall. CHAP. XVIII.



Another Discourse of the Author, concerning the allies in particular manner.

hitherto wee haue shewne what the Cantons & confederates are, making vp a whole body of the *Switzers* Commonwealth, and what hath bene the estate and condition of euery one of them before they were leagued. Also, for what causes, at what times, and with what conditions they assembled themselves in a body politike. Now we will discourse of the associates of this Commonwealth, according to the same order: and we will heere shew, wherefore, when, and vpon what conditions they allyed themselves with the Cantons. And because the City of *Saint Gall* was the first ranke, wee purpose to begin with them.



The City of *Saint Gall* took the name at first of one Gallus, a Gentleman of *Scotland*.

Gallus, the City of *Saint Gall*, was named, after the name of *Scotland*, or Scholl, named *Colman*, who came into France, and thence transported himselfe into Germany, to a place called *Tuggen*, neere to the River named *Limagus*, at the mouth of the Lake of *Zurich*. There he preached the Gospel with great zeale and affection, to the people of the Countrey, then bewitched with diuers kindes of Idolatry. Hee continued (soone after) at *Bregents*, at the mouth opening of the Lake of *Constance*: next, at *Arbonna*, and in diuers other places of

Swetia, for the space of sixteene years, or thereabout. *Conzo* Duke of *Swabia*, hauing called him to bee Bishopp of *Constance*; he would not accept that charge: but counselled the Duke to giue it to one of his schollers, named *Iohn*, whom hee thought to be more fit for the place. As for himselfe, about the yeare six hundred and thirty, he retired into the Mountaines, about the Lake of *Constance*, into a very solitary place; and in the very same plot or square of ground, where the Cite and Abbey of *S. Gall* now standeth: hee builded a little Cell or house, wherein he spent the rest of his dayes, with some of his schollers, in the studie and meditation of holy matters.

After the death of *S. Gall*, his schollers liked well to liue in that place, and according to his manner of life: neuertheless, without making profession then of any certaine rule or order. But the Kings of *France*, and the Dukes of *Swabia*, taking delight in their deuotion, did them many kinde Offices: where by the number of these religious men encreased, & (by little and little) the small silly house of *Saint Gall*, became conuerted into an Abbey. For fourescore yeares after the death of *S. Gall*, they requested Counte *Bertrand*, Governor of the countrey for the Kings of *France*, that hee would giue them an Abbot. He sent them a Priest, named *Omer*, bred and brought vp in a Colledge, called *Coire* of the Grisons, and towards *Pepin*, Prince of *France*, to come to *Charles Martell*: who following the aduice of his father, established this Priest the first Abbot of *Saint Gall*, and then (first of all) the Monkes made profession of the rule of *S. Benedict*.

Gallus refused to be bishopp of *Constance*, and preferred one of his schollers to it.

The death of *S. Gall*, & succession of his schollers, and his little house becoming an Abbey.

Omer a priest the first Abbot of *S. Gall*.

As

Arguments very confidently alleged by the *Switzers*, against joining in League with the King of *France*.

The fruites of war in forraign Princes seruices.

Some former examples were not altogether warrantable.

Arguments for alliance of the *Switzers* with the King of *France*, against those formerly alleged by the City of *Zurich*.

After that time, the abbey became verie rich and powerfull, so that the Abbot of that place, was sette in number of the Princes. And in ancient times, he was vnder protection of the Emperours, who tooke the Gentlemen of *Suaba* to be Governors of this abbey. Afterward, warre being kindled betweene the Abbot, and them of *Appenzel*: the Monkes well perceived that their Conuent stood in neede of some good Protectours, because the Townefmen or Cittizens of *S. Gall*, who were (as within the abbey) ioyned with them of *Appenzel*, who were also fauored by many seruants of the Abbot.

For this cause *Gaspard de Landberg*, then the two and fiftieth Abbot (by the aduice and counsell of the Monkes) requested the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Suites*, and *Glaris*, to receiue him into their alliance: establishing them patrons, fathers, & defenders of his freedom, & of all his goods, possessions, vñances, and priuiledges. This right is perpetuall, and at all times, and as often as a new Abbot is to be elected; hee promisseth this accord, and that al the places of this Seigneury, shall alwayes lye open to these foure Cantons, and they to haue free access thither. And if difference shall happen between him and any other: he shall commit it (continually) vnto the hearing of the foure Cantons, and be iudged by them.

The successour to *Landberg*, named *Huldreich*, and fir-named *Le Roux*, added to this first alliance, that the foure Cantons should send (one after another) one of their Councell, that should remayne two yeares with the Abbot, to bee Capitaine of all his country. He gaue assistance in pleadings and iudgements, & the morty of all fines remained to the Switzers. Moreover, it was ordained in this alliance, that in all warres the Abbots subiects should goe to the succour of the 4. Cantons. As concerning that which Abbot *Huldreich* renewed, and the League also, ioyning himselfe more strictly vnto the foure Cantons, the cause was thus. Sometime before, the Cittizens of *Saint Gall*, they of *Appenzel*, and the subiects of the Abbot, had conspired together, and ruined the abbey of *Rosach*, which the Abbot had newly builded. So that the foure Cantons hauing sent for the other Cantons to their assistance, defeated the Abbot in his rites,

and reprooued his aduersaries very stoutly. This association endureth yet to this day, and although al the Cantons are not at agreement with the Abbot, as concerning matter of Religion; yet notwithstanding, according vnto the articles of alliance, they send him a Capitaine, who manageth and gouerneth ciuill causes, conseruing (in this regard) the rights and priuiledges of the Abbot.

Covenants of alliance kept, though not in Religion all alike.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Towne or City of S. Gall.

THE Cittie of *Saint Gall*, oweth her original and encreasing to the Abbey, and hath bene enfranchised by the Emperours, who vnted it to the Empire, and gaue it many priuiledges and immunities. In the time of the Emperour *Arnould*, the citie began first to be enclosed with walles: as fearing the courses and surprizals of the *Hungarians*, and both it and the Couent were vnder the Empires protection. The citie was subiect vnto the Abbey in many things: meane while, the citizens had their rites, which they augmented by their industry, & by means of the Emperors liberalities.

Now, when the number of citizens, and the riches of the Abbey beganne to increase: many debates and contentions also rooke Original, betweene the abbot and the citizens. Oftentimes, the Townes round about the citie, and the Imperial chancery, set them at agreement again. Sometime likewise, they were glad to satisfie the Abbots demands with money, and encreased their liberties, by buying their rights of him. But when they of *Appenzel* moued warre against Abbot *Cuno de Stouffen*, the men of *S. Gall* beganne to take part with the Abbot, and got nothing for their labour but blowes, which caused them (soone after) to make alliance with them of *Appenzel*. This warre being ended, and some other after, abbot *Landberg*, being made a fellow-Bourgesse with

The Abbey began and decreed the city of S. Gall.

Wealth and ease are the first causes of strifes & civil contention.

1500 men present at one banquet.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Leagued Grifons.



IT is generally agreed on that the people of the Grifons are very ancient. For some ages before the birth of our Saviour Iesus Christ, the Tuscans being driven from their houses by the Gauls they possessed the Alpes, vnder conduct of their captain, named *Rhatius*, for whose sake they called themselves *Rhatians*. Heretofore this country extended it selfe greatly in length & largenes, so that the Roman Emperours made two *Rhatian* Provinces, named the first & second *Rhatia*: which comprehended not onely the Alpine regions, but also a great part of *Suaba* & *Banaria*. Now it is well knowne, that this first *Rhatia* beginneth at 4 soures of *Rheine*, & taketh a sufficient great quarter of the Alpes, and all the valleyes on both the sides. Almost all the people ther are (to this day) called Grifons; and in former times they were teamed *Gris*: as likewise the *Allmains* gaue them the same name, & call them betide, *Strawpundter*, that is to say, *Leagued Grifons*. For, in regard that these *Rhatians* are Leagued, not onely with the Switzers, but also among themselves, and that of verie long

Concerning the antiquitie of the Grifons, beinge sometimes called Rhatians, of the captain Rhatius.

Diueritie of names giuen to the people of Rhatia.

time, we call them *Leagued Grifons*, & some times the Switzers names them simply, *Pundter*, that is, Confederates.

Wee are to obserue three leagues of the Grifons. The first tooke name of her antiquity, and of the situation of the country: for they called it, *The High League*, or *high Grifons*. It containeth nineteene Communities or Fellowshippes, among whom (heretofore) the Abbot of *Disentis*, and the Baron of *Rhatia*, & the Count of *Misauk* held the chiefe rank;

but the families of the 2. latter are expired. Neuerthelesse, among them in common, they which possesse the Castle of the ancient Barons of *Rhatia*, are called Lords of *Rhatians*, a title which (some

short while after) the Lordes of *Marbrée* took, and after them, they which are named *Plantes*. They of *Tauferscher*, *Linimer*, and *Masoxertal* are the principall people of this league.

The second is called, *The League of Gods house*. I thinke it to be so termed, because the bythop of *Coire* is comprized in this league. It also comprehendeth nineteene Communities; two whereof doe speake the Germane Language; the other, vñe the *Rhatian* or *Grifon*, which is their mother tongue, & cometh neere to the Italian. The principall people of this league are the city of *Coire*, which is the bishops See. Also they of *Pregaul* and of *Engadin*, out of which countries run two renowned riuers, to wit, *Etich* and *Imn*.

The third league hath ten Communities, and is called, *The League of ten Iurisdiccions*. Therein are comprized them of *Rhuchenberg*, and of *Tunlesch*. The former two leagues had (at the beginning) amity and alliance a certaine time, vñth the Cantons neere to them. For, in the yeare, 1419. the bythop, the Chapter, & the citie of *Coire*, made Alliance vñth them of *Zurich* for one and fiftie yeeres. Also, they were sometimes allyed vñth them of *Glaris*. And the Grifons of the high league, wer long time confederated with them of *Vri*. Then after, with them of Gods house they made a perpetuall alliance vñth feauen of the Cantons. But the thirde League is not comprized in this alliance, and yet notwithstanding do

Three feuerall Leagues of the Grifons:

1. The High League, or high Grifons.

2. The League of gods house or of the Hospitall.

3. The League of ten iurisdiccions.

Seuerall all iñances, & at feuerall times.

The Abbot of S. Gal desires to be receiued into the number of 4. Cantons, and to bee ordered by them.

Landberg the Abbot being dead, Huldreich fir-named the Red, succeeded after him.

Abbot Huldreich renewed the league with the foure Cantons, and more strictly.

Alliance of the Grisons with the Switzers, and vpon what occasions.

A great difference between the league of Gods-houfe, and them of Tyrol.

The Grisons depu- te two of each league for ending their cause.

Cunning- erie, and fit for such to vie, as desire to oppresse the peoples liberty.

entertaine this amity and society with the confederates, euen as firmly and faithfully, as if they stood solemnly bound thereto.

First then, in the year 1497. the high league, more properly called, *The Grison league*, made perpetuall alliance with seauen Cantons: and the year following, the league of *Gods-houfe* ioyned it selfe with them, by this occasion following. Some yeares before, the league of *Gods-Houfe* had had certaine great differences, with the dwellers in the county of *Tyrol*. In the end, by the will of the Emperour *Maximilian*, it was decreed; that the parties should chuse an equal number of Iudges, to take knowledge of their variance, and that *Thomas*, Bishop of *Constance*, should be Arbitrator about all the Iudges. But while the Councellers to the King delayed to end this discord, the Bishop of *Constance* dyed: and in his stead, *Maximilian* subrogated *Fredericke*, Bishop of *Ansbouze*. But the Kings councellers taking no knowledge of this other Arbitrator, prolonged (from day to day) the decision of the suite, as before they had done: all this while molesting the *Grisons* and charging them full with nouell impositions.

They perceiving no cessation, depu- ted two of each league, and sent to *Innspruck*, insisting that this difference should end, according to the order of the Emperour *Maximilian*. Which the councellers pretended not to know, albeit diuers of them, and (among the rest) the chancellor was present when the decree was set downe. Yet notwithstanding, because the Deputies should not be sent backe without answer; they assigned a day at *Velcure* in Lent the next yeare ensuing. In the meane while, they of *Austria* planted Garrisons vpon the Frontiers, and strong Artillery in diuers places, making (vnder hand) their preparation for warre. For they had appointed that day exprefly, because they would fet vpon them at vn- awares, & verily ouerthrow the *Grisons*, no way standing on their guard: where- in the Bishop of *Caire* lent his helping hand to them of *Austria*. But the league of *Gods-Houfe*, hauing discovered the enemies intent; sent men to the cantons, who kept then a day at *Zurich*, and gaue them to vnderstand this eminent danger.

The Ambassadors declared, that beside the olde quarrels, new differences were moued, betwene them of *Austria* and the Switzers, so that there grew an appearance of warre: therefore for the profit & security both of the Switzers & Grisons, it seemed good, that they should be allied together. For by that meanes, the *Grisons* should easily expell the enemy out of their country: although they gaue them but little ayde, or almost none at all. On the other side, the Switzers should haue a Bulwarke to back them, and so might the more strongly make head against the enemy. The Cantons, who had bin well affected to the *Grisons* before, and knew those Mountaine-bred men, to bee a warlike disposed people, and how beneficiall this alliance would be both to the one and other: concluded and established a perpetuity of loue with the *Grisons*, in the year 14. 8. and the Moneth of December, and the Articles of the alliance are these that follow.

The Articles of alliance, betwene the Switzers and the Grisons.

1. First, that they shall be friends, & giue mutual succour one to another.
2. The second Article concerneth the agreeing of differences, which may happen betwene confederates.
3. The third is, that no man shall giue or sell away, those actions that he hath against his debtor, or the answerer, or surety for him.
4. The fourth concerneth retailles, according to one anothers trading: And to bee freely in the Markets, without standing bound to pay any new tributes.
5. That neither the one nor other side, shall make any new alliance, wherein these Articles shall be comprised, but with exceptions: And that in times of warre, the one side shall not make peace, except the other be therein comprehended also.

These are the Articles and principall points of the alliance. But the yeare following, the warre of *Suaba* happened, wherein the *Grisons* valiantly defended their Frontiers, against the men of *Austria*. And by the ayde of their people, many times in like manner, and by the assistance of the Switzers, diuers braue batailles were

An offer of alliance betwene Switzers and Grisons.

A personal league of loue with the Grisons.

For friendship and assistance.

No lending debts.

For food and trading.

For new alliances, & mingling of parts.

New troubles hapned by the warre of Suaba.

Peace made in the city of Basle, for the Switzers and Grisons.

John Iaques de Medicis, Marquisse of Marignano.

The Grisons allied with the French.

A description of Valais or Valois.

* A Lake of the Allobroges by Geneva and Lausanna.

The Bishop of Siens is Count and Governor of Valais or Valois.

were wonne against the enemy. Yet after these victories hapning on either side, peace was (at length) made in the city of *Basle*, with the Emperour *Maximilian*; in which peace, the *Grisons* are also comprised. By this meanes, the beginning of the alliance was wholesome and happy to both parties, and afterward, in many wars where the Switzers were present, vnder wages of strange Princes their confederates: the *Grisons* alwayes marched as kinde companions with them.

It came to passe, that in the year one thousand, five hundred, thirty and one: *John Iaques de Medicis*, who afterward was Marquisse of *Marignano*, getting v- surped possession of the Castle of *Musf*, vpon the Lake of *Coma*, and hauing taken *Clauenna* from the *Grisons*, forraging the country thereof: many Cantons, according to their league of alliance, sent succour to the *Grisons*: by meanes whereof, the enemy was overcome at last, and driuen far off. In our time, the *Grisons* were allied with the French, and with the cantons of *Swetia*, and went to warre together for the King: yet in such sort neuer the selfe, that they send oftentimes a regiment separated of the Switzers, & which hath his Colonell & Capitaine in chiefe.

CHAP. XXI.

The Alliance of the Valaisians, or people of Valois.

THE name of *Valaisians*, or them of *Valois*, comprehends three distinct people, enclosed within the most high Mountaines, and dwelling in the Valley, from the source of *Rheine*, so farre as the Lake * *Lemanus*. They were anciently called *Viberines*, *Sedusians*, or *Segusians*, some say, *Sebusians*, and *Peragrians*. At this day, the *Viberines* and *Sedusians*, are called the high *Valaisians*, and are diuided into seuen Diocesses, or Wards of ten Parishes. The *Peragrians*, or lowe *Valaisians*, are subiects to the other: but the Bishop of *Sion* is Prince of all the country, hauing the souerainty both temporall and spiritual, and he is called Count, or Governour of *Valois*. We haue descri-

bed in another Tract, apart by it selfe, not onely this Valley, but likewise all the most remarkable things of the *Valaisians*.



Five Wards or Diocesses of the *Valaisians*, made first alliance with *Lucerna*, *Vri*, and *Vnderwald*, in the year 1417. They were then in warre against a Bishop, named *William de Raron*, and his

Father *Guiscard*, whom they had (by a popular tumult) forced from their houses. The Bernians gaue assistance to the Bishop and his Father, who were of their Bourgeoisies: And for this cause the *Valaisians* desiring to haue succour elsewhere: allied themselves with the fore-named 3. Cantons. Now fearing lest this might be an occasion of breeding quarrell betwene the Bernians, and the three Cantons allied with the *Valaisians*: the other cantons, who were as neutrals to the business, laboured so earnestly, that the difference was pacified, and the Lords of *Raron* re-established in their goods. Before this alliance, the *Valaisians* had made one (for the space of ten yeares) with them of *Berne*, in the year 1250. Again, after this warre, they contracted another alliance (for certaine time) with the Bernians. But in the year 1475. they made a league defensive and offensive. And in the same year when wee wrote this History (to wit, 1575.) an hundred yeares being expired, after the beginning of this league: they renewed and confirmed it on either part, by magnificent Ambassadors. Two yeares before they were leagued with the Bernians, they made a certaine agreement with them of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*.

To conclude, in our time, vpon great differences moued, concerning matters of Religion, Ceremonies, life and manners of the Cleargy, whereof reformation was required, *Swetia* being diuided into contrary parts; *Adrian*, Bishop of *Sion*, and seuen Wards of the *Valaisians*, in the year 1533. made alliance with seauen Cantons, in the Towne of *Fribourg*, which Cantons made profession of the Roman Religion, as namely, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Luz*, *Fribourg*, and *Sollemre*. In this Alliance (ouer & beside that which is used in the other) it

Guillaume de Raron and Guiscard his father.

Contracted alliances of the Valaisians with the Bernians.

Differences about the ceremonies, liues, and manners of the Cleargy.

was especially agreed, that they should aide one another, to maintain the vied and approued Religion, to wit, that of the Romane Church, against all them that would depriue or violence it.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Rotwill, or Rotuill.



Some haue imagined, that *Taxagatium*, whereof *Ptolomy* speaketh in his Geography, was *Rotwill* or *Rotuill*, which *Glareanus* calleth *Erythropolis*, hauing changed the *Al-*

man or *Germane* word, into a Greek word: but they much deceive themselves. For *Ptolomy* placeth *Taxagatium* in the country of the *Grifons*, and *Rotuille* is situated beyond *Danubius* in *Germany*, on the left side of the River *Alera*, and very neere to the Spring-head of both those Floods or Riuer. This city is sufficiently renowned among the Imperials, for therein is a chamber of the Empire, which is vulgarly called *Hofricht*, whereunto all the round neighbouring countries resort, for causes of appeale. Such as are contumacious, and fayle of their appearance there; are sent (by sentence of the Iudges) into banishment from the Empire. It is said, that this chamber was established by the Emperor *Conrad* the third, and that it is 424. yeares since.



The first alliance that they of *Rotuille* made with the *Switzers*, was in the time of the Emperor *Fredrick* the third, in the yeare 146. This alliance was renewed diuers times betweene them. At last, in the yeare 149. they contracted perpetuall alliance with all the Cantons of the *Switzers*. During the warre of *Suaba*, they of *Rotuille* (engirt with enemies on all sides) shewed themselves alwayes faithfull to the *Switzers*; offering them amiably and liberally all their riches and men: which the *Switzers* could not accept, but only desired them, to defend their city against the enemy. Now in regard that *Rotuille* is sit-

uated along the limits of *Swetia*, and that succour cannot bee brought to one another, but with danger, considering, they must passe through other mens lands: the alliance speaketh expressely, that they must be careful for drawing any warre upon them, or vpon any of their confederates.

And first of all; It is said, that they may not make war with any whosoeuer, without the knowledge and consent of the Cantons. They shall giue no succour to any person out of *Swetia*, without the will and consent of the Cantons. Moreover, if they would haue reason by Arms, for any iniury or out-rage done vnto the; they must attempt nothing, but by aduice of the Cantons. If their enemies will vndergoe iudgement, such as the Cantons shall thinke to be honest and equall: the men of *Rotuille* must also consent thereto. If warre chance to bee moued among the cantons; they of *Rotuille* are to follow that part, which the most part of voyces do allow. The cantons are to conuerue (with all their power) the Imperial chamber of *Rotuille*, which (in the mean while) shall vse no authority against the *Switzers*, or any of them. And if any stranger shall cite or summon thither a *Switzer*; they are to make knowne, and he likewise, how farre he is to bee defended by priuiledge. In breefe, they are not to molest any *Switzer* in that iurisdiction.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Mulhouse.

Mulhouse is a Towne in the county of *Ferrara*, or (as some do hold opinion) in the Territory of *Basile*. It is thought in ancient times it was called *Aribinium*. For in the Guide or Director of wayes, appointed by *Antonius Augustus*;



this place is set betwene *Augusta Rauraca* (which is *Basile*) and *Vruncim*, which some do thinke to be called at this day, *Ensisheim*; then Mount *Brissac*, *Heluetum*, and *Strasbourg* are named. In times of antiquity, *Mulhouse* was in number of the Imperiall townes: but the Bishop of *Strasbourg* was Governor thereof, also of the Towne

Rotuille is situated about the middle of *Swetia*.

A breuiate of the Articles of alliance betwene them and the Cantons.

The Imperial Chamber of *Rotuille*, to be powerfully defended.

The situation and nomination of *Mulhouse*.

Mulhouse one of the Imperiall Townes.

Towne of *Colmar*. It came to passe, that warre happened betwene *Raoul* of *Habsbourg*, and the Bishop of *Strasbourg*, wherein *Mulhouse* was taken from the Bishop, & the Castle ruined. After which time, *Mulhouse* was againe re-obtained, and numbered among the Imperiall Cities and Townes.

Her first alliance with the *Switzers*, was made about the yeare 1464. For in regard that the neighboring Gentlemen molested the Towne, and narrowly watched all occasions to assault it: the citizens made alliance with them of *Berne*, for fiftene yeares, as also with *Fribourg* and *Sollemre*, and by meanes of the *Bernians* intercession, the other seuen Cantons tooke the Towne into their protection. Vvhich proued so displeasing to the Noble-men, that these priuate enmities conuerted themselves (soone after) into open warre: which caused the *Switzers* immediately, to send and plant Garrisons in *Mulhouse*. Afterward, all the Cantons brought their troopes into the field, and came with great assistance to releue *Mulhouse*.

In the end, hauing besiedged the towne of *Waldshut*, appertaining to the house of *Austria*: they compelled the Gentlemen, to come to some equall conditions of peace. Afterward, they of *Mulhouse* were receiued for fellow-Bourgeses with them of *Basile*, and thereby more strictly vnitied to the *Switzers*. Nine yeares after, the 19. day of Ianuary, they made alliance with all the thirteene cantons. The conditions were all alike to the alliance of *Rotuille*, as well in regard of warres, as leagues with strangers.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Bienna.



Bienna is at the ende of a very pleasant Lake, abounding with plenty of fish & round engirt (on all sides) with goodly Vineyards. It is vnder the gouernment of the Bishop of *Basile*; and yet it enioyeth lawes and regi-

ment a part by it selfe, as also liberall franchises and priuiledges.



The first alliance of the *Bienna*, was made with the men of *Berne*, in the yeare 1303. to ridde the country of certaine robbers and theeues, which wandered there in so great numbers, as almost no way had any security for passage. In this alliance, they of *Strasbourg*, *Basile*, *Fribourg* and *Sollemre* were also comprized. Three yeares after, in regard of some great differences, which they had with their neighbours: they made a particular alliance with the *Bernians*. Their third alliance was made in Anno 1352. and fifteen yeares after, because *John de Viana*, Bishop of *Basile*, (a man of turbulent spirit) would not suffer any of his neighbours to liue in quiet: they of *Bienna*, desirous to provide for their owne ease and tranquility, ioyned themselves more strictly with the men of *Berne*, by giuing each to other the right of fellow-Bourgeses. The Bishop very angry at this vniion, mustred together some troopes of horse, and (at vnawares) ranne vpon them of *Bienna*, and clapt vp in prison the Authors of this association.

When the men of *Berna* heard of this deede, they came to succour their fellow Bourgeses, tooke (by force) the Castle, which the Bishop had in *Bienna*, set the prisoners at liberty, and made warre vpon the Bishop, as also on them of *Sollemre*, his associates. In this warre, they tooke and ruined many places, which were in subiection to the bishop.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Geneva.



Geneua is the last and vtmost Cittie of the *Allobroges*, of which (amongst other of Antiquity.) *Cesar* hath made mention in his Commentaries.

As 3

It

John de Viana Bishop of *Basile*, a man trouble some to his neighbours.

Julian Cesar in comment. lib. 1

Opinions concerning the name of *Rotuill*, which is an Imperiall Towne or City.

The first alliance of them of *Rotuille* with the cantons.

Jul. Caesar, Lib. 1.
The situation and antiquities of Geneva.

It is neere to the limits of the Switzers, at the end of the Lake *Lemanus*, and an issue of *Rhone* commeth into it. Not only the words of *Julius Caesar*, but also many antiquities there found, do testifie the ancientnesse of the city. Many famous Monuments might haue bene seene there, but that the city was oftentimes ruined by enemies, and much destroyed and defaced by fire. For I finde in ancient chronicles, that in the time of *Helioababul* *Geneua* was embraced with so fierce a fire, as hardly was any one house to be found, that stood free from it. The Emperour *Aurelianus* restored the city againe, being so pitifully disfigured, granted it great priuiledges, and gaue it the right of fairs, and of the Empire, because it was situated most commodiously. Hee called it *Aurelia*, according to his owne name: but after his death, shee took her ancient name againe. Afterward, it was forraged (as many other cities were) by diuers barbarous Nations, intruding themselves into France. And some 250. yeares after, or thereabout, within the space of 7. yeares, fire tooke it in such terrible manner, as the most part of the city was quite ruined.

The Bishoppricke of *Geneua*, in former times had very ample priuiledges & franchises: yet notwithstanding, the citizens held their liberties to themselves, and alwayes carefully conserued theyr leagues perpetuall with the Bishop, according as they were left vnto them by their ancestors. The Counts of *Geneua* were great enemies to their liberties: who (neuertheless) were vassalles of the Bishoppricke, and held their Earldomes of him by fealty. So in like manner were the Counts of *Sauoye*; but the citizens maintained their rights and priuiledges courageously against the Counts.

In the yeare 1420. when *Amias*, the first Duke of *Sauoye*, laboured to obtain of Pope *Martin*, by way of entercchange, the right and superiority (as they call it) ouer the city of *Geneua*: the Bishop named *John de Pierre-fixe*, made an agreement for him, and all his successors with the citizens, that he nor they should at any time consent, that the liberties of *Geneua* should be exchanged or alienated. If eyther he, or any of his successors did otherwise; the citizens might hold and ranke him or them in the number of traitors

and conspiring enemies. Some while after this, the Emperour *Maximilian*, hauing amply published his Sonne in law, *Philibert*, Duke of *Sauoye*, Vicar of the Empire in those parts: then againe, *Philibert* and his brother *Charles*, strove to subiect *Geneua* vnder their awe, pretending the title of this new right, and priuiledges of the Vicarship, giuen in former times to the Counts of *Sauoye*, by the Emperour *Charles* the fourth. Who (notwithstanding) tooke from Count *Amias*, all action, power, iurisdiction, and preheminence, ouer the city and territory of *Geneua*.

While these practises and conspiracies of the neighbouring Princes lasted, they of *Geneua* maintained themselves heedfully in amity with the Switzers, and (diuers times) made alliance with the Bernians and Fribourgers, for certain yeares. At length, they combined alliance and fellow-Bourgeship perpetually, with the of *Berne*, and confirmed it more strictly, in the yeare 1536. Then in regard of the religions alteration, the Duke of *Sauoye*, and the Bishop of *Geneua*, made war vpon the citizens, they being succoured by them of *Berne*. This alliance hath bene (since then) renewed, and many friendly motions made, to alie *Geneua* with the Cantons: but I know no reason, why it is not executed and done.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of New-Castle.



HE City of *New-Castle*, is seated in the country of the *Aunisien*, vpon the lake which is called the Lake of *New-Castle*, at the head

whereof is another little Towne, called *Tuerdun*. *New-Castle* is both a city and country, and the Count thereof was chosen by succession of the Counts of *New-Castle*: but since, saue to the Counts of *Hochberg*, the Marquesse of *Rozelin*, and to two Dukes of *Longueuille*. During the warre betwene King *Lewes* the twelfth, and the Switzers, the men of *Berne* (in name

The estate of New-castle, being both a City & Country in the ancient country of the Aunisien.

The Countes of Geneuey and of Sauoye, great enemies to the liberties of the citizens of Geneua.

An agreement made betwene the Bishop and citizens of Geneua, concerning the liberties of the City.

A Gouvernor placed in New-castle by the Cantons.

name of all the cantons their confederates) possessed themselves of the city of *New-castle*, and of the whole county, and placed there a Gouvernor. This order the other cantons continued, except that of *Zurich*, who hauing lost their ranke: at the returne of it to their turne againe, they should command at *New-castle* two yeares together.

But when the time drew neere, *Jone* of *Hochberg*, widdow to the Duke of *Longueuille*, preuailed so much, as (with certaine conditions) the county was surrendered back againe, in the yeare 1529. Sometime before, this county had bene allied from the Cantons of *Berne*, *Lucerne*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre* by meanes of some Articles, which were confirmed againe vpon this restoring or surrender. At this day, the counties of *New-castle* are particularly allied with the men of *Berne*, or the *Bernians*.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of those people that are gouerned (in common) by the Cantons of the Switzers.



Ee haue appointed for a third part of our Switzers common-wealth, those people that are gouerned (in common) by the Switzers.

The cause & reason of this instant argument.

It is necessary then, to say some-what of the time, and by what title, they became subiects to the Switzers. Among them there are some Townes, which wee may tearme stipendiaries: because (at their own proper costs and charges) they march along in warre with the Switzers. Neuertheless, they gouerne themselves by their owne lawes, and make election of their Magistrates; & yet the maine souerainety appertaineth to the Switzers, to whose Lawes and Edicts, those Townes stand bound to obey. Anciently they belonged to the house of *Austria*, but during the warres against that house, the Switzers became Masters of the neighbouring countries, and these Townes yielded themselves to them vpon certaine conditions; to wit, that they should be as well subiect

to them, as to the house of *Austria*, their ancient priuiledges saued and excepted. Those Townes are *Bada*, *Bremgarten*, *Frauenfeld*, *Mellingen*, and *Ruperswil*.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of Bada.



Bada is a Towne vpon the Riuer *Limagus*, or *Limmathus*, and so called, in regard of hot waters, whereof there are many Vells or Fountaines in that place, whereunto men and women vse to resort (in great numbers) from diuers countries. For this cause some haue called it the Towne of Baths, others, the Castle. According to custome of our Elders, who called Eaths, those places where there were hot Springs and Fountaines: so may wee tearme this, the Switzers Baths. As in Italy there are the Baths of *Statiell*, and others: In France, the Baths of *Aix*, of the *Consueues*, and of the *Turbes*. In Germany, the Baths of *Spach* or *Spaw*, and of *Aix*. In like manner, *Bada*, a Towne of the Marquise of *Bada*, in a certaine inscription, is named, *The Bathes*: And in the inscription of *Wettingen*, they of *Bada* are called, The citizens of the Baths.

This Towne is one of the most ancient of *Swetia*, by the testimony of *Cornelius Tacitus*, who tearmeth it a Towne or City, hauing in abundance, and with great pleasure, very wholesome waters. The same Author saith, that the Romans took notice of a Garrison in the Castle of *Bada*, and reputed it selfe to be a Garrison: for the Mountaines which close & ioine together in that quarter, do locke vp the country. To passe out of Germany and *Swetia* into France, and into Italy, wee must goe through *Bada*, then ouer the lands of *Zurich*; from thence into the country of *Ergow*, and thwarte ouer *Swetia*. In ancient times, this Towne had two Castles, one seated vpon an high *Rocke*, which is nothing now at this day, but old decayed ruines (being spoyled and defaced by the Switzers, as we shall declare anon.) And the other at an end of a bridge, where

Hot waters of Baths belonging to the Switzers.

Of Baths in diuers countries.

In England likewise is a Towne of Baths.

The testimony of Cornelius Tacitus concerning Bada.

Bada ioyned to the house of Austria, & reuoluted to the Switzers.

By what means Bada came into the Switzers.

A Councell of war, & their answer returned vnto the Switzers.

In the selfe same councell it was decreed, that men should not stand bound to keepe Faith with them that were called hereticks.

where (in our time) dwelt the Bayliffes or Gouernours, which were sent thither by the Cantons. *Bada* hath had (in former times) Counts, the race whereof are quite extinct, and their successors have bene the Lords of *Habsbourg*, who ioyned that Countie to the house of *Austria*, and diuers other goods. But from the house of *Austria*, *Bada* came into the Switzers hands, at the time of the Councell of *Constance*, in manner following.

Fredericke of *Austria*, brought *Pope John* the 22. out of the Councell, & maintained him against the Emperour and the Councell. For which cause, by the Decree of the Councell, he was excommunicated, banished from the Empire, and his goods confiscated. The Emperour himselfe, with an assembled Army, from the Townes and Cities of *Germanie* and *Suaba*, the Duke of *Bawaria*, and some others, made warre vpon him. Also commandement was giuen to the Switzers, on behalfe both of the Emperour and the Councell to assaile *Fredericke* with all their forces. Whereof they made refusal, alleging that they could not doe it, and their honor faied: in regard of the peace formerly made (for fifty yeares following) with them of *Austria*, confirmed by Oath and Letters Patents. The Fathers of the Councell made answer to this excuse of the Switzers: that *Fredericke* was an enemy to the Church, excommunicated and banished by publike order: This warre concerned the good of Church, who was offended and iniured (in her members) by *Fredericke*.

Wherefore, if in this cause the Switzers vnderooke Armes, according to the command of the Emperour, they should do a good and holy worke. They should also well consider with themselves, how much it would wounde their honour, if (in contrary opposition) they continued idle excuses, which would wrap them vp in the same censure and condemnation with *Fredericke*. Out and beside all this, according to the aduice of the Ambassadors of *England*, *Denmarke*, *Sweden*, *Normay*, *Bohemia*, *Polonia*, and Princes, Gentlemen, and Lawyers, the Emperour declared, that the Switzers might (with a good and safe conscience) make warre vpon *Fredericke*, notwithstanding the peace made. Because that the Subjects of

the Empire, in all actions doe except expressly or covertly, the right and Majesty of the Emperour.

The Emperour sent a copy of this arrest and decree to the Switzers, enioyning them againe to make war on *Fredericke*, and by the same meanes adiudged to the empire, all that which they of *Austria* had engaged to them before. Promising also, not to make any peace with *Fredericke*, till the Switzers were first reintegrated into their former agreement. The Switzers being then perswaded with such reasons, leuiet their Armes: but because they were to Warre in the name of the Emperour, and of the Romane Emperie, they demanded wages of the Emperour: declaring, there was no reason, that they should furnish themselves at their owne charge, and the fruites of the victory fall into other mens hands; and that their wealth was not sufficient to furnish such expences.

The Emperour thought this demand to be made in equity: neuertheless, because he was somewhat empty of money, he agreed with the Switzers, that all the goodes of the house of *Austria*, which they possessed already, or could conquer in this warre; they should enioy it in the Empires name, vntil they should be paid their wages, and charges during the war. By especiall Letters, the Emperour exhorted them of Zurich to enter the field, and granted them (in title of Fee) the Countrey which is beyond Mount *Albius*, named the Free Prouince, which they of *Austria* held. According hereto, the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, and fiftene, about the fiftenth day of April, the men of Zurich, with their troops well prepared; went to besiege a Towne seated on the Riuer of *Russ*, named *Mellingen* and on the third day tooke it by composition. From thence they went to *Bremgarten*, where the Cantons of *Suits* & *Zug* ioyned with them. They of *Bremgarten*, (by example of the other) yielded themselves to the Switzers, vnder protection of the Empire.

At the same time, the Lucernians tooke a Towne named *Sursey*. The Bernians, assisted by them of *Sollewre*, *Bienna*, the Countie of *Nen-castle*, and some others beside, got into their power *Lofingen*, *Arberg*, *Aron*, *Lenzbourg* & *Brug*, to

A Copy of the Decree lent by the Emperour to the Switzers

The Switzers demand wages of the Emperour for their seruice.

The Emperours Letters to them of Zurich.

The Consequels of the Switzers.

together with the countie of *Ergow*. As for them of Zurich, after they had taken the forenamed Townes, they besieged *Bada*. All the other Cantons, except *Bern* ioyned with them, for they of *Austria* held no place in *Sweuia* of greater strength then this: and the Garrison of *Bada* had much ouer-travelled the Switzers, especially them of Zurich, and this was the reason, that the Cantons resolved to force both the Towne and Castle. As for the towne, after it had bene beaten with the Cannon, for the space of three weekes, without ceasing, it yielded. But the foldiours still defended themselves in regard of the fortresse, and held out well, after reddition of the Towne. The Switzers on the other side, hauing receiued succour from them of *Berne*, did dayly beate the place, and pressed the Garrison to yeelde themselves. At length, the Souldiers hauing no more stones, arrowes, darts, nor any other munition proper for defence, truce being granted for some dayes: vpon condition, that if within a limited time *Fredericke* of *Austria* did not deliuer thē from this siege, they would quit the place, and deliuer the castle into the power of the Switzers.

While these things were in working; by the intercession of the Duke of *Bawaria*, and the *Burggrau* of *Nuremberg*, *Fredericke* was reconciled to the Emperour *Sigismund*, who sent immediately his Ambassadors to the campe of the Switzers, to giue them command for the ceasing of warre. But the Switzers feeling yet the outrages which the Garrison of *Bada* had done vnto them, so soon as the truce time was expired, so pressed them within, that two dayes after Pentecost, the castle was deliuered to them, which they burned and quite ruined, as soone as the enemy had auoided it. On the Morrow, the Count of *Togge*, Ambassadour from the Emperour, being arriued at the Switzers campe, to command them agayne, that they should giue ouer armes, found the castle to be taken and spoyled. This strooke somewhat deadly vnto the Noble mens hearts: but they had no occasion to complaine, because the Switzers had done nothing, but in case of open & lawfull warre.

Then, as the Emperour was ready to go for Spain, to fetch thence *Pierre de Lune*,

that he might be Pope, who afterwards was called *Bene* the eleuenth; beeing in need of money, because his cofers were emptied (hauing disbursed great payes, without any intermission in the precedent warres, and for the affaires of the Councell) he engaged to them of Zurich, *Bada*, *Bremgarten*, *Mellingen*, *Sursey*, and the Lands to them belonging. Also to them of *Berne*, the countie of *Ergow*, which they had taken, as already hath bene declared: yet paying a great sum of crowns. At this day, the countie of *Ergow* is possessed by them of *Berne* onely. The yeare following, they of Zurich made a part to that which was engaged to them, ouer to the Cantons of *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*.

From the beginning, the men of *Vri* would not haue any part; as thinking, that the detention of these places, contradicted the treaty of peace made with *Fredericke*. But after they vnderstood the reasons of their confederates, who protested (in themselves) the same desire of observing the peace: but that by command of the Emperour, and of the Councell, they vnderooke armes. Next, that by the will and consent of them both, they possessed now those places for wages, and price of warre-seruice, and held them on the faith of the Emperour, the soueraine Lorde; yet for a great summe of money, which they had layd out & disbursed. The men of *Vri* hauing heard these Reasons, and other of the like Nature, entred into part of this engagement. The Bernians also were receiued in at the length.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of Bremgarten, and Mellingen.

Bremgarten is a Towne, situated on the Riuer of *Russ*, which encloueth it in the midst almost, in forme of a demy Island, a great Germane mile beneath *Lucerna*. It appeareth by the ancient priuiledges of this Towne, that it was (heretofore) numbered among the Imperials. Neuertheless, it became (afterwards) subiect vnto the Counts of *Habsbourg*, then to the Princes

The Emperour engageth iads to them of Zurich and of Berne.

Vri stood free from all these parrakings, till further information from their confederates.

Vri and Berne accepted into this combination as at last.

How and in what manner Bremgarten is seated.

of *Austria* descended of them. But it is not well knowne at what time, neyther by what title, they came to make themselves Lords thereof.

A description of the situation of Mellengen.

Mellengen is a little small Towne vpon the selfsame Riuer, about half a German mile below Bremgarten. It hath alwayes beene vnder the dominion of the Counts of *Habsbourg*. These two Townes were taken (as *Bada*) in this war which the Switzers made vnder the Emperours name, and then afterward, the Emperour *Sigismund* pawned it to the Cantons: vpon condition, that all their ancient rights, priuileges, and customes, should remain entire, and the Citizens to yeelde the same dutie to the Cantons, as formerly they had done vnto the Counts of *Habsbourg*, and Princes of *Austria* their Lordes. At this very day, both these Townes are vnder gouernement of the eight first Cantons.

CHAP. XXX.

Of Rasperwill.

The forme & situation of Rasperwill.

AS concerning *Rasperwill*, it is a town on the Lake of Zurich, wherein dwelt (sometimes the Counts of *Rasperwill*, who had to their successours the Countes of *Habsbourg*, that gouerned likewise in these quarters. In the year 1458, the Switzers became masters thereof. There were then two factions in this town, the one of *Austrians*, and the other of Switzers. Duke *Sigismund*, tooke some of the Switzers partakers, and brought them as prisoners to *Impruk*. The rest amazed at this deede, fled into *Swetia*; but by entemise of the Cantons, they all re-entred *Rasperwill* againe. For the Cantons protested out a lawde, that they would come and assault the towne, except the prisoners might be enlarged, and the banished receiued.

How Rasperwill became ioynted to the Cantons, and so afterward continued.

It came to passe the year following, that the Switzers made warre on them of *Constance*, who had done them some dishonourable outrages. Peace being made, as they of *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, and *Glaris* returned homeward to their houses, they demanded victuals for their troopes, and passage thorow *Rasperwill*, which they easily obtained by the pursuite of their partakes. But being entred more strong, and

in greater number then the Citizens (the most part whereof were Switzers in affection) they compelled the Citizens to sweare fidelity to them. So that from that time, *Rasperwill* remained in the power of those foure Cantons: who (neuertheless) left the citizens to the same liberty as they had vnder the Dukes of *Austria*.

CHAP. XXXI.
Of Frawenfeld.

TWO yeares after the taking of *Rasperwill*, the seauen Cantons then being in warre against *Sigismund*, Duke of *Austria*, tooke *Frawenfeld*, the chiefe town in all the country of *Turgow*. There were reasons and occasions enow, whereby this warre was vndertaken and attempted. The Duke had imprisoned Cardinal *Cusano*, byshoppe of *Brescia*, and because he did not release him, so soone as Pope *Pius* (who formerly was named *Aeneas Sylvius*) sent him command to doe it, hee was therefore excommunicated. But, because this Thunder-bolte did not dismay him, and he appealed from that sentence, to the next Councell: the Pope commanded the Switzers to defend the Churches rights, and to set vpon *Sigismund*. The Cantons, who had as much credite with the one, as with the other, obeyed the Popes command: but there happened other occasions to induce this warre.

The towne of *Winterduer*, in the countie of *Kybourg*, appertaining to the Canton of Zurich, was subiect to the Duke of *Austria*. There is euery year in that place a Fayre, on the day of Saint *Gals*, the sixte of October, whereat the Countrey people round about doe meete in great numbers. They of *Kybourg* being come thither, the gates vnder that against them, vpon a sinister suspicion of the inhabitants, that they of Zurich would surprize the Towne, during the Faire time, & had therefore made some preparation.

Now, as the Bayliffe established by the Canton of Zurich in those quarters, required that the Gates might be set open, and that they of *Kybourg* might haue free trading, according to their accustomed manner, promising that the town should

How the towne came to be taken by the 7. Cantons.

The causes that prouoked this warre.

The Pope commanded the warre.

Small parties can cause and kindle a great fire, and troublesome suspicion proue to proue great harme.

One wrong or injury draweth on another, and to no means danger.

It is now called both *Bada* and *Austria*.

Violence and cruelty is deaf, and will not heare any iustice.

A new Garrison is planted at *Winterduer*, which soon after was besieged.

should receiue no endamage; notwithstanding all this, no credite would be giuen vnto his words. As a counter-change of this iniury, they of Zurich prohibited their people from bringing either victuals or merchandizes to *Winterduer*. The Duke of *Austria* on the other side, standing vpon his guard, placed a garrison in the towne. These things happened before the excommunication from the Pope.

But yet there was another occasion for the moouing of this warre. There were two brethren, Gentlemen of mark, of the country of *Stiria*, named *Vigilius*, and *Bernard Gradler*. They of *Austria*, had informed them from their houses, and depoyled them of all their goods: without excepting so much as the dowrie belonging to *Bernards* wife, who was of the house of *Starckenber*. After they had solicited the Duke a long time, to restore their goods againe, and neuer could obtain so much, as that hee would admit but what iustice did allow at length, they withdrew themselves into *Swetia*, and were receyued as Bonnegesses into Zurich. Afterward, hauing brought a little town, called *Eglisow*, they made warre on the Duke of *Austria*, assisted by the men of Zurich. The Duke placed a new garrison at *Winterduer*, but after the troopes of Zurich were drawne thence: some difference fell betweene the Garrison, and the inhabitants of *Kybourg*. So that once more they of Zurich (having demanded succour of their confederates) went forth into the field, going to besiege *Winterduer*. At this time then, to wit, in the year, one thousand, foure hundred and sixty, *Diesenhorn*, a Towne on the *Rheine*, in the country of *Turgow*, this country also, and *Frawenfeld* were conquered, and reduced vnder the power of the Switzers.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of the nine Baylywicks, or Gouernments.

The Baylywicks gouerned by the 7. first Cantons, and others with them.

THE common Baylywicks, are gouerned (in part) by the seauen first Cantons, and partly by some other with them. There are nine Baylywicks, or Go-

uernments in all, to wit, the Countie of *Bada*, the three Prouinces, *Turgow*, *Sargans*, the *Rheghes*, that is to say, the valley of *Rheine*, which they call *Rinthal*, *Lugans*, *Locarna*, *Mendris*, and the vale *Madia*. The foure last are beyond the Alpes, in Italy, towards the *Millanne*: & speak Italian; the other the Germane tongue. *Sargans*, and the valley of *Rinthal*, are on the Frontiers of the *Grisons*: the other 3. are seated within the confines of ancient *Swetia*.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Of Bada and Turgow.

IN this manner (then) were the Towne and Countie of *Bada*, *Turgow*, and *Frawenfeld*, by the Switzers conquered; at such times, and by those means, as formerly hath bene related. The Cantons of Zurich, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, and *Berne*, commanded at *Bada*. They are Lords of *Turgow*, except the Canton of *Berne*, which hath no part therein. As concerning the taking knowledge of criminall causes, the Emperour *Sigismund* tooke it from *Fredrick of Austria*, at the time of the Councell of *Constance*, and engaged it to the City of *Constance*, which kept it till the year 1499. when the Emperour *Maximilian* attributed that authority to the Switzers, by a treaty of peace which hee made with them, and therefore the seuen first Cantons about named, are Lords of *Turgow*. But concerning the knowledge of crimes, appellations and fines or amercements, which may happen, as oftentimes they doe: that appertaineth to the tenne first Cantons, who made warre against the Emperour *Maximilian*, and the League of *Suaba*.

CHAP. 34.
Of the three first Prouinces.

NOW, to speake of the three Prouinces, which are along beyond the Riuer of *Rass* (to distinguish them from the free Prouince, beyond the Mountain *Albins*, which was giuen to them of Zurich, by the Emperour *Sigismund*, as we haue already declared before:) they were taken by the Switzers, at the very same time when

The manner of their Conquest hath bin already secared.

Criminal causes thus away with. Emp Signation.

The authority belonging to the ten first Cantons.

Concerning the situation and true name of the free Prouince.

The reason why the name was thus giuen them, according to the authors opinion

when *Bada* was conquered. Heere let me tell you, that we call certaine Castles & Villages, which lye along the River of *Ruß*, both aboue and below *Bremgarten*, free Prouinces. This name was giuen them (in mine opinion) because that the three villages, to wit, *Meyenberg*, *Richen-see* and *Ergow*, had anciently kept (each one) her iurisdiction, Magistrates, and Officers by themselves: so that they seemed as three feuerall Prouinces, nowe ioyned all into one. In times past, all that quarter was called the Countie of *Rora*, and so it was named by *Henry* the 5. Emperour, in a priuiledge of the Abbey of *Muren*. The castle belonging vnto the Countes of *Rora*, was in the Towne of *Aron*.

Some difference among the Cantons, concerning the conquest of the free Prouinces.

At such time, as (by command of the Emperour and the Councel of *Constance*) the Switzers made warre on *Fredericke* of *Austria*, they of *Lucerna* conquered those places, which are along the River of *Ruß*, and namely that countie of *Rora*. After the warre, when they contended vvhould be Lords thereof only: the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug* and *Glaris* opposed against them, and in diuers dayes held at *Beckenried*, *Vnderwald*, *Suits*, and in the campe before *Bremgarten*, they shewed, that (from the beginning of the warre) the Cantons had agreed, that they should be Lords (in common) of all places in the countie of *Ergow*, that should be won in that Warre. Now, although the Lucernians maintained, that they had giuen charge thereof to their Ambassadors; yet notwithstanding, after the testimonies were gathered both of the one side & other, the Lords of *Berne* being appointed iudges of the variance, pronounced, that these 5. Cantons had part in all the country.

The Lucernians pleaded their Title in right of their Ambassadors.

Tenne yeeres after that, by consent of the fixe Cantons, they of *Vri* were ioyned with them, and hadde a great part also in that gouernment. And therefore *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*, are Lords thereof at this day. The country is not great; and therefore, of what Canton heeuer the Bayliffe is, hee makes not his residence there: but vvhennecessity doth so require, he comes once a yeare to iudge suites in law, and then he is lodged (most often) in the Abbey of *Muren*, which is rich enough, and well builded.

Vri ioyned with them ten yeeres after, & had a part in the gouernment.

CHAP. XXXV.

Of the Sargans.

A Mong the Grifons, the *Sarunetes* liued long time since; but at this day, both their towne and countie is vulgarly called *Sargans*, whereof diuers etymologies are made. But in the auncient Chartes, this Towne is named *Sarunetes*, which is a word deriued from the name of *Sarunetes*, whereof *Pliny* maketh mention. Now, because the dwelling of the *Sarunetes* was at the spring of the River *Inn*, where now they of *Engadin* and of *Munsterthal* make their abiding; the inhabiting *Sargans* (now in question) it may be, as yfused from them there: or else might take their name of the River called *Sar*, which runneth thorough the Towne.

In former times, this country belonged to the Counts of *Werdenberg*, who in that respect were called Countes of *Sargans*. Afterward they pawned it vnto the *Austrian* Princes, and at another time to the Counts of *Togge*, but redeemed it againe, and possessed it til the yeare 1483. And then, *George* Count of *Werdenberg*, sold it to the seuen first Cantons, who sent a Bayliffe thither each one by his turne, that commanded the whole country, & kept in the castle where the Countes were wont to dwell. As for the Towne of *Sargans*, although it is subiect vnto the Switzers: yet notwithstanding, it enioyeth his priuiledges, and electeth Magistrates that administer Iustice, and also deale in criminall causes.

The situation of the County and Town of Sargans, and diuers names thereof belonging.

The Counts of Werdenberg, Count of Sargans.

Sargans sold to the Switzers.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of the Rhegusces: now adayes called Rhinthal.

That is to say: The Valley of *Rheine*.

THE *Rhegusces* are of the Grifons country, dwelling on the bankes of *Rheine*, aboue the Lake of *Constance*. As for them that dwell beyond the *Rheine*, where

The situation of Rhinthal, and of the countie on either side of *Rheine*.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the Governments and baylywickses which are in Italy.

The valley of Rhein seized by the Count of Togge a Legend son to the Emperour.

The valley sold to them of Appenzel.

How Rhinthal came to belong to the Switzers.

Bayliffes sent by the eight Cantons to the valley for Rulers there.

where are *Bregents* and *Veldene*: they are yet to this day, subiects to the House of *Austria*. But they on the hither side, as *Rhineck* and *Altstetten*, two little Townes, and the valley tending toward the Count of *Werdenberg*, they are obedient to the Switzers. Heeretofore, all this countie appertained vnto them of *Austria*, who pawned it to the Lords of *Ion*. But at the time of the Councell of *Constance*, when as *Fredericke* of *Austria* was banished by the Emperour *Sigismund*: the Count of *Togge*, the Emperours adopted sonne, seized on this valley of *Rheine*, and other places belonging vnto the house of *Austria*, by disbursing money for them, to whom they were engaged.

Afterwards, this Count pawned this Valley of *Rheine*, for a great summe of money, to two Gentlemen, *Huldreich* and *Conrad* *Beierer*, brethren. In the yeare, 1460. *Laques* *Beierer*, their Brother and heyre, hauing some variance with them of *Appenzel*, and fearing his vnableness of keeping this valley against their strength: willingly solde them his rights, and resigned the engagement. After that, this valley remained in the power, and vnder dominion of *Appenzel*, for the space of thirty yeares, or thereabout.

But when it so fell out, that the men of *Appenzel* were troubled in warre, against the Abbot of *S. Gall*, his subiects, and the Citizens also, and the Abbey of *Rosach* (new built) quite defaced: the Canton'd Switzers, confederates with the Abbot, mustred vp their troops, and called their other allies to them, by whose helpe they maintained the Abbot, and condemned them of *Appenzel* in a great fine. Which made them to require peace, and beside, to offer them the rule of the Valley of *Rheine*: the possession whereof fell (as a recompence) to the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, and *Glaris*. After this, they parted with a portion of this Seignury, to the Cantons of *Vri*, *Vnderwald*, and *Zug*, who had assisted thie: likewise to *Appenzel*, who indeed wer ancient Lords thereof. So that (euen to this day) these eight Cantons, each after other) send a Bayliffe into this valley, who makes his abiding in a small Towne, called *Rhineck*, at one end of the valley, somewhat aboue the place, where the *Rheine* enters into the Lake of *Constance*.

FOURE Baylywicks do yet remain, which the Switzers call Baylywicks beyond the Mountaines, because they are quite ouer the Alpes. The first is *Lugano* or *Luca*, a Towne vpon the Lake, which some call the Lake of *Gauna*; others, the Lake of *Lugano*. This Lake is in the midst of two other Lakes, to wit, that of *Como* on the left had, and on the right hande of the Lake *Maior*, whereinto it shutteth vp it selfe.

The second Baylywicke, and neereft of all to this former, is *Locarno*: a very pleasant Towne, at the head of the Lake *Maior*, sometimes beautified with verie goodly and strong Castles, and accounted the cheefest in Lombardie, next vnto that of *Millaine*.

The Bayliffick of *Mendrisa*, on the left hand of the Lake of *Gauna*, maketh the third.

And for the last, there is the Vale of *Madia*, which depended heeretofore vpon *Locarno*, as *Mendrisa* on *Lugano*.

These foure Baylywickses fell to the Switzers, in the yeare, 1513. by the Donation of *Maximilian* *Sforza*, Duke of *Millaine*. For, hee hauing driuen the French out of Italy, by the counsell and authority of Pope *Iulius*, and being holpen therein by the Venetians and Switzers, he made a present of these foure Baylywickses (abutting on the Frontiers of their country) to the Switzers. He gaue also the Vale of *Tellinoto* the Grifons. But three yeeres after, King *Frances* hauing vanquished the Switzers at *Marignano*, expelled the Duke, and re-uinted to his Crowne the Dukedome of *Millaine*. By an accord made at *Fribourg*, he confirmed this donation of his owne royal authority, as his successors in the dukedome of *Millaine* did the like.

All the Cantons send their bayliffs thither by turnes, except that of *Appenzel*, which was nor in the number of the Ca-

Baylywicks beyond the mountaines.

Lugano or Luca the first Baylywicke.

Locarno the second.

Mendrisa the third.

The Vale Madia the fourth.

How and in what manner these feuerall Baylywickses came to be commanded by the Switzers.

B b tons,

tons, when as these countries were first giuen to the Switzers: but they were receiued in a yeare after onely.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Of Bellizona.

WE might ranke among these Bayliwicks of Italy, the Towne of *Bellizona*, which obeyeth to the Cantons of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*. This Towne (in former times) appertained vnto the Countes of *Misauk*, who were reiecte by the Dukes of *Millaine*. Afterward, hauing found meanes to enter againe by intelligence; they sold it to them of *Vri* and *Vnderwald*. But the Duke of *Millaine* recovered it againe, and tooke it from the Switzers, by the same subtile tricks which the Counts of *Misauk* had vsed to repofesse it. This hapned about the yeare, 1422.

After that time, the *Switzers* made many voyages ouer the Mountraines to recover *Bellizona*. At length, in the yeare 1500. they got into possession of it agen. For, in regard of continuall warres betwene the *Sforzates* and the French: the men of *Bellizona* willing to provide for their owne safety, yielded themselves to the Canton of *Vri*. The French, becoming matters of the *Millainefes*, labored often (but all in vain) to regain the town. Finally, at such time as the Dukes of *Millaine* gaue the fore-named foure Bayliwicks to the Cantons, they were also confirmed in the possession of *Bellizona*.

The Switzers in full possession of Bellizona.

Three Bayliwicks in Bellizona, & how their government is ordered equally.

The whole country is diuided into 3. Bayliwicks, to witte, *Bellizona*, the vale *Brune*, and *Riniera*; and in like maner gouerned (turne after turne) by those three Cantons, that they haue a Bayliwicke belonging to each one. As if *Vri* doe establish a Gouvernour or Baylisfe at *Bellizona*: *Suits* placeth one also in the vale *Brune*, and *Vnderwald* one at *Riniera*. Then beginning againe, *Vri* commends one to *Riniera*, *Vnderwald* to the vale *Brune*, and *Suits* to *Bellizona*. And because that the Bayliwicke of *Riniera* is of the least reuenew, most commonly, he that hath bene Baylisfe at *Bellizona*, is established nexte after at *Riniera*.

CHAP. XXXIX.

Of the Alliances made by the Cantons, with Kings and Princes neere neighbouring to them.

Demosthenes, the most eloquent of all the Græcian Orators, a man wonderfully well acquainted with affaires of State, and (aboue all) a deare Louer of his Countreyes liberty, wrote thus. *Ouer great familiarity with Tyrants, should be suspitions to ciuill and free Cities: And no trust is to bee reposed in them, especially if they be neighbours, because every King and Tyrant is an enemy to liberty, and contrary to lawes.* The euent and successe attending on such cases, did well witness, that this Learned man had giuen very wholesome counsell to the Athenians, yea, and to all Greece. For *Phillip* the sonne of *Amyntas* (against whom *Demosthenes* made head) and the succeeding Kings of Macedonia oppressed the liberty of the Greekes, by a dissembled amity, and working certaine combinations and alliances, deuised onely for their owne aduantage.

The safe standing thus, I thinke, that many stand thus amazed, what should moue the ancient *Switzers* to make such alliances as they haue done with straungers, Kinges and Princes, their Neighbours. But here is to bee noted and obserued, that all alliances doe not hurt one like another in a Commonwealth. They are to be mistrusted, which do import a league offensive and defensive. & ouergreat familiarity. Otherwise, for the benefite of peace, it is needfull sometimes, that Princes and great Lords nere neighbouring, should ally themselves together, for the better vse of some rightes, and the easier manning of their affaires. The ancient *Switzers* made many such alliances of peace and amity. And if at any time they were knit more strictly to some King or Prince, it was not inconsiderately done: but, as appeareth by the tenour of the alliances, the conditions wer such, as their liberties could no waies be easily touched or wronged.

They

The Learned & wise counsell of the Græcian Orator Demosthenes well approued and experienced by his own country.

The Switzers haue since desired ay, for their league.

What all alliances are said to be dangerous and what are indifferent, is not hard.

The possidit one of the Switzers, in making their League.

Chap. 41. Their alliance vvith Millaine.

Leagues with Popes.

With neighbouring Princes.

With Bishops and Cities.

Their alliances of most note and oblation.

They made diuers alliances, for a certainty of times, with Popes; as *Sixtus*, *Iulius* the second, *Leo* the tenth, & with *Clement* the seauenth. With neighbouring Princes; as the Dukes of *Austria*, of *Sauoye*, of *Millaine*, and of *Wertemberg*. Then, with the Bythoppes of *Constance*, the Cities of *Suaba*, and others on the Lake of *Constance*, and on the River of the *Rheine*. But, without staying our selues at the most part of these alliances, wee will touch those onely, which were hereditary, that continue yet, must longer continue, and are most notable among all the other. As namely, the Alliances with the Dukes of *Millaine*, of *Austria*, of *Bourgogne*, of *Sauoye*, & the most remarkable and last of all, with the King of France.

CHAP. XL.

Of the Alliance made by the Switzers, with the Dukes of Millaine.

Vncertainty of the first treaty of alliance.

Galeazzo Dof Millaine, and his Wife Blanche Maria capitulate with eight Cantons

Cannot well set downe what treaty or discourse was anciently had, and at the first time, betwene the Duke of Millaine, and the Switzers. But in the yeare, one thousand foure hundred sixty and sixe, Duke *Galeazzo*, and *Blanche Maria* his wife, made an accord and agreement with eight Cantons, vpon certain conditions: which yet vnto this day, are called, *The Articles or Capitulations of Millaine*. Wherein also, mention is made of other auncient capitulations, which shew and testifie, that long time before, the Switzers, especially they of *Vri*, which inhabit at the Alpes, had bene associates with the Lombards, vnder certaine conditions. But because the auncient Capitulations, are (almost) quite worne out of mens memories: I will propose the Summary of the accord with Duke *Galeazzo*, and his wife, the Lady *Blanche Maria*.

The Articles of Agreement, betwene the Duke of Millaine, and the Switzers.



THE first Article, concerneth them of *Vri*. The Ordinarie of the great church in *Millaine*, intended a Proceffe against them, concerning the Valley of *Luiner*. By this first Article, the Duke agreeth with them of *Vri*, to haue free possession of that valley, in the regard of ciuill Iurisdiction: renouncing his owne rightes, and promising to obtain the same of the Ordinarie.

They of *Vri*, on the other side, shall pay a tribute to the Duke, & euery yeare, in the Moneths of Iune or Iuly, or before midde-August, shall send him foure Hawkes, and a Crosse-bow. As concerning the difference touching the Churches reuennues, betwene the Ordinarie, and them of the Valley, each of the two parties shall nominate two Iudges, and to those foure Iudges, the Duke shall adde one, as an Arbitrator: and of him he must and will make choyse among the Lords of Councell, and in one of the seauen Cantons. These Iudges, must nominate what it is, that the Prince and they of the Valley, should pay vnto the Ordinarie. And if there happen anie variance besides, for matters of Duties not payed: they also are to censure thereupon.

The second Article is, that the eight Cantons, their subiects, and all they that haue dwelt in their countries, the space of foure yeares, shall enjoy the ancient liberty, to wit, that they shal stand exempt from all tributes, imposts, and tolls, throughout *Millaine*, euē in the ditches of the Towne.

The third Article, concerneth debts, and imprisonments.

The fourth is for such variances as may happen betwene the Duke and the Cantons, and of some particulars against the Duke.

The fifth, is for proceffe and suites of particular persons.

The sixth matter of free Trafficke, and that it shall bee lawfull for the Switzers, to go and sell their Wares and Cattel:

The Ordinarie of the great Church of Millaine, against the most of Vri, and vpon what occasion

Iudges appointed betwene the Ordinarie and them of Vri.

The nature of the 1. Article.

The third.

The fourth.

The fifth.

The sixth.

The seventh.	tle: and the Duke no way to impeach them in their selling, or his Subiectes in their buying.	The first speaks of awards, and decision of law suites.	Awards in suites.
Renewing & reco: firmation of these articles.	The seventh importeth, that the duke and the <i>Switzers</i> shall maintain and preferre themselves in good amity: and that neither party shall giue passage, or allow lodging or harbor to the enemies of neither side.	The seventh willett, that if criminal parties on either side, doe withdraw to any one of their precincts, after that they or he shalbe adiudged culpable, on knowledge of the cause: he or they shall be sent backe to their Magistrate, who is to chastise them according to the exigence of the case.	Disobedience in awards or sentence.
Freedom from Tolles.	Now, in regard that after this transaction, <i>Millaine</i> changed her Lordes oftentimes, these Articles haue bene also renewed and confirmed from one time to another. And finally, in the year, 1522. <i>Ferdinando Gonzaga</i> , Governour of <i>Millaine</i> , in the name of the Emperor <i>Charles</i> the fift, renewed this accord with the <i>Switzers</i> , very neere with the same conditions.	The eight is, that in such reuenews, dismes, goods mouable and immouable, which the <i>Switzers</i> possesse in the Duke-dome of <i>Millaine</i> , or which may fall to the from this time forward: they shall haue the same rights in them heere, as the <i>Millainneses</i> enjoy in <i>Swetia</i> .	Of reuenues, goods, &c. on either side.
For Bread Corne.	The Articles of Agreement, betwene <i>Ferdinando Gonzaga</i> , Governour, and the <i>Switzers</i> .	The ninth; that passe & passage may be as free and safe in the countries of each other, as formerly it hath bin, & with the like maintenance of amity.	For free and friendly passage in their countries.
A Franke is two shillings sterling.	THE first Article concerneth benefit of exemption, from Tolles, Taxes, and other charges. Item, it shall be lawfull for the <i>Switzers</i> , to buy any kinde of bread corne. But if there be a dearth, and the Market measure is sold for more then thirteene Francks, it is not lawfull to transport any. Neuerthelesse, for our amity with the <i>Switzers</i> , they may carry away two hundred measures. The Cantons did make the same condition with them of <i>Millaine</i> .	In the tenth, the <i>Switzers</i> make exception of their other alliances, & all precedent instruments: to the end that they may not derogate or faile in the fore-named conditions.	Of other Alliances.
Selling of salt.	The second, is for the selling and carriage away of salt.	In the last, the time is agreed on and prefixed, for this combination: which is, to continue for four years after the death of the Emperor <i>Charles</i> .	The time of this alliance.
Free passage and trading.	The third, confirmeth to the <i>Switzers</i> their ancient priuiledges, for going and coming freely, and trafficking through all countries of <i>Millaine</i> , without any need of support or safe conduct; except in the time of pestilence, and then to bee free from all Tolle, onely the gate of <i>Atillaine</i> excepted.	Now, although (for diuers reasons) this agreement hath not bene renewed to this instant between the King of <i>Spain</i> , Duke of <i>Millaine</i> , and the <i>Switzers</i> : yet notwithstanding, both on his part, and theirs likewise, ancient amity hath bene carefully kept; and euen to this day, the <i>Switzers</i> enjoy (almost) the same priuiledges, as in elder times they did among them of <i>Millaine</i> .	Of the <i>Switzers</i> alliance yet with <i>Millaine</i> .
To whom these priuiledges belongeth.	The fourth, declareth who and what they are, that must enjoy these priuiledges, wherein are (by name) excluded all <i>Millainneses</i> , that shall retire themselves into <i>Swetia</i> .	CHAP. XLI.	The time of this alliance.
For auoyding of fraud and deceit.	The fift ordaineth, to preuent & auoyd all means of fraud, that such as inioy these priuiledges, shall not keepe companie, or trade in merchandize with them that are vn capable, or may not haue the benefit of them.	Of the <i>Switzers</i> Alliances with the Dukes of <i>Austria</i> and <i>Burgogne</i> .	A strange court, that much contention should beget as many friendships.

The Emperor Sigismond, surnamed the Simple, a great enemy to the Switzers.	those alliances which haue lasted but for some few years, and agreed or combined with one or two Cantons onely; but rather will resolve my selfe on the perpetual and hereditary alliance of <i>Sigismond</i> , Duke of <i>Austria</i> with the Cantons; which was renewed afterward, by the Emperor <i>Maximilian</i> , <i>Charles</i> the fift, and <i>Ferdinand</i> .	deal withall by Duke <i>Charles</i> .	Good advice in cases of extremity, much ausile.
K. Lewis the 11. denied aid to Sigismond against the Switzers	This <i>Sigismond</i> , surnamed the Simple, was sonne vnto <i>Fredericke</i> , who brought Pope <i>John</i> the 22. out of the Council of <i>Constance</i> , whereby he was banished from the Empire. <i>Sigismond</i> was a great Enemy to the <i>Switzers</i> , and had many warres against them, wherein he was continually beaten, as at <i>Winterdier</i> , <i>Mulhouse</i> , <i>Waldshout</i> , in <i>Turgow</i> , and other places, & lost in these warres the countrey of <i>Turgow</i> , which is great, fertile, and well peopled, yet afterward conquered and kept by the <i>Switzers</i> . Seeing by Armes he could not quail the <i>Switzers</i> , hee withdrewe into France, and required succour of King <i>Lewis</i> the eleuenth, which hee was flatly denied: because the King would not entangle himselfe in warre with the <i>Switzers</i> , of whose magnanimity he had formerly made good proof, being Dolphin, when the battell was fought against them neere to <i>Basile</i> .	To be plaine, <i>Sigismond</i> nor the <i>Switzers</i> were strong enough to make head against the Duke, and therefore some men, better seene and skilful in such businesse, layd downe their opinions; that <i>Sigismond</i> and the <i>Switzers</i> were best to agree in vinity, and make war together vpon their common enemy. King <i>Lewis</i> the eleuenth pushed hardly at that point, and followed the matter very hotly: for it was his custome to prepare such diets for the Duke of <i>Bourgogne</i> , and to raise him so many enemies as might bee. To further these practices, hee sent his owne turne with a <i>Switzer</i> , named <i>Iustus de Sillini</i> , who soon after was byshop of <i>Sion</i> , and of <i>Granoble</i> also. <i>Sigismond</i> likewise fauored him, and gaue him as many good respects, as hee could receiue by his byshoppricks. At length also by his means, and by authority of the King, an hereditary alliance was made, the substantiall points wherof follow thus.	Iustus de Sillini, byshop of Sion & Granoble.
Sigismond engaged Ferrara to the Duke of Bourgogne.	Hereupon, he made his recourse to the Duke of <i>Bourgogne</i> , and pawned to him the Countie of <i>Ferrara</i> , and other Seigneuries on the Frontiers of <i>Swetia</i> , for the sum of fourscore thousand crownes: onely that he might finde busines for the <i>Switzers</i> , by means and help of the duke of <i>Bourgogne</i> . <i>Lazius</i> writes, that <i>Sigismond</i> sold <i>Swetia</i> to himselfe, but therein he abused himself. This engagement did not aduance the matter, according vnto <i>Sigismond</i> 's expectation: for <i>Hagenbach</i> , governor in these pawned countries to <i>Charles</i> Duke of <i>Bourgogne</i> , began to tyrannize vpon all the people, violating women and children, and putting many innocents to death. By which occasion, <i>Sigismond</i> being moued to compassion, and incited by the continual complaints of his subiects; redeemed the pawned countries, & conigned the money to be paid at <i>Basile</i> . But notwithstanding all this, <i>D. Charles</i> would not forsake his possession, but stroue still to hold the same by force. The <i>Switzers</i> (on the other side) were but crookedly	Abreuiate of the Articles of hereditary Alliance betwene the Duke of <i>Austria</i> , and the <i>Switzers</i> .	For trading in friendly manner.
The cruel and violent dealing of Hagenbach.	If any variance or contention happen betweene them: they shall pursue their right in iustice, and not by armes. The Arbitrators to iudge their causes shall be the Bishop or Cite of <i>Constance</i> , and the Byshop or Seignourie of <i>Basile</i> . And before they take knowledge of the cause, both parties shall promise to the Iudges, by authentick Letters vnder their handes: that they will beare no malice, neyther doe any outrage, what sentence sooner is giuen vpon their difference.	First, They shall continue themselves in mutual peace and amitie, to that the Austrians in <i>Swetia</i> , and the <i>Switzers</i> in the Countreies belonging to the Duke of <i>Austria</i> : may freely and safely Traffike, and also manage theyr other affaires.	For Arbitrators to censure causes.
	As for common suites, concerning successions and debts: the ordinarie Iudges in their Courts of iustice, are to take order for them.	If Duke <i>Sigismond</i> stand in need of succor from the <i>Switzers</i> , they shall send him	For ordinarie Law-suites.

Of succour
from the
Switzers, and
from the D.

Of Charters,
letters, Regi-
sters, and
books of cal-
les.

For benefit of
enjoying their
owne rights.

Of meddling
with the sub-
jects of one
another.

No enemies
of each other
to be favored
on either side.

The transac-
tion of Wald-
shout.

For portages
and tolles.

For tenure in
case of fealty.

men: provided, that it may be done with their honor, and without prejudice vnto their ancient alliances, and they are to receyue as much wages, as the Cantons haue customarily payed to their Souldiers. The same is also to be done by the Duke, if the Switzers desire any succour from him.

The Cantons shall deliuer such Charters, Letters, Registers, Bookes of reason, and other like instructions to the Duke, as are or shalbe in their hands, and belong to him; or declare to whom they haue formerly given them: onely excepted, such letters and Registers, as concerne cities, townes, and castles, which nowe are in the power and authority of the Switzers.

The Duke and the Switzers shall remaine Lords of those countries, cities, castles, Fortresses, Townes, Burroughes, and Villages as they haue taken, and now possesse; without any fauor in Law, or any kinde of quarrell to bee offered on eyther side for them; neyther shall suffer anie wrong or iniurie to be done, neither to the countries, cities, castles, &c. of one another.

Neither side shall make alliance with the other Subiectes, nor giue them the right of Bourgeship, nor receiue them in to protection to theirs damage or prejudice; except any one with all his goods retire into the country. And yet with this exception notwithstanding, that hee shall remaine answerable to the iurisdiction of his first Lord. But if any such person do pursue his intention by violence, they among whom he hath retreated him selfe, shall present him immediately in iustice. Because neither the Duke, nor the Cantons ought to lodge, maintaine, or fauour (in any kinde whatsoever) the Enemies of one another.

The Duke shall make satisfaction, for the transaction of *Waldshout*; wherein the Switzers shall assist him with all their forces.

The one shal not greue or offend the other, by exaction of any new Portages or Tolles.

Such persones as hold any thing by title of fealty of the Duke *Sigismund*, shall continue his Subiectes: excepting them of conquered countreyes, and of places engaged, and that haue not beene re-

deemed.

This alliance shall bee renewed from tenn. yeeres to tenn. yeeres: and if by aduenture it happen to be broken, the party interessed shall demand iustice, without mouing any warre.

All enmities and warres which formerly haue beene betwene Duke *Sigismund*, and the Switzers, and their predecessors, shall bee appeald and layde to sleep, by means of this agreement, which is to be inuolably kept on either side.

This first transaction was made before the war of *Bourgonne*; in the year one thousand, foure hundred, seuentie & foure. In the same year, *Sigismund* of Austria, *René* of Lorraine, the Bythoppes of *Strasbourg* and *Basile*, the Cities of *Strasbourg*, *Basile*, *Colmar*, *Selstadt*, *Montbéliard*, and some others, made alliance with the Switzers for certaine yeeres, against the violence and tyranny of the Duke of *Bourgonne*, who being slaine 3. yeeres after in the battaile of *Nancy*, *Sigismund* of Austria renewed the hereditary Alliance, and this first transaction made with the Switzers, by the entermite of K. *Lewes* the eleuenth. This alliance was confirmed with the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Bern*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Soleurre*, with liberty to the other Cantons, to enter into the same alliance if they pleased. There was not any new Article added at that time: but onely the forme and meanes of mutual succour, which was couched in far more cleare and plaine termes. Some years after this, Duke *Sigismund* not hauing any legitimate children, resigned his Dukedome to the Emperor *Maximilian*, reseruing onely to himselfe an annual pension. *Maximilian* required the Switzers to enter the forenamed alliance with him. But because they had bene at some variance with him, and hee with them, and there grew some apparance of warre (considering it seemed evidently, that *Sigismund* had thus despoyled himselfe, to inury the Switzers) they would not enter into any nouell alliance, especially, because hee meant nothing else but fraudes in all this carriage, as the euent plainly declared.

For immediately, they of Austria, and of the league of *Swabia*, moued warre against the Switzers and Grisons.

After peace vvas made, betwene the Emperor *Maximilian* and the Cantons,

For renou-
on of this al-
liance.

Alliament
was made,
cut off by the
peace.

The alliance
of many com-
monweales
made by the
proud D. of
Bourgonne.

D. Sigismund,
reigning at
Dukedom to
the Emperor
Maximilian.

Maximilian
intended no-
thing else but
fraude in his
dealing.

The Emperor
renewed the
hereditary
alliance of
Austria with
the Switzers.

The contents
of the alliance
or transaction
made by the
meane of K.
Lewes the 11.

Money giuen
by the Empe-
rour in the
name of his
Nephew
Charles.

Charles the
six confirmed
the alliance
with the Swi-
zers when he
came to age.

on the twelfth year, which was in Anno, 1111. the Emperor renewed the hereditary alliance of the house of Austria, with the Switzers, and ioyned in one, the house of *Bourgonne*, and his Nephew *Charles*, of whom he was tutor. Moreover, not onely the Switzers of the first alliance, but the twelve Cantons. Item, they of *Appenzell*, with the Abbot and Towne of *S. Gall*, confirmed this alliance hereditary, with the houses of Austria & *Bourgonne*. In this alliance or transaction for confirmed, made by the meanes of King *Lewes* the eleuenth, is expressly set downe first of all: that therein is comprehended onely the county of *Bourgonne*, and the high countries of Austria, the county of *Tirol*, and that which is beyond the Mountaine. Item, some Townes along the *Rheine*, as *Waldshout*, *Lauffenberg*, *Secon*, *Rhusfeld*, & others that are on this side the Mountain. Neuerthelesse there is added, that order shall be giuen, that those other countries not comprized in the alliance, shall not enterprise any thing by Arms against the Switzers, nor the Switzers against them. All outrageous words & actions are prohibited, for feare of alienating their hearts, as hath happened sometimes heretofore thereby.

Moreover, the Emperor *Maximilian* promised, in the name of *Charles* his Nephew, to giue (in present) euery year in the city of *Zurich*, to each one of the cantons, two hundred crownes. To the Abbot and city of *S. Gall*, and the Bourg of *Appenzell*, an hundred crownes to each of them: vntill such time as *Charles* shall be growne greater, to gouern these countries himselfe, & then he shal stand bound to confirm the alliance, which accordingly was done. For in the year 154. by letters which the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, sent to the Cantons, he confirmed the alliance; in so much as concerned the house and county of *Bourgonne*, for his brother *Ferdinand* was chosen then Duke of Austria. The conditions and Articles of alliance with *Bourgonne*, are the very same as them of Austria. To wit, that it shall be lawful for eyther side, to traffick, and to go and come freely into one another's countries. Item, that they neyther doe, nor suffer any of the countries, to make warre vpon each other. And if (by aduenture) some enemy would doe vio-

lence to one of the two sides: the other (being thereto required) shall be careful to preuent it without any delay, for feare, lest against right and equity, it should be oppressed.

CHAP. XLI.

Of the Alliances betwene Sauoy and the Switzers.

THE Dukes of *Sauoy*, (which part was called by our Ancients, the country of the *Allobrogians*) long since, for long space of time, helde amity with the Cantons of *Berne*, *Fribourg*, and *Soleurre*. In the ende, *Charles*, Father to *Philibert*, now Duke of *Sauoy*, made an alliance with all the cantons, for twenty five years, in Anno, 112.

The first Article treateth of the amity which is to be maintained on either side, without any outrage, or seconding an enemy to passe among the Allies.

The second ruleth the knowledge of Proceffes and Law-cases, wherein Iudges of equal number are to be elected on both sides, who shall call the parties into the Towne of *Bienna*, and there ende the difference. If two sentences be giuen, hauing as many voyces on the one side as other: the Iudges shall elect a subarbitrator in one of the cantons, that shall haue no part of interest in the Proceffe. As for causes betwene particular persons; they are to be decided by Iudges of the places.

The third ordaineth, that it shall be lawful for the subjects of the allies, to go about their affaires freely, and in all safety, in the countries of *Suetia* & *Sauoy*, without being charged with any new imposts, portages, or tolles.

The fourth auoucheth, that if any man haue a difference against the Duke, and would haue it referred to the orders spoken in the cantons: if the Duke will not agree thereto, the Switzers doe not stand bound (by any alliance) to assist any such party against the Duke.

The fifth speaketh, that if the Switzers are assailed and pressed with warre, the Duke shall send them (at his own charge) fixe hundred horse at the left; & provided, that

* People of
Prouence,
containing
the Countie
of Sauoy and
Dauphine.
The alliance
of Duke
Charles with
the Cantons.
For preferen-
tion of amity.

For suiter and
law-cases.

For freedom
of commerce
on both sides.

For any diffi-
rence against
the Duke.

For mutuall
succour in
warre on ey-
ther side.

that hee haue then no warre in his owne country. In like manner, if the Duke haue any warre in his owne hand, & demand succour, the Switzers shall send him fixe thousand foot, or more, to each man whereof, the Duke shall pay 6. *Liures Tournois*, for wages every Moneth. If (ouer and aboue this number) hee demandeth some other Switzers, that desire to goe to warre vpon their owne good will towards him: hee shall not stand bound to pay them any wages, but what he will do out of his owne liberality.

The Duke may demand no seruice of the Switzers, in any nauall warre, nor cause them to passe the Seas: but onely to defend the countries, which they possesse at the day of making this alliance.

To the end that this accord may be firmly kept, the Duke nor the Switzers shall meddle with any affaires of strangers, to debate any thing to the preiudice of their alliance: neyther shall they giue right of Bourgeship, to any subiects of Swetia or Sauoye, but onely to such, as shall haue their persons and goods transported into cythers countries.

While this alliance endureth, the Duke shall yearly pay in the City of *Berne*, to each Canton, the summe of two hundred crownes.

Vpon the ending of this alliance, which lasted almost 25. yeares, the King of *France*, *Frances* the first, depoyled Duke *Charles* of the most part of his countries. And in this warre, the *Bernians* taking in hand the cause of their fellow-Bourgeses of *Geneua*, with them of *Fribourg* and *Valois*: tooke all the Dukes places in the countries of *Faut*, couuty of *Romont* and *Tuau*. After this time, the Emperour *Charles* the fift (in the protection of whō the Duke of *Sauoy* was put) was in war continually in *Piedmont* gainst the *Frēch*: and that was the cause of breaking the renewing of the alliance. At length, *Philebert*, the Sonne of *Charles*, hauing recovered his countries, by the means of peace betweene the Kings of *Spaine* and *France*: made a new and perpetuall alliance with the Cantons of *Lucerne*, *Suits*, *Vri*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, and *Solleurre*. It is (almost) the very same as the former: but onely that there is no mention made (to my remembrance) of mutuall succour. Soone after, the other Cantons re-

newed with him, the very same conditions of ancient amity and alliance.

CHAP. XLII.

Of the Alliances betweene the Switzers and the Kings of France.

King *Lewes* the 11. was the first King of *France*, that allied himselfe with the Switzers, and that assigned rewards & pensions annually to all the Cantons. Being as yet Dolphin, hee led a great Army into *Germany*, conducted by the Count of *Armignac*. This hee did in fauor of Pope *Eugenius*, and of the Emperour *Fredericke*, onely to brake the councill of *Basile*, as the Pope desired: and turiously to invade the Switzers, whom the Emperour hated, and to break off their siege (in meere despight of them) which they had planned before the city of *Zurich*, because he was allied with the house of *Austria*. The Switzers had another Army before the castle of *Franker*: 1600 men whereof, they sent thence, to succour *Basile* & the *Fathers* there in the councill.

Being about 2 miles from *Basile*, they did set vpon the *Dolphins* troops to fity, as (although in regard of their enemies multitude, who had enclosed them on all sides) they were euery man (almost) slaine in the field: yet notwithstanding, they lo weakened the French Army (for there were slaine about 6000 of them) that the Dolphin standing in feare of a further losse, and of the valour of the Switzers: tooke his way suddenly home to *France*, leauing the businesse vnexecuted, which he came for. It is reported, that the Dolphin seeing his enemies slaine bodies lying on the ground, saide thus. Sometimes with farr lesse forces, and in the space of three houres; I haue broken an Army of thirteen thousand men, without any such paine or danger as I haue met with heere, labouring a whole day toughly, to ouercome a little handfull of men. Neuer hadde I to deale with more valiant and fast enemies; and therefore I will take order, for euery warring any more against them. Which hee most truly and faithfully performed a long time after, euen

Rewards and pensions yearly allowed to all the Cantons, by King *Lewes* the 11.

The Switzers set vpon the *Dolphins* troups neere to *Basile*.

The words of the Dolphin vpon the slaughter of his enemies the Switzers.

euen vntill he came to the crowne.

Hee neuer loued *Charles* Duke of *Bourgonne*, and yet durst not make open warre on him, because hee was not well appointed for it: and therefore hee laboured by all meanes, to set the Duke at iustling with the Switzers. But to compasse his intent the more easily, and haue the Switzers at his command, when he should stand in need of their assistance: he made an alliance with them for ten yeares, giuing as an annuall pension to each Canton, the summe of seven thousand *Liures Tournois*. During the warre of the Duke of *Bourgonne* against the Switzers, the King furnished them with a great summe of money: as fearing least (through want of coine) they should giue ouer contending, and talke of truce. The Duke being foyled at *Morat*; the King gaue publickly great gilts to the Switzers, and in particular to their Captaines and Colonels. Finally, after the death of the Duke, slaine in *Lorraine*, to set an imbarment, that (by right of warre) the Switzers should not possesse themselues of *Bourgonne*, where there were many men that nodded the head at their deuotion: hee bought the country for a goodly summe of money. And because hee must needs make warre, to get into possession of the country: hee made vse of the foote Switzers to serue him, giuing to them farr greater wages, then euery Prince had done before.

Charles the eight, sonne to *Lewes*, in the yeare, one thousand, foure hundred, foure score and three, renewed the alliance which his father had made with the Switzers: and vsed their seruice in the warre, whē hee ouercame the Duke of *Bretaigne*. But principally in the warre of *Naples*, he diuers wayes made good proofe, that the warlike Switzers, were both loyall and valiant of their persons. His successeour, *Lewes* the twelfth, hauing vnderaken the conquest of *Millaine*, and very desirous to turne the Switzers, from the amity they bare to Duke *Lodowick Sforza*; made alliance with them for ten yeares. At the end whereof, hee thanked the Switzers, & denied to pay the rewards and yearly pensions, which hee had payed in publicke and to particular persons. Which so highly offended this martiall people, as partly of their own inclination, but much more by meanes of the Cardinall of *Sion*,

who solicited the principals of the cantons; they made a league with Pope *Innocent* the second, in the yeare, one thousand, five hundred and ten. A fewentimes afterward, this King laboured to make a new alliance: but the Switzers being ioyned with the Pope, would neuer listen to it. But in the yeare, one thousand five hundred and twelue, they droue the French out of *Millaine*, and re-established *Maximilian Sforza* in the Dukedome. Then the yeare following, they ouerthrew the French at *Nouars*, and came with a maine Army along into *Bourgonne*.

Lewes the twelfth, had his Sonne in law *Frances de Valois* for his successeour: who wonne a memorable bataille against the Switzers, when hee ouercame them at *Marianno*: Hee brought into France, *Maximilian Sforza*, and made himselfe Lord of the Dukedome of *Millaine*. After a victory so remarkable, knowing well, how bloody it had bin, and at how deare a price the French had bought it: the first thing hee did, was (to winne the good fauour of the Switzers) a kinde agreement made with them, ioyning them to his crowne, by a firme and durable alliance. The conditions and treaties of this peace and mutual amity, are comprized in these thirteene Articles following.

First, all enmities, dissensions, warres, differences and quarrelles in precedent times, are vtterly brought to nothing: and as for particular variances, which concern nothing in common with the occasions of warre, they shall stand vtterly void, by those Articles of agreement, made betweene the Duke of *Millaine*, King *Lewes* the twelfth, and the Cantons.

Secondly, all prisoners, in what part or place fouer they are deteyned as prisoners, or as slaues; they shall be releafed and set at liberty, without paying any ransom.

Thirdly, if any man at Armes of the Switzers, haue any suite against the King of France, not for any matter of warre; he may contest in iustice, according to the Articles following.

Fourthly, all such persons as after the accord made betweene King *Lewes* the twelfth, and the Cantons, were and are allied with them, or receiued into the number of their Bourgeses: shall be comprehended in this treaty, and enioy the benefit

The Switzers chase the French out of *Millaine*.

Frances de Valois successeour to *Lewes* the twelfth.

The tencour of this peace made betweene King *France* the first and the Switzers.

For free delivery of prisoners.

For suites in law against the King.

For such as are to enioy the benefit of this peace.

The *Liure Tournois* is two shillings sterling.

No Nauall war, or passage of the Seas.

For preferuacion of this alliance firmly.

Payment of 200. crowns to each Canton yearly.

The men of *Berne* ioyned with their fellow-Bourgeses of *Geneua*.

A new and perpetuall alliance betweene *Philebert* and the Cantons.

King *Lewes* a great enemy to *Charles* Duke of *Bourgonne*, yet durst not war with him.

Great gilts & pensions to the Switzers for foyleing the Duke at *Morat*.

King *Charles* renewed his fathers league with the Switzers.

King *Lewes* the 12. made alliance with the Switzers for ten yeares.

The Switzers displeased with King *Lewes*.

nefit thereof. Onely such excepted, as are out of the limits of *Swetia*, that speake not the Germane tongue, and are not subiects to the Cantons.

The fift Article, confirmeth to Merchants and subiects of *Swetia*, the priuiledges and franchises, which the Kings of France haue formerly graunted vnto them.

Sixtly, to the end that the *Switzers* may the better vnderstand the good will and liberality of the King: hee will pay them downe presently a great somme of crownes, for their great charges at the siege of *Dijon*, and afterwards in Italy.

Seauenthy, that peace may bee the more firmly maintained on eyther side, and to continue on this begun amity: if any difference happen to be moued, neither the one party or other shall vnder-take Armes, in that manner to pursue his right; but according to the order before mentioned, is to demaund reason by course of iustice.

Eighty, neyther side shall giue passage, food or harbour to the others enemies: nor suffer their subiects to vndergo Armes, for such Princes or common-weales, as are enemies to France, or to the Switzers. Such as do the contrary, shall be repealed to their country, and punished according as they haue deserved.

Ninthy, permission is granted vnto Merchants, Pilgrims, & Subiects, French or Switzers, to trafficke, voyage, goe and come freely, into France and *Swetia*; without any outrage, or being offended by any new tolles or taxes.

Tenthy, the King giueth yearly to each Canton, the sum of two thousand *Liures Tournois*: As much to the *Valaisians*, and as much to the *Grisons*, as was granted vnto them by king *Lewes* the 12. And moreover, the sum of 20000 *Liures Tournois*. Item, to the Abbot of *S. Gall*, to the Subiects, and to them of *Toggenbourg*, the sum of 600 *Liures Tournois*: To the city of *S. Gall*, 400: To *Mulhouse*, 400: And to them of the county of *Gruyere*, 600.

Eleuenthy, the ancient priuiledges and franchises, which they haue (till then) enjoyed in the Dukedome of *Millaine*, the inhabitants of *Bellizana*, *Lugano*, *Lo-*

carno, and the Vale *Madia*; are to them fully referred and confirmed.

Twelfty, the king leaueth it in choise to the *Switzers*, to declare within the compasse of a yeare, whether they affect or no: to hold the countries and castles of *Lugano*, *Locarno*, and of the Vale *Madia*; or else to forsake them, for the sum of thirtie thousand crownes of the Sunne. And if they take the money: then they of the Vale of *Telins*, and of the county of *Clanenna*, shall haue their part in this summe, as much as one of the Cantons.

The last Article ordaineth, that this peace and amity betweene the Realme of France and the cantons, shall continue inuolable and perpetuall.

The king excepteth in this peace, Pope *Leo* the tenth, the See and Romane Empire, the kings of *Spaine*, of *England*, of *Scotland*, of *Nawarre*, and of *Denmarke*: The Dukes of *Sauoy*, of *Lorraine*, of *Guel-dres*: Item, the Duke & common-wealth of *Venice*, *Laurentius de Medicis*, the house of *Medicis*, and the common-wealth of *Florence*: The Bishop of *Liege*, and all the confederates of the king.

The Switzers also except on their part, Pope *Leo* the tenth, the See of Rome, the Emperour and Romane Empire; the house of *Austria*; the Dukes of *Sauoy*, and of *Wirtenberg*; the family of *Laurentius de Medicis*; the common-wealth of *Florence*, the Marshall of *Bourgonne*, their ancient alliances; and all their allies and fellow-Bourgettes.

The reason for these exceptions, is, that if the king of France make warre vpon any one of them aboue named, in his own countries: the Switzers may keepe what promise or alliance they haue formerly made or sworne, to those Princes or common-wealths. But if one or more of those Princes or common-wealths, come to assault the king in his owne kingdom: the Cantons shall not permit any of their Subiects to goe in warre against the king; but shall countermaund them, as it is ordayned in the eight Article, and which they are to keepe and obserue inuolably.

To these conditions is added the forme to be kept, in the deciding of suites and differences. But it seemeth to me, that it would be great losse of time and paper

The Author auoydeth needlesse interlusions.

A courtie left by the king to the Switzers choise.

The King made a more strict alliance with the Switzers.

For continuance of this amity.

Exception made by the King of France.

Exception made by the Switzers.

Concerning warre in any place belonging to the crowne, and leuie of men.

For choise of Captains and Colonels out of the cantons.

Against hindering or men and delay of time.

For continuance in the Kings seruice, except warres be at home in *Swetia*.

paper to insert it: because it agreeth almost altogether, with the accord of *Millaine*, and other formes of iudgements, wherof we haue spoken heretofore. All this conference and treaty of peace, was made by the Ambassadors on eyther side, and sette downe in writing in the Towne of *Fribourg*, on *S. Andrews* day, in the Moneth of Nouember, and in the yeare 1516.

The King hauing made pacification with the Switzers, as already hath beene declared: yet hee would needs proceede somewhat farther, and allie them more strictly to his crowne. Which also he obtained, and that agreement was past at *Lucerne*, five yeares after the fore-mentioned peace. Then all the Cantons (except *Zurich*) and all their confederates, allied themselves with the King of France: and the tenour of that alliance was as followeth,

The Tenure of a more nere agreement, made betweene the King and the Switzers.

1. If any one (whosoever it be) make war within the Realme of France, in the Dukedome of *Millaine*, or any other country appertaining to the crown, eyther on this side, or beyond the Mountaines: the King may make a leuie of Switzers, when and at what time himselfe shall thinke meete, to wit, of fixe thousand men at the least, and seauen thousand at the most, except the Lords of the Leagues will permit more.

2. Hee may also chuse out of all the Cantons and confederates, such Colonels and Capitaines as he shall thinke fit: provided, that they be men of good fame and credite.

3. The Lordes of the Leagues shall giue no hinderance to those Colonels, Capitaines, and Soldiers, neither delay time, or put any case in question, to hinder their going: but that within ten daies after that first day, whercon the King required succour, they shall bee permitted to march away.

4. They shall continue in the Kings seruice, vntill the end of the warre; if it seeme good to him, and they not recalled home by their Lords: The King shall

also pay them (euery one) his accustomed wages. But if there happen warre in *Swetia*, and that thereby the cantons cannot succour the King, as they otherwise wold: In this case, they shall stand quit of their promise, and they may suddenly countermand home their men; to whom also the King stands bound, to grant their departure immediately.

5. If the King would make warre vpon his enemies: he may make the same leuie of fixe thousand Switzers at the least, and seuen thousand at the most; chusing Colonels and Capitaines, men of faire and good fame, which are Switzers, or of their Allies.

6. The King may not separate an Army of Switzers, or diuide them in troops for Garrisons in diuers places: and they are not to serue at Sea, but on the land.

7. As concerning the wages for the Gendarmery; it is agreed on both sides, that the King shall pay for a Moneth vnto each Switzer Soldier, foure *Florins* and an halfe, of them that are called *Florinus du Rhin*. And their wages shall begin on the day, when they set forth from their houses: and then shall three Moneths pay be due vnto them, although the King do not vset them in seruice so long. And before they part out of *Swetia*, they must receiue the first Moneths pay: and the rest for the two other Moneths, at meete places, according as need shall require. If after those three Moneths are past, the King will longer retaine the Switzers; hee shall pay them the same wages euery Moneth, vntill such time as they may commodiously returne home to their owne house.

8. The Colonels, Capitaines, Ensigns, Ambassadors, & others that haue charge in the troopes; shall bee payed after their accustomed manner, and according as the Predecessours to the Kings of France haue done.

9. If any war is made vpon the Switzers, the King of France shall stand bound to succour them at his owne cost: sending them two hundred compleat horsemen, and twelve peeces of Artillery, with all their equippage and furniture; to wit, fixe peeces for battery, and fixe Canons. Moreover, hee shall furnish the Switzers (from three Moneths to three Moneths) in the city of *Lyons*, with certaine sums

When the King shall haue occasion to make war.

An Army of Switzers not to be diuided, &c.

wages agreed on for the horsemen, & in what manner it is to be paid, vpon the due of three Moneths pay

Pay for men of higher rank & place, according to their degrees.

Concerning succour to be sent the Switzers, who war is made on them.

of money, for expences in the warre. And if the *Switzers* affect it rather: instead of two hundred compleate horsemen, the King shall giue them all the three Moneths, the sum of two thousand crownes at the least.

10. If it come so to passe, that if (thorough occasion of moued warre here or there) the *Switzers* cannot haue any Salt: it may be bought for them in France, & so bee conuayed home into their countries.

11. No side or party shall receiue into protection, neyther bestow Bourgeship on any of the others subiects, nor succor, lodge, or defend men banished, or enemies to eyther side: but according to the Articles of peace, shall hinder & expulse them.

12. Finally, the King being willing to make knowne his loue and good will towards the *Switzers*: ouer and beside the twenty thousand Francks, which he promised to pay them by the treaty of peace, further promisseth, to pay yearly to each one of the Cantons (while this alliance shall continue) the summe of a thousand pounds *Tournois*. He will also pay to the confederates, the moiety of the pension which they had before.

The King excepteth Pope *Leo* the 10. The *Romane* See and Empire; the kings of *England* and of *Scotland*: the Duke of *Sauoy*, of *Lorraine*, of *Halsatia*, and of *Guelbres*; the common-wealth of *Venice*, and of *Florence*; the house of *Medici*; the Marquesses of *Brandenbourg* and of *Montferrat*.

The Cantons do likewise except Pope *Leo* the tenth, the *Romane* See and Empire; the common-wealth of *Florence*; the house of *Medici*; the Duke of *Sauoy*; the house of *Austria*; their alliances, their Bourgeses and confederates; the Duke of *Wirtemberg*; and *Ottavian Maria Sforza*, Bishop of *Landa*.

Neuerthelesse, if any of these aboue named, make warre on eyther of these parties, in their countries on this side, or beyond the Mountains: the other shall giue succour, without exception of any person, according to the tenour of this alliance, which is to endure while King *Frances* liueth, and three yeares after his death.

This alliance being expired, *K. Henry*

the second, Sonne and Succesor to king *Frances*, contracted a new alliance with the Cantons, vpon the same conditions before named: and that alliance lasted 5. yeares after his death. Now because the Dukedome of *Milaine*, and some other Prouinces, comprehended in the alliance made with king *Frances*, were dismembered from the crowne, when this new league was contracted: It is expressly set downe, that the *Switzers* shall not stand obliged, to giue the king any succour, for recouery of those countries. But if he can reconquer them by the ayde of another Army, and he shall bee Lord of them againe, as of other Prouinces belonging to his Kingdome: for the better conseruation of them, the Cantons shall furnish him with men, who shall likewise attend him in warre, for the recouery of *Bullen*, and the county of *Bullenis* in *Picardy*.

If the king will goe in person to some warre, hee may make choise (at his pleasure) of Capitaines *Switzers*, and command a leuée of fixe thousand men at the least.

He may not disioyne or separate the *Switzer* Army, when hee is vpon the point of giuing battaile: but out of such occasion, he may plant them in Garisons, in Townes and strong places, to defend them.

As for the wages, rewards, & succors, which the king is to giue vnto the *Switzers*; it beareth the very selfe-same reason as is in the precedent alliance; and the other Articles doe agree with them before mentioned.

And to the ende, that the treaty of peace, made in the yeare 1516. may remaine firme, when wages reit vnspaid, it is thus ordained. The demander shall acquaint his Magistrate with the matter, to whom, if the cause seeme vpright; he shall goe or send to the kings Ambassadors, which are in *Swetia*, or if they be absent, the Magistrate shall write to the king, and require satisfaction for the party. If the king yeelds to reason, the demander is satisfied, but if he refuse to pay according to equity; the demander may then call his cause before Iudges and Arbitrators, and there haue it debated. And if the King yeelds to reason, the demander is satisfied, but if he refuse to pay according to equity, the demander may then call his cause

king Henry the second succeeded his Father King *Frances*.

Concerning the Iudges of the Dukedome of *Milaine*.

A breuiale of the new adjoined Articles.

For leuée of men.

No finding of the *Switzers* army.

For wages & rewards.

When wages remaine vnspaid.

In cases concerning the King and a private man.

before Iudges and Arbitrators, and there haue it debated. And if the King will not yeeld to the Iudges his part, the *Switzers* may passe on to further knowledge of the facts, and what they appoint, shall be allowed for firme and available to eyther party, euen as if the Iudges on eyther side had therein assisted.

The Merchants both French and *Switzers*, according to the articles of peace, shall not be greeued with any new taxes, tolles, or imposts.

If any suite be moued betweene par-

ties on eyther side, the demander may p'cede before the Iudge, in the place where the defender dwelleth.

This alliance was treated and past at *Solenneure*, in the yeare, 1546. All the Cantons (except *Berne* and *Zurich*) with their confederates, being bound thereto.

Finally, King *Charles* the ninth, Sonne to King *Henry*, renewed this alliance with the *Switzers*, vpon conditions little differing from the former: and that alliance continueth yet to this day, after the kings death.

For suite in law.

When this alliance was made.

King *Charles* the ninth allied with the *Switzers*.



THE MANNER OF GOVERNMENT obserued among the *Switzers*.

THE SECOND PART.

WE haue shewne in our first Part, of what parts & parcels, the common-wealth of the *Switzers* is composed; for what causes, & with what conditions these people, dwelling in diuers places, allied themselves together, to make vp one body of a Common-wealth. Also with what industry and trauaile, they haue maintained their liberties; and with what Princes and peoples, they haue associated and leagued themselves. In this second Booke, wee shall declare, how this common-wealth is governed. And because the confederates haue (each one) their Magistrates, Lawes, and particular government, and that the cantons do make one common-wealth apart, and yet there is a councill in common to the whole Nation, and lawes and ordinances, to whose obseruation all are obliged: First, I will make mention of the *Switzers* common-wealth in generally; then I will describe the estate and government of the Cantons, severally

ly in their places.

They that haue written concerning common-wealths, doe set downe three sorts.

The first, when all the managing and government of the common-wealth, is in the power of one only, who is called a King, if he gouerne iustly, with consent of the people, and according vnto the lawes; for if he do otherwise, he is a Tyrant.

The second, when a small number of principall men, and more people of good behauiour, do gouerne.

The third, when all the people haue the authority in their hands.

Thus there are three kinds of Common-wealths, to wit, Monarchy, Aristocracy, & Democracy: who haue for their vicious shaddowes, Tyranny, Oligarchy, and Anarchy.

We cannot compare or sute the *Switzers* common-wealth, with any of these before named: but as (aunciently) the great Common-wealths of *Rome* and *Carthage*, and (in our time) that of *Venice* may be termed mixt and compounded, be-

Three several kinds of common wealths, & their hurtfull shaddowes.

A forme or shape of the *Switzers* commonwealth.

Vpon dearth or necessity of Salt.

Against receiuing eyther others enemies.

The liberality of the King to the Cantons.

Exception made on the Kings behalfe.

Exception also on the cantons behalfe.

A cause of generall warre.

For new taxations.

A breuiale of the new adjoined Articles.

A breuiale of the second Booke Argument.

because (in some matters) they shared or cooke part, with all the three kinds of governments; so in like maner, the common-wealth of the Svitzers is mingled or composed of a Seignioriall, Lordly, and Popular government. For among all the people, of whom the whole common-wealth of the Svitzers is compounded: there are some, whose government is merely democraticall, & where all things (almost) are done by the deliberation of the people. As in those Cantons that have no cities, to wit. *Vri, Svits, Vnderwald, Glaris, and Appenzell*: yea, even in *Zug*, although it is a city. The other are governed by Lords, as cities commonly use to be, namely *Zurich, Berne, Lucerne, Basle, Fribourg, Solleure, and Schaffhouse*. But because the Soueraignty appertaineth to the people, who doe elect these Lords, these common-wealths are compounded of two kinds of government: so that notwithstanding, the one is more Aristocraticall, and the other more Popular.

So then, the common-wealth of the Svitzers being compounded of people, that haue not al one, and the same forme of government: the order and policy also is very diuers and mixt. For if vpon some dayes of audience, ambassadors do aduise on matters of the whole common-wealth, or end some differences: this appeareth to be a government merely Aristocraticall. And yet neuertheless, because they are (for the most part) elected by the people, and that in causes and affaires of importance, they cannot go beyond their aduice, but deale according to the peoples command, to whom they must render an account of their negotiation: it may easily be noted, that such a kinde of government is not altogether Aristocraticall.

Now it plainly appeareth, that the Svitzers common-wealth cannot be better governed, for the liberties which they do enjoy, was gotten by their ancestors, nor by the industry and power of one, or of a small number of particular men: but the people themselves were employed therein, and did enfranchise it with the expence of their purses, blood, and liues. And therefore it is no more then reason, that they should reape some fruit of their trauaile. And as concerning, that

it seemeth incommotions and perillous, in a popular estate, that all men should deliuer their aduice, but rather, that it ought to be done by them of most wisdom, and men of best quality: This danger is not to be doubted in the Svitzers Common-wealth, for they do most employ, and send on their dayes of audience, the best and wisest persons of each Canton. And although they haue not power to conclude definitiue (because it might be a dangerous consequence, for the peoples liberty) yet notwithstanding, they are as the chiefeest counsellors, and make a conference of opinions, vpon the State affaires. Afterward, the people giue their consent, by assemblies which they make in Townes and Villages. Now such as are not altogether stupid and ill-affected, may know and approue, that which hath bene deliberated in those dayes meetings, for common benefit: considering, they giue them plainly to vnderstand every thing.

CHAP. II.

Of the manner and behaiour of the Svitzers, in the times of both peace and warre.



Forasmuch as the right government of a common-wealth, is best discerned in affaires and managements of peace and warre: it behooueth vs to shew how our predecessors haue carried themselves therein. As concerning exercises of war, beside that which nature hath done, in fashioning the Svitzers fit thereto: necessity also hath constrained them, to apply their paines, and that in good earnest. The Country is Mountainy, sharpe, and hard for culture, anciently desert and fauage for the most part, making the people not onely indurate and hardened for trauaile: but also robuste, stiffe, & strong, and so (by consequent) very apt for warre.

Now as naturally the people of Europe are more magnanimous and warlike, then they of Asia: so the Europeans which

No danger: to be feared in the Svitzers common-wealth.

The obseruation among the Svitzers.

The best glasse to see any common-wealth in his true nature.

The nature & quality of the country.

The Svitzers are naturally men fit for warlike employments.

Concerning those people becomen the Alpes, & nature of the country.

All the Svitzers are soldiers borne.

The Princes of Aultria haue much in liued the Svitzers.

A comparison well worth the obseruation.

It is an especiall command to every Switzer young and old to beare Armes.

which dwell in Mountainous and hard countries, are reputed to be more martially minded then the other. Prooue heere of appeareth, in the histories of the *Goths, Vandales, Hunnes, Lombards, Franks*, and other people, who being bred in the very coldest countries of the North: did yet disperse themselves ouer the fayrest parts of Europe, and eyther foraged, or troubled them, treading vnder their feete the power of Rome, sometimes so much renowned through the world. In like manner, as the very coldest countries of the Alpes, do beare the highest and tallest Trees, and haue beasts more fatte and faire then can be desired: so the naturall disposition of the country, and temperature of the ayre, produceth men more robuste and strong then others are. Vnderfore, in many Countries, some are men for Armes, others are labourers, and others artesans: but in *Switzerland*, all are Soldiours borne, even by a meere manner of desire, and there is not a *Switzer*, (provided that hee haue stature and apt disposition) but in him may be seene the very lues (to life) of a man of warre.

And because almost all the neighbors to the Cantons, but especially the Princes of Aultria, laboured by continuall warres, to annihilate the liberty of the *Svitzers*, and that for the space of two hundred yeares: meere necessity made the *Svitzers* martiall, being compelled to carry weapons daily in their hands, to maintaine their liberty, bridle the headstrong courses of their enemies, & to preserve their wiues and children. And as it was said of *Agesilaus*, after he was wounded by the *Thebanes* in an encounter, that he receiued worthy wages, for teaching them the arte of warre: euen so Noble men that entrusted the olde *Svitzers*, simple peasants, and shepherds, to handle a Sword, and compelled them to vnderstand the trickes of fencing, receiued (in the end) the recompence for their apprenticeship, hauing bene so many times beaten in battailes, and finally criuen out of *Switzerland*.

From hence it ensued, that their lawes & customes were accommodated to the exercises of warre. For whereas in many Countries, the people are forbidden to carry and manage weapons: so on the contrary, there is none so young in *Swit-*

zerland, dwell he in City, Town, Village, or Field, be he a peasant, porter, or of the very basest condition can be desired, but he is strictly commanded to haue Armes, according to his quality. And because that in our time, the Harquebuz or Caliuier was in great vse for warre: there was a prize and reward proposed in publicke, for such as would exercise, and could dexteriously handle these fiery weapons. Not only in Cities, as was done in many parts of Germany: but also in the most people d Townes and Villages. Nay, there was a prize and reward appointed for children, that could draw the bow; so the end, that they might afterward be the better fashioned for weapons of more danger: which proued to such an expert practise, that from their very youth, they accustomed themselves to discharge the Caliuier.

Their other pastimes also fauored all of war. For they neuer used to meete together, were it on solemne daies & festiuals, according to the Churches dedications, or at weddings and other such like occasions, but with Drums and Trumpets for war. And it was (and still is) a great honor for a Bride-grome, to be attended on with a great number of Pikes, Halberds, & Shot, who (wentreated) march before him, or come to honour his feast, in the nature of a mulier, marching after the manner of war. Many times also, boyes of 8. or 10. yeares old, and others somewhat more aged, meet together and make musters, with Drums & Ensignes, some beare Caliuers, others Halberds, & others Pikes: so that to see them march, it might well be said, that they had hearts & hands already apt to manage those warlike weapons. In this manner, they that neuer vnderstood any thing set downe in the Military precepts of *Vegetius*, nor of any other, inured from their infancy, without any command: but onely of their owne motion, and by a naturall inclination to Armes, can carry and manage themselves with countenances and steppings fit for Soldiours. In many places, euery yeare, or at certaine times of the yeare, the Lords cause general musters in arms to be made for all their followers, as if they were going to war against the enemy. These musters are sometimes performed at the dedication of Temples, sometimes at Fairs; and in some other places, when the

Prizes & rewards proposed only for encouragement to handle the caliuier

All the exercises and pastimes of the Svitzers fauour of war.

The exercises of the Svitzers children, that they become soldiers from their Cradles.

Good & virtuous examples are fit for all mankind.

Subjects take their oath to a Gouvernor, sent newly to some Bayliwicke, for then they all muster, and shew themselves in Armes.

It is altogether needlesse, that I should make any long discourse of other exercises, which do dispose the to be the more valiant in war: as to runne, leape, throw the stone and barre, to wrestle, so shew all kindes of defence fit for Arms; for which there are prizes publicly appointed euery year. Moreover, I am of the minde, that in all christendome, there is not any people, that do exercise themselves more in swimming, then the Switzers: who (with much ease) can vie that Arte, swimming thorough great Lakes, Riuers, Streames, and very impetuous floods, where-with the country doth greatly abound. When they are at leysure, and haue done their husbandry in the fields: they daily follow hunting, sometimes ouer the highest Mountaines and Rockes, almost inaccessible, after wilde Goates, Kids, and other beasts. At other times they pursue Beares, Wolves, Ounces, & wilde Boares, reputing it as an honour to him that can kil one of those sauage creatures, and fasten his head at the entrance of his doore; yet sometimes hee makes a present of it to the Seignoury. The Grecians had an ancient custome among the, to giue the heads of wilde Boares, vnto Gentlemen or Gouvernours of the country, as an honourable present after hunting.

Now we are to declare, how the Switzers doe carry themselves in warre. First then, I will make mention of their Arms: next, how they chuse and enroule their Soldiours: And consequently, of other things belonging to the acte of warre. Let me then tell you, that (ordinarily) the Switzers Souldiours are well furnished with Armes in their houses: yet (oftentimes) the Citties and Towns do fit them with Armes, which are kept in their publicke Arsenalles and Magazines. Their Armes are commonly those of the Germane Lance-Knights, to wit: the Harquebuzer, or Caluer, or Musket; the Pike of eightene foote in length; the Halbert: the Courtlace, and Sword made apt for both hands. They weare also a long Sword by their sides, whereas their ancestors did weare one farre shorter on

their thighs, proper to ioyne with the enemy neerer hand, and to giue him the Stoccardo.

Now adayes, ouer and beside this long Sword, they weare a large Pontard or Dagger, of three or foure fingers breadth, and sharpe pointed: which the very meanness of them do adorne and enrich, with curious workmanship of gold and siluer. Some weare shirres of Mayle; others Corselets, or a good Cuirats for the body.

The poorer sort, and especially the Muskettiers, content themselves with a Murrian or head-peece. Some, in stead of Armes played with yron or Steele, make vse of skinnies of Beares or Buffelles: Others weare doubles of linnen cloth, redoubled in iust thicknesse, and made full of oylet-holes, and these doubles thus made, are not easily to bee transpierced. For the rest, as *Polybius* writeth, that the braue Parado or Romane Soldiour, vied to weare a Panache of three plumes, red or blacke, about the length of a foote and an halfe, because this addition to the rest of his furniture for warre, made the Soldiour seeme to be twice greater and higher, then he was indeed; much more comely to looke on, and terrible to the enemy. Euen so the Switzers Soldiours, who couet to appeare slightly amongst all other, do weare on their heads a Plume of Feathers, one part white, and the other answerable to the Ensigne, or Colours of their distinct Cantons.

They beare euery man vpon his Arms, a white crosse, plaine and right, which is the Switzers Ensigne of war: Each man yeelds himselfe vnder the Standard of his Canton. They serue their turne with Drums, Fifes, and Trumpets: yet in such sort, notwithstanding, that the Drums of the Switzers are easily discerned frō them of the *Allemans* or *Germanes*, because the found of the Switzers Drum is weighty and deepe, and the other more blunting. Particularly, they of *Vri* vie in warre, a Cornet made of a wilde Bulles horn. They of *Vnderwald* do the like. The *Luzernians* often-times vie a Cornet of Brass, which they say was giuen them by *Charlemaine*.

Now as concerning the enrolment of their Soldiours, it is done in manner following.

What they vie now at this present day, in their due order.

The braue Parado or Romane Soldiour, vied to weare a Panache of three plumes, red or blacke, about the length of a foote and an halfe, because this addition to the rest of his furniture for warre, made the Soldiour seeme to be twice greater and higher, then he was indeed; much more comely to looke on, and terrible to the enemy.

The Impetuous or light hearted Switzers purpose to fight warre.

How and in what manner they vie to enroule their men for war. If warre be made on them about.

When they march forth abroad to war

The care of the old Switzers in their enrolment.

A reason concerning the name of Germanes, and how it came vp at first.

A great happiness to be amongst such men, and in such a campe.

If warre be made vpon the Switzers, and that they are assailed in their owne country; as no person was excused at Rome, when *Hanniball* was at the gates of the City; euen so (without the least delay) all such as are able to carry Armes, they lay command on, to run with speedy succour, as to a sudden and dangerous fire, which euery hand ought helpe to quench. Yet in all this, they proceede by good order; for in the time of peace, each Canton hath certaine Captaines, Ensignes, and chosen men, that ought still to be ready vpon any warning. But because it cometh to passe more often, that they must leade their troops out of their country, and all are not meete for marching, neither ought to be drawne abroad, for feare the country should be left naked of men of warre, and so remaine as a prey to the enemy: Then one neighbour makes choise of another for his companion, and according to the aduice of *Xenophon*, the very strongest Army that can bee imagined, is that which is compounded of friends and companions.

The ancient Switzers well knowing this, tooke especial care, that in their enrolment, friends, and such as knew one another, might be ranked together. And heereupon they ordained, that in warre, Switzers should aide each other, & loue together like brethren, throwing of all particular hatreds, which they could formerly pretend one against another. The other *Allemagne* Soldiours had a custom to call one another brother: in regard whereof, some haue thought, that our ancient named them *Germanes*, which is as much to say, as brethren. Yet notwithstanding, they were all (almost) at the Swords point one against another, & (very often) the furious Lance-knights, who by their hackt and slasht faces, seeme to breathe no other word but warre: haue receiued more cuts and gasbes by their friends and companions, then from their enemies.

On the contrary, ordinarily in the Switzers Campe, there is a very great tranquillity, & one louing another (though otherwise they know not at all) euen as if they were brethren. And when they are the very greatest enemies in the world: yet notwithstanding, for the good and quietnes of their country, they renounce

all spleene & particular quarrels. Whereof I will declare a memorable example, which oftentimes (in my youth) I heard reported by my ancestors.

Two Switzers being deadly enemies, to wit, *Arnould* of *Vnderwald*, who afterward was a great Capitaine, and *Zerchintes* of *Zurich*, both of them very valiant men, and meete for war. It came to passe, that during the warre of *Suaba*, they were both at one time in the Campe: when the cheefe Leaders (knowing their enmity) commanded them to be friends, and (as then) to forget their ancient quarrels. It happened in a certaine encounter, that *Arnould* was round engirt with his enemies: which *Zerchintes* perceiuing, came with his companions to relecue him, and did set him free from the danger wherein he was. In the euening, being returned to the Campe, *Arnould* went to the Tent of *Zerchintes*, and called to him by his name. His fellowes and followers, being ignorant of that which had happened, were perswaded by their owne opinion, that he came to challenge combat with the other. Wherefore they stepe betweene them, & admonished *Arnould*, to remember the command giuen by the Captains, and to take heede of mouing any trouble in the Campe. He answered, that he came with a quite contrary disposition, and so acquainted them with all the aduerture. And instantly presented to *Zerchintes* a very goodly horse, fit for warre seruice, which he had wonne in that daies trauaile. From that time forward, euen to the houre of death, they were very louing and intimate friends.

As the ancient Switzers shewed themselves brethren, in succouring and assisting their companions, doing as they would be done to themselves: so did they observe the same forme, in tharing and diuiding a gotten booty. For first of all, they gaue prohibition on paine of death, that no man of theirs, should bee so hardy or bold, as to forsake his ranck & the troops, vntill such time as the enemy should bee driuen in rout. Afterward, when the Captaines had giuen licence to rife and ranlacke; all the booty was brought in common, & distributed by the poll. And because the cantons are publicly vntied, euen so the publicke booty, as Artillery, Castles, conquered Countries, Tolles,

A very memorable example of great vertue in the Switzers, appearing by two mortal enemies.

How the ancient Switzers vied to diuide such booties as they won in the warre.

Distribution
by equality of
portions.]

They that de-
serve best
ought to have
best.

The ancient
Switzers or-
der for victu-
als, Arms, mu-
nitions, &c.

Prohibition
for violating
of Churches,
maidens, and
women.

Of the manner
of the Swit-
zers battallion

Example of
the battallion
of Nouras.

Example of
the two dayes
at Marignano

and other reuennues, are parted among them by equall portion. Albeit there are some of the Cantons, that doe furnish out twice, thrice, and some whiles fure times more Soldiours, then others doe. Neuerthelesse, extraordinarily and particularly, recompence is giuen, and gifts bestowed vpon Soldiers, that haue borne themselves valiantly, & performed some braue exploit in the warre, beyond the fortune of their companions: and also to those Cantons in like manner, that haue bene more employed and charged, then the other.

Forasmuch also, as victuals and other munitions, are in warre to bee especially considered: the ancient Switzers ordained, that such as brought victuals, Arms, or other necessary things, came to sell them in the Switzers campe, they should befaououred & maintained, in all respects as if they were Switzers. There is also a perpetuall law, and established by length of time, that in warre, Temples and other places destined for the exercise of Religion, should be left intire and vntoucht. And that no outrage should be offered to maids nor women: but onely to such, as shall giue Armes to enemies, or acte the parts of Soldiours, by hurling stones, or hurting in some other manner.

As concerning the manner of camping, and raunging themselves in battaile; it is needlesse for me to shew heere, that which the Switzers do in particular, or in common with the other Germans. Only I will say, that in our time, and by the memory of our auncestors: among all Infantry, the battallion of the Switzers hath alwayes bene highly esteemed. For being composed of Pikes crossed, it resembleth a Porcupine, so that such as vnderstand the affaires of warre, doe iudge, and experience hath approoued it, that this battallion may beare head against the horsemen. In the battaile of *Nouras*, the Infantry of the Switzers being not couered with any horse: foiled and droue in route, the French Infantry and Horsemen. Afterward, on the day at *Marignano*, hauing had battaile against king *Francis*, two severall dayes, which they lost, by reason of the thundering Artillery, and multitude of their enemies: Neuerthelesse, though vanquished, yet they returned to *Milaine*, ranged in battaile, so that

their retreat seemed nothing like a flight; and yet the French (for all their victory) durst not follow them. It is not long since, when on the day at *Dreux*, in the first Troubles, the *Reîtres* & the French Caudery, liuely charged the battaillon of the Switzers, and slew the most part of their Captaines: yet notwithstanding the Switzers rallied themselves three times, and kept their ranks so well, that euen in that battaile, their enemies confessed themselves, that they were very valiant & warlike men.

But let vs leaue such discourse to men of warre, and shew you, how the Switzers busie themselves in the times of peace, & how they are ordered from their infancy. First, as concerning letters and learning, which holds the first ranke: I freely confesse, that the ancient Switzers were not very carefull thereof. But rather they imitated the Romans therein, when they were in warres continually, against the *Aequi*, *Volschians*, *Vientes*, and other neighbouring people. And as they then, with rusticall songs celebratd the valiancy of their ancestors: so in the same manner, the olde Switzers had vulgar songs, to remember the victories which they had obtained in warre. The Song wherein the day of *Sempach* is aptly described, when as Duke *Leopold* was slaine, is very common in Switzerland. As for knowledge of Artes, and of the Latine tongue, men of warre, bruske and vnapt to handle Bookes, rather thought, that such matters belonged to Churchmen. But in our dayes, there are to be found in all the cantons of Switzers, men learned both in the Tongues and Sciences. And as for many that vnderstand not the Latine tongue: yet they forbear not to reade Histories of all kinds, either concerning government of life, or affaires of State, or of Religion: And there are Libraries, well furnished with Bookes, written in the vulgar tongue.

Now, as concerning Schooles, it is a very long time since, that the Colleged of the Abbey of *S. Gall*, and of *Coure* among the *Grisons*, were renowned, as we haue already shewne else-where. But within some certaine yeares after, letters and learning became quite banished. The Pope *Pius*, formerly named *Aeneas Sylvius*, provided an Vniuersity at *Basile*, to whence

Example of
the day at
Dreux,

How the Swit-
zers carry
themselves in
times of peace,
and are train-
ed vp from
their child-
hood.

Letters or
learning little
regarded a-
mong the an-
cient Swit-
zers.

Many in the
Cantons lea-
ned in tongue
and sciences.

Of Schooles
for the further-
ing and main-
tenance of
learning.

Pope Pius
reduced a Vni-
uersity at Ba-
sile.

Goodly Prin-
ting-houles.

Loue of ver-
tue & iustice
among the
Switzers.

The Lawes of
the Switzers.

The alliances
of the Swit-
zers.

Of vnder-
taking Armes
or going to
warre.

In the case of
mutuall aide
and assistance

whence haue come many learned and excellent men: whom it is needles to name, because they are sufficiently famous, and knowne by their writings. There are also diuers notable and publike Schooles at *Zurich*, at *Berne*, and one established at *Laufanna*, by the Lords of *Berne*. Nor must I let sleepe in silence, the goodly Printing-houles at *Basile*, *Zurich*, and *Geneua*, renowned among them all that are in *Germany*.

Beside the study of good letters, whereof I haue made mention, there is loue of all vertue, and especially of Iustice, which appertaineth also to the maintenance of peace. For it is a matter most certaine, that the common-wealth of the Switzers is grounded vpon most great equity, and hath euermore bene famous, in regard of her iustice: as appeareth by the lawes, alliances, customes, and manner of life among the ancient Switzers, and by many examples, and particular actions. I need not make mention of their lawes, because they agree with those of other common-wealths, that are ruled by good lawes: where crimes and misdeeds are severely punished, without any exception of persons.

As for their alliances, the Articles of them, reported in the first Booke: do declare, with what vprightnesse, diligence, & faithfulness they are made. The ends of them are, that euery man may enioy his owne peaceably, and that (by a common consent) all violence may be expulst and banished. For the better governing of this case, it is expressly forbidden, to goe and assault, and make warre one vpon another, cyther rashly, or without iust cause. And therefore also, before Armes may be vnderaken, the wisest and most discrete persons in all the nation: in a publike assembly, must examine the causes of the warre, and vnderstand them to be iust and lawfull. Then afterward, when question is vrged of repulsing an enemy, it is most strictly prohibited to the confederates, that ought to giue assistance; to vse therein no fraud nor cunning. But if they be called by letters, or by messages, or admit they could not bee called, the passages being fore-closed by the enemy: yet notwithstanding they are commanded to go and giue succour, euen to their vtmost power.

Moreouer, because it many times happens, that the recovery of debts and borrowed money, do beget great debates, so that such differences between particular persons, doe sometimes fet the Cantons at variance one with another: the Articles of the alliances do euery where make mention, what course is to be observed in the recovery of such debts, and for taking pawns, to cut off the ouer great licence of lenders, and to shunne the fraudulency of borrowers. Whosoever hath bene but a meane reader of Histories, knowes very wel, what troubles haue happened in Rome, in the case of debts, at all times, and whensoever the people are oppressed by the violence of vsurers, & taxed in great summes, then they would mutiny, and demand, that the vsurers contracts might be torne in peeces, & other made of more honest nature. But the prouidence and vprightnesse of the ancient Switzers, made such an imbarment, that neuer was the abolition of Obligations vrged in Switzerland; although the country is not very great, nor rich, and hath bene troubled with warres continually.

Because also, that men of warre are prompt, and ready, to lay hand on their weapons, and (oftentimes) fight vnder a false and dangerous pretence, they being men rather quarrellous, sturdy & outrageous, then valiant, yet taking a delight in this forwardnesse of enduring nothing, as thinking it makes men magnanimous and invincible: the ancient Switzers laboured to remedy this euill, first by imposition of great fines, on such as began the stirre, and to outrage their associates. But because choller is a furious beast, and very difficult to be bridled: to hinder him from taking carriere, and obuiate murders; they added another remedy, to wit, that such as were found present at those quarrels and debates, if they did not pacify and hinder their proceeding, and impose on them the penalties appointed by the lawes: then themselves should be greuously punished by the Magistrate. For they would not permit, that men should be so ouerswaid and mastered by choller, and their lawes (in the meane while) lose their power and authority. If any man committed a murder, and escaped from the hand of iustice: hee could not be recieued into any of the Cantons.

Concerning
debts & bor-
rowed mo-
nies.

Great trou-
bles in Rome
about cases of
debts.

Great care &
prouidence in
the Switzers.

An especiall
care against
quarrels and
frayes of par-
ticular per-
sons.

A good law
to be vied in
other places.

Against such
as committed
murder.

If any man were banished, for offending any one of the Cantons, or killing a man: he was to stand excluded from all the rest, except hee could proue by sufficient witness, that he slew his enemy in the mere defence of his owne body.

Such hath bene, and still is, the equity of the *Switzers* in doing justice, & punishing the faulty from time to time: that many straggers haue made their recourse to them, and haue accepted them for Arbitrators in their differences. For they do shew themselves protectors of all such as haue any wrong done to them, and vpon this their coming to them; they haue sent Ambassadors, nay, haue vnderaken Armes, to re-establish in their goods and possessions, some that haue bene despoyled of them by very powerful Lords.

The Cantons (in this cause) made war on the Princes of *Austria*, to maintain the right of the *Fulachs*, Citizens of *Schaffouse*. And for certaine Gentlemen of *Stiria*, named the *Gradlers*: & constrained the Duke of *Austria*, to restore such goods as he deteyned from them. In the like case, but of much greater importance they gaue bataille vnto Duke *Charles of Bourgogne*; to maintain *René*, Duke of *Lorraine*, whom *Charles* had disposed of the most part of his countries. In like manner also, many times haue they made warre on certaine theues, who couering themselves with the title of Noblemen; robbed and spoyled Merchants. To foile these theues, they haue bin faine to make out vpon them, not onely in their owne country of *Switzerland*; but also in countries further off, allying themselves (to effectuall good a worke) with those farre off townes. By which means, the wayes of *Switzerland* haue bene made very secure: so that Merchants, charged with neuer so great summes of money, goe and come in al safety, transporting their Merchandizes whether they please, without any need of company or transport. And a pleasant Prouerbe grew thereon, that if any man carried his pursse full of gold or silver on his staffes end; hee might safely passe through *Switzerland*, and care not how many looked on him.

Iustice seldome walkes without her companion Liberty, vnder which epithet wee will comprehend hospitality, which alwayes hath made the people of

Switzerland to bee highly commended. They haue not the delicacies of the *Italian* and *French*, but they offer liberally those presents which the earth yeeldes them, as namely, Milke, Butter, & Hony. And who would bee ashamed, or can despise this liberality; seeing the great Patriark *Abraham*, entertained Angels with such viands, when they came to see him? And yet the country is not without good store of wilde Beasts and Fowles, with diuers kindes of Fishes, both in Lakes & Riuer. And as great men in times past, (so sweetly sung of by learned Poets) honoured men of worth, by giuing them flesh for their food: euen so oftentimes in *Switzerland*, presents are giuen to straggers, and them of the same country also, passing from one place to another, of good and delicate flesh, namely Venison, and also of very dainty Fish. But principally, the *Switzers* are liberall and charitable to the poore, in lodging, feeding, & furnishing them with other needfull things: so that there are very few countries, wherein so many poore beggers are to be seene, as in *Switzerland*. I do not here dispute, whether the Magistrate doth well, or no, in suffering or supporting them: onely I was desirous to shew herein, the great humanity of the *Switzers* towards the poore, which resort thither from all parts.

The people of *Switzerland* (among all other) take pleasure in Feasts and publike Banquets. In Citties and Townes, they of one trade, or of one band, haue certaine houfes ordained to assemble themselves in. Euery Village (almost) hath a house by it selfe, which they call the house of good company: because they there meete, onely to maintaine loue and amity. The men doe meete there often, and sometimes the women are invited thither, to sitte and banquet with their husbands. They do not vse any sumptuous dishes or delicacies, but most often content themselves with one or two kindes of meates. Many times euery neighbour bringeth his dish, and there feed friendly together, on that which was provided for their owne priuate houfes. And as among the *Lacedemonians* it was ordained, that aged men and Magistrates should be present at banquets, to the ende, that euery man should carry himselfe honestly: the very

It is no shame to follow vertuous & good examples.

The *Switzers* are greatly charitable to the poore.

The *Switzers* delight in learning & banqueting, only for the maintaining of liuings & neighbourhood.

Aged men & Magistrates allowed by the *Lacedemonians* to be at Feasts and Banquets.

very fame is practised in *Switzerland*, so that all of one Trade, or of one Brotherhood, haue their distinct places, and the Magistrate, with the most ancient men, haue the higher end of the Table allotted to them.

They do not much delight in Musick at such Banquets, because they conceiue more pleasure in conferring together: either of particular affaires, or (oftentimes) of publike businesse. About all, when one of the most aged begins to discourse on some notable matters, which happened in his youth, or that himselfe had learned from his predecessors; euery one is very attentive, without the least interruption. And many times, he that hath a good & pleasing tongue, will speake loud enough on the faire deferuings of his Ancestors. The ancient *Switzers* were very sober & modest in all things, especially at publike Feasts and Banquets: so that it is a matter rare & most ignominious, if any man should be drunke in such an assembly.

But I am enforced to write, and to my great griefe, that although there is more moderation in the *Switzers* Banquets, euen at this day, then in many other people of *Germany*: yet notwithstanding, drunkennesse will not be banished, nor so vily thought on, as in elder times it hath bene. And as *Xenophon* saide of the *Lacedemonians* (whose common-wealth hee had most highly commended) that hee durst not maintaine now in his time, that the lawes of *Lycurgus* were in full force, because in former times, sober and moderate people, affected rather to liue among them in great continence, then to be Lords in other Citties, where they might possesse worlds of riches: So now in the time of *Xenophon*, the *Lacedemonians*, yea, them of greatest power among them, contended to haue the gouernment of citties, as fearing they should be compelled to liue in their owne particular condition, glorifying themselves openly, of their wealth and riches. And whereas their Ancestors were studious, to make themselves become honourable, & worthy of giuing command to others: these men couched after dignities onely. So that whereas the *Grecians* (on their owne meere motion) made request to the *Lacedemonians*, that they would accept of the gouernment: matters became so contra-

rily changed, that the *Grecians* prayed & exhorted one another, to resist against the *Lacedemonians*, yea, and to expulse the vicerly, fearing lest they should vsurpe vpon the gouernment.

It appeareth now to me, that euen as much may be said of the *Switzers*: for I must needs confesse, that the frugality & temperance of our auncients, in eating, drinking, cloathing, and in the whole course of life, is dead, or as if it had neuer bene at all. The *Switzers* are not now so continent and spare in liuing, as heerebefore, when they maintained their liues with the labour both of their mindes and hands, without taking wages of Kings & Princes, strangers to them. And therefore I am much afraid, lest we lose that wholly too, which yet remaineth, namely, valiancy and strength in warre, humanity, debonary, iustice, and vprightnesse. So that one day, they who (heretofore) haue so carefully compassed amity & alliance with the *Switzers*: it is to bee doubted, may change their mindes, and study how they shall best subdue them. I desire of God, that he will turne from my country to deadly a danger; and I desire also, and exhort all them that ought to think thereon, to strue to bring in vse againe those honest ancient manners, that frugality, continence, equity, humanity, loyalty, & constancy of the olde *Switzers* in al their actions.

CHAP. III.

Of publike assemblies and meetings, or rather of the Councill and Senate of the *Switzers*.

In all Commonwealths, three things are especially to be considered, to wit, the Councill or Senate, the Magistrate, and Iustice; for the Common-wealth of the *Switzers* hath no common Magistrates: except wee may place in that ranke, the Bayliffes and Gouernors, which are sent here and there, not by the councell of the Common-wealth, but by each one of the Cantons in it selfe. For the rest, the coun-

The *Switzers* are greatly altered from their famous progenitors.

The Authors especiall care of his countries honour, end of his countrymen.

The three ornaments of any common-wealth.

The *Switzers* are protectors of the oppressed.

Examples of diuers protected & holpen to their rights by the *Switzers*.

The *Switzers* haue made warre vpon theues that robbed and spoyled passengers.

Good actions are euermore worthy to be commended.

The bounty and hospitality of the *Switzers*.

The *Switzers* delight not in Musick at their meetings.

The Author greued to write that which the peoples folly compels him to do.

The words of *Xenophon* concerning the *Lacedemonians*.

A strange alteration in the gouernment.

The councell of the Switzers not equal always.

The Ambassadors of the 13 cantons meet oftentimes together, but not upon all occasions.

The Ambassadors have their assemblies according to their causes.

Factions among the Switzers, about matters of religion.

Lucerna, Uri, Schwitz, Unterwald, and Zug: are the five small cantons.

councell of *Switzerland* is not always equal in number; for sometimes, one & beside the Cantons, the other allies and confederates, especially the Ambassadors of *S. Gall*, of the *Grisons*, and of *Mulhouse*, doe meete together. And then this is the very greatest councell, which doe assemble but rarely, and to conferre on peace or warre, or of other affaires, which appertain equally to all the confederates.

Ofteft of all other, there do none but the Ambassadors of the thirteen cantons meete together, to consult and advise on matters of the Common-wealth. Every man of them hath a deliberative voyce, as well as the other, and therefore, though one Canton do send two Ambassadors: yet they shall have but one voyce, & one aduice, because the aduice is collected according to the number of the Cantons, and not to the number of Ambassadors. Neuerthelesse, all the Cantons do not send their Ambassadors at all daies meetings; as when there is question of the Bayliwicks, governed by the seauen or eight first Cantons, or of other things on them depending: then seuen or eight Ambassadors onely meete together, & haue their deliberative voyces. But if there be any speech concerning the Bayliwicks of Italy, belonging to the twelve first Cantons: then those twelve Ambassadors doe assemble. And as for that which concerneth the good of the whole Common-wealth: the Ambassadors of the thirteene Cantons, do then make a perfect & complete body of councell.

In our times, since *Switzerland* became diuided into factions, by reason of differences happening in Religion, they likewise instituted particular assemblies: so that the five Cantons of *Lucerna*, *Uri*, *Schwitz*, *Unterwald*, and *Zug*, that make expresse profession of the Religion and Ceremonies of the Romane Church, & are very strictly vnited together, by especiall amity (I know not whether it bee by league or alliance) they meete together more often then the other cantons, and are (as it were) a councell apart. And therefore, when speech is made of the five small Cantons, they before named are vnderstood, and not the five first in alliance. As also in making mention of three, of seuen, or of eight Cantons: it must be considered according to the time and or-

der, when they were entred into league; as thus, *Uri*, *Schwitz*, *Unterwald*, *Lucerna*, and *Zurich*, shall be the five Cantons. Sometimes they of *Fribourg* and of *Sollewre*, assemble themselves with the five forenamed, and call themselves the seuen catholike Cantons. Now, although any in the cantons of *Glaris* and *Appenzell*, doe belong to the catholike Church, & Masse is sung in their cheefest Villages: yet notwithstanding, they are not ranked among the catholikes, because (for the most part) their people walke with them that are of the new Religion. Finally, the foure Cities, to wit, *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Basile*, and *Schaffouse*, haue likewise (sometimes) their assembly apart; but yet it is not so often as the other.

Moreover, it is very vncasie to decipher particularly, all those things whereon the councell of *Switzers* do deliberate: neuerthelesse, I will touch some of the principall articles. The first and cheefest, is concerning war and peace, as likewise mention is made in most part of the alliances, that if a great wrong is done to one of the cantons, and it thinketh good to haue reason by armes: it must first be referred to the councell of the leagues, to the end that the Ambassadors may regard together, whether the cause of warre bee iust, or no, lest warre should bee lightly moued, and vpon triuiall occasions. Then afterward, if it appeare to bee expedient to begin warre, and for the safety of the common-wealth, the meanes must next be consulted on.

It chanced (in my time) that *Christopher Landberg*, being leagued with many Gentlemen, furiously to invade them of *Rottuile*, allied to the Cantons: many said, that such succour ought to be sent to *Rottuile*, as the inhabitants desired. But the greater part of the Senators, and Deputies to the councell of *Switzerland*, haue vnderstood the causes of the variance; hindred any such proceeding. For they saw plainly, that the whole State would overthrow it selfe into very great perill, and vpon silly occasion: because there was pregnant apparance, that by invading *Landberg*, they must thereby meddle with the Duke of *Wirttemberg* his neighbour, to whom the Switzers hadde bene good friends a long time. Nor could they come so neere him, without irrita-

The seuen Catholike Cantons, that will be led by Singuuliers the aduers.

Of what matters the councell of the Switzers will take knowledge.

War is not to be moued on light occasions.

An example of Rottuile allied to the Cantons, hath tened with danger.

inating (by the same meanes) many other Princes, that were his kindred, friends, and confederates. Neuerthelesse, because they of *Rottuile* should not complain, that they were forsaken in such a necessity: fifty Soldiers of each Canton were sent as a Garrison to their Towne, but they stayed at *Schaffouse*, and (soone after) the difference was pacified by Judges, chosen for eyther side. And as the councell deliberated on the matter of warre, and whether it should be begun, or no: peace also was treated on by the same councell, and not by the Cantons in particular.

According hereto, in the warre of *Snaba*, all the Cantons together sent their Ambassadors to *Basile*, where they made peace with the Emperor *Maximilian*. So the councell of *Switzerland*, assembling at *Fribourg*; made perpetuall peace with the King, and all the Realme of France, in the year, 1516. The negotiation of alliances, is ioynd with that of peace: for very often in the dayes of our ancestors, and in ours also, the Cantons (by aduice of their councell) haue made alliances with neighbouring Kings and Princes. Wherin this order is kept still to this day, that no one of the Cantons can bee constrained to make alliance with a strange Prince, but is to remaine at his owne liberty. As in the year, 1519. when all the cantons allied themselves with king *Frances*; they of *Zurich* refused to be bound, and afterward, they of *Berne* renounced this alliance. In like manner, when *Philibert*, Duke of *Sauoye*, obtained to enter league and amity with the Switzers: first the five small cantons began, and then *Sollewre* ioynd with them afterward.

The second Article, of such things as the councell of *Switzerland* do ordaine, concerneth lawes and ordinances. Each Canton hath his lawes and customes by himselfe, which remaine firme and inuiolable: neuerthelesse, by a common consent, our ancestors deuised and established many publique Edicts and Ordinances. Among which number, are the forementioned lawes of warre: wherewith also may the accord at *Stantz* bee ranked, passed betweene the eight first Cantons, and wherof we haue spoken in the first booke. Also, because Priests abused their immunities and priuiledges; they were repro-

ued by a publique Edict, containing this in effect. Whosoever of the citizens or inhabitants of the cantons, be hee Priest or no, be hee a Counceller, Vassalle, or bound to the Princes of *Austria*: he shall stand bound neuerthelesse, and promise by oath to his canton, to procure & aduance the profite therof, and of all the confederates, and discover speedily and in good conscience, all that may bring them any damage. This oath shall precede all other, and no obligation, how expresse soeuer it be, shall excuse them, if they go aginst this oath.

Such Priests as dwell in *Switzerland*, and are not of the country, may draw no man into ciuill or ecclesiasticall iustice, out of the country; except in matrimoniall and ecclesiasticall causes. If any one dare do otherwise, the Magistrates of the canton wherein he dwelleth, shall prohibit all men, not to harbour, lodge, or friend him, nor to frequent his company: none shall presume to protect him, vntill such time as hee hath renounced all forraigne iustice, and payed the charges of the party, that receiued endamage by such iustice. Whosoever shall doe wrong to his neighbour, eyther in taking pawns against order of right, or by any other meanes: he shall be punishable in body and goods, vntill hee haue satisfied the party. He that is not of the Church, and yet hath summonsd his aduersary, eyther before a Iudge of the Church, or secular, and out of the country: he shall pay all the charges endured in that cause, in regard hee ought to pleade in the same place, where the party dwelleth. No man shall assigne ouer his action to another, by which meanes he may the easier afflict the contrary party.

If any man shall renounce his Bourgeship, and thereby do wrong to another, by drawing him into strange iustice: hee shall neuer bee receiued againe into the number of the citizens, till first hee haue made satisfaction to the party. All the cantons shall take order, that the waies be sure and safe, because both Switzers & strangers may passe securely, conveying their Merchandizes through the country, without any manner of violence done to them: whosoever shall attempt otherwise, by common consent of all, and our helpe to the vicermost, hee shall be compelled

Gaius Priests that abused their immunities & priuiledges.

No Priest may commence law-sutes out of the Country, but with exception.

For punishing of wrong done to neighbors.

No suite to be pleaded out of the country.

No colour admitted to wrong another.

For secure & safe passage on the highways.

Example of the warre at Snaba, when peace was made at Fribourg.

No Canton can be compelled to make alliance with a strange Prince.

For the establishment of lawes and ordinances.

No pawnee to be taken but by the Magistrate consent.

An Edict against Brokers for Benefices.

The Authors reason for the Lawes & Edicts alleged.

Concerning Embassages sent forth of the country, or employed at home on serious affairs.

When Alliances are to be contracted.

pelled to make satisfaction, answerable to the faculties and riches as the party hath lost. No man in any Canton whatsoever, shall receive pawnee or pledge of any other, without consent of the Magistrate: neither shall do, or procure any injury to be done to his neighbour; but hee that doth the contrary, shall be compelled by them of his Canton, to satisfie the other to the uttermost damage.

All these things before recited, were agreed on, and ordained by the fixe cantons of Zurich, Lucerna, Uri, Suits, Underwald, and Zug. There was another Edict also published, against many Brokers of Benefices, for in regard that such fellows did oftentimes cause much trouble vnto Priests, made by the Ordinaries of the places, and (vnder colour of some purchased Bulles) were so put in possession of vacant Benefices: It was concluded by common consent of all the thirteen cantons, in the year, 1520. that if such people pursued to maintain the right of such Bulles, they should be imprisoned, where if they did not renounce those Bulles, they should be drowned. I could set downe many other examples, of Edicts & publike lawes, but I thinke needlesse: and these formerly rehearsed, are to no other end, but to let the Reader perceiue, that the ancient Switzers, who were devoutly affected to their Religion, and cuermore gaue great honor to men of the church, did neuer yet (for all that) leaue the bridle so freely to them, or admit them any such licence, as was contrary to publike liberty and tranquillity.

If any Embassages were to bee sent out of Switzerland, for the appointing of some difference, contracting of alliance, gratifying some Prince, or exhorting some one to this or that, or else to command or declare some matters of import, or to denounce warre: Say also, that it were in Switzerland, to negotiate with some Canton, City, Towne, &c: The councill consults and determines what is to be done in this case: as whether it is necessary to send ambassadours of all the Cantons, or of some few onely.

When there is a question in hand, for contracting alliances or leagues, all the Cantons do then send ambassadours: As when the alliance was made and signed with King Henry, not onely the Cantons,

but also the confederates sent their ambassadours to the King. But in many other affaires, they name but foure or five Cantons, who send Embassages in the name of all. As the ambassadours of Zurich, Lucerna, Uri, and Glaris went to the day at Ambourg, & obtained of the Emperor Ferdinand, confirmation of the priuileges for their owne cantons, and for all the rest likewise. Moreover, this councill hath charge, with reference to the Lords that assist them, to aduise on what is to bee negotiated, or answering ambassadours of Kings and Princes strangers, and also of other common-wealths, as they are oftentimes met withall, in the publike assemblies of the Switzers.

Finally, the councill aduiseeth to provide for the Prouinces, which do belong to the Cantons, to the end, they may be gouerned as best becometh. First of all, because that some estates are of great profit, as of Secretaries, Commisaires, Officers, Interpreters, Landmanns, &c. Landweibel in the country of Turgow (where of the first, to wit, the Landman is Iudge criminal, in name of the ten first Cantons, and the other is as ordinary Prosecutor or Atturney) the councill commits these estates to certaine men, who cannot (in meane while) chuse Officers vnder them, answerable to their appetite. Moreover, if some difficult processe or suite happen in a Prouince, and the Gouernors or Bayliffes will not iudge according to their aduice: the whole busines is referred ouer to the councill, where if the sentence of the Bayliffes seeme to bee vnjust to eyther of the parties, they may appeale to the maine Senate or Council of the Switzers.

As for causes in the Bayliwicks and Gouernments beyond the Mountaines, the ambassadours (which are yearly sent thither in the Moneth of Iune) doe take knowledge of them, and end them. But for other suites on this side the Mountaines, the councill of Bada doth iudge them: And appeale also may be made from the sentence of the ambassadours that haue giuen iudgement beyond the Mountaines, to the councill of Bada; because that authority is greater, and their power more ample. Yet some say no, and that the appeale is to be addressed to the Cantons: that each of them may vnder-

In other occasions.

Aduise for negotiations, & answering Ambassadours.

For provision & gouerning of the Bayliwicks and Prouinces.

Landmanns & Landweibel.

When difficult causes happen in any Prouince.

Order for causes on either side the Mountaine.

The councill of Bada.

Distribution of annual revenues.

The capacity and power of the councill, in all matters whosoever that concerne the common-wealth welfare.

To whom the calling & the assembling of the councill appertaineth.

The order & obseruation for calling the generall assembly.

Of Ambassadours from Kings and Princes.

(stand the matter, and by them the difference to be decided. Also the Gouernors and Bayliffes, are to render an account to the councill, of the tolles, reuenues, and fines: the annual reuenues are distributed by equal portion among the Cantons, to whom the Bayliwicks do appertaine. There is the like also of the Abbeyes in those Bayliwicks, the protection and gouernment whereof (in temporal occasions) do belong to the Cantons. In briefe, the councill doth know all things, which concerne the administration of the Prouinces appertaining to the Cantons; they cause the Gouernors to render their accounts; they giue audience to whosoever can accuse them, and they punish them, if they haue deserved it; eyther by depriving them of their dignities, or returning them to the Cantons that established them, to haue some other sent in their stead. To speake all in one word, the councill takes knowledge of all matters that concerne the good and tranquillity of the common-wealth: as well in the Gouernments and Bayliwicks, as also in the Cantons themselves.

Now concerning the authority of calling, and assembling the councill, for the demanding of their aduice: it hath belonged (of ancient time) to the Canton of Zurich; which by a very authenticall priuledge, holds the cheefest ranke among all the Cantons. Whensoever then there is question made, to hold a generall councill of the nation: the Lords of Zurich make knowne by their Letters to each of the Cantons, both the time & the place where they are to meete together. If any one, or more of the cantons, do thinke it necessary, that the councill publike and general should be assembled; first they giue aduertisement to the canton of Zurich, and require by their letters, that the Ambassadours of the other cantons may meet together. But if the affairs are pressiue, and require speedy deliberation, then each canton must aduertise his confederates, to be in readinesse for aduising (altogether) on that which is to bee done.

Likewise the Ambassadours from Kings and Princes strangers, do demand leaue of the cantons, to present themselves at those dayes of meetings: & sometimes they make request, that one day (extraor-

dinary) may be held for them. But on the dayes of particular meetings, they proceed otherwise, because Zurich signifies the time to foure Townes: and when to five or seuen catholike cantons; they of Lucerna do assemble them. There are also daies of and for particular meeting of the cantons allied to the K. of France: whose Ambassador residing at Solleurre, calleth the cantons at the Kings charge. I thinke there is permission also, for the ambassadours of the Pope, and of other kings, friends, and allies to the Switzers, to demand their dayes: provided, they are at their Masters expences.

The ancient Switzers had no perpetuall or certaine place, for holding their daies of generall councill: for I am perswaded, there is no one of the first eight cantons, but they made an assembly at some times, though most often it was done at Lucerna, at Zurich, Bremgarten, and at Bada. In our time, the custome hath bene (not by any law or ordinance purposely made for it) that the Switzers kept their dayes at Bada, in the Townehouse: and so much the rather, because the Towne hath many commodities for such assemblies. First, the place is beautified with goodly buildings and very apt Innes or houses of lodging. The situation of the place is pleasant and healthfull, and the neerenesse of the Ba hes yeele wonderfull pleasure, drawing thither great resort of people from farre remote countries. By means whereof, the neighbouring people of Bada, (feeling the gaines sweetnesse) bring thither all kinds of victuals in great abundance, which causeth the Towne to be well furnished with all good prouision, and at all needfull seasons.

Next, it is seated (almost) in the midst of Switzerland, so that the cantons furthest off, may appeare there (by neerenesse of wayes) all at one and at the same time. Also it appertaineth to the eight first cantons, & (by that meanes) the most part of the cantons are Lords thereof, and haue equal authority in the place. Beside, the particular assemblies of the foure Townes, is oftentimes kept in the Towne of Aron, appertaining vnto the canton of Bernes, howbeit (sometimes) it hath bin of Basle, when question was made of entering accord with Luther, & that for the cause

Dayes of particular assemblies, according to their order, and for whom they are called.

In what place the councill did assemble on their daies of meeting.

The commodious situation of the Towne of Bada.

Bada belonging to the 8. first cantons.

D d of

The meeting
of the Catho-
like Cantons.

of *Strasbourg*, that then sent their Ambassadors thither. The catholike Cantons do oftentimes assemble at *Lucerna*, sometimes at *Basel*, in the territory of *Vrioz*, or at *Brünen*, which belongeth to them of *Suits*. But when the Ambassador of France demandeth (in his Kings name) a leuye of men of the *Switzers*, the day is oftentime held at *Solenneure*, where he entreateth the Cantons to be present: and sometimes also it is at *Lucerna*.

At what times
the dayes of
audience for
suites are
held.

The custome is, that (every yeare) dayes of meeting are held at *Bada*, about mid-June. Then the Bayliffes or Governors appertaining to the Cantons, yeeld a reason of their feuerall charges before the councill, and attend to the ending of suites concerning the Prouinces. At the same time, the Ambassadors of the twelue first Cantons, do meete at *Lugano*, & take an account of the foure Bayliffes for the Prouinces of *Italy*, and iudge the causes of appeal: but yet in such sort as a man may appeale from them, to the Councill or Parliament of *Bada*, it being of farre greater authority. The councill so assembled, they sit by ordination of the Cantons, to ende such controuersiall cases, as were not concluded on at the precedent meeting: for oftentimes causes of importance are not ended at the first Session, either because they appeare not of sufficient merit, or want due power of prooff. In regard whereof, they are referred ouer to a further day, and in the meane while, the Ambassadors craue aduice of the Lord of their feuerall Cantons, to know how they shall carry themselves therein. Sometimes also, in an vnexpected accident, or some other such case of consequence: the Canton of *Zurich*, or some other, will assigne the day, especially if it be a matter concerning the common-wealth. Now, although the Councill are assembled only for publike affaires; yet notwithstanding, after they haue taken order for them, if any particulars of the Prouinces come, and would haue their causes pleaded, they giue them audience. But the particular dayes of the Cantons, and those that the Ambassador of France causeth to bee held; haue no certainty of time, but according as occasions offer themselves, & as it is pleasing to them that haue power to assemble the councill.

Concerning
sudden & vn-
expected ac-
cidents, and
suites of parti-
cular persons,
from the ge-
nerall buisnes.

Particular
dayes for the
Cantons.

The manner of proceeding on these daies of meeting is thus. At the day assigned by the ordinary councill, or commanded to be kept: the day before, the Ambassador for the canton of *Zurich* sends the Lieutenant of *Bada* to all the lines and houses of receipt, to know what Ambassadors are come, to whom the Lieutenant giueth kinde welcome, and receiue them honourably, in name of the whole *Switzers* common-wealth, and the morrow after, he calleth the to come to the Town-house. If the Ambassadors of all the cantons are come, they are called, and then they treat on affaires concerning all the Cantons together. But if vpon the day named, they for the new Cantons, as for *Schaffhouse*, *Solenneure*, and *Fribourg* are not as yet arrived, as oftentimes it comes so to passe: then seuen or eight Cantons do assemble, and discourse on matters only concerning themselves.

The Ambassadors are seated in councill, according to the order & number of the Cantons, so that he of *Zurich* sits in the highest and most eminent place, he of *Berne* next; then he of *Lucerna*, & so consequently the other, according to the order of the Cantons. Being seated, the ambassador of *Zurich* salueth them all, and hauing made some breefe preface & excuse, according to custome; he declareth, which the Ambassadors had in charge on the last dayes meeting, and referred them to the next dayes deliberation, as oftentimes they are assembled to that effect, and if any thing hath hapned since then, he propoundeth it also. Then he addeth that which his Lords haue giue him in charge, touching the Article whereon he is to deliberate: the other ambassadors do the like in their ranke, & declare whatfoeuer their Lords commanded them. After that euery one hath made knowe that which they haue in charge to say: the Bayliffe or Governor of *Bada* (of whatfoeuer Canton it is) demandeth orderly of each counsellor, his aduice concerning the matter that hath bin in question. The he of *Zurich* speaketh first, and the rest after, according to their ranke. Hauing all spoken, the Bayliffe counterth the voyces, according to the number of the Cantons and not of the counsellors: for sometimes one Canton sends two ambassadors, who may well assist in councill, yet they haue

Of the order
and manner
of proceeding
on the dayes
of meeting.

In what order
the Ambassadors
do sit in
council, according
to their origin.

Each man
keeps his
counsell
in council.

Chap. 4. Of publike Sentences & Iudgements. 303

Particular
causes haue
the same or-
der of proceed-
ing as them
in generall.

After what
manner their
causes are de-
bated.

The Romanes
order for ple-
ding law-ca-
ses, not so co-
uenient as
that of the
Switzers.

The negli-
gence of many
Advocates &
Attornies do
oftentimes
preiudice vo-
ry iust causes.

but one voyce, as of one man onely.

Thus you see how they proceed in deciding those things, which concerne the publike good: In particular causes also, they follow the same order, giue their aduice, and collect the voyces. But such as haue any causes to pleade on these daies, demand audience first of the Ambassador for *Zurich*, who assigned their day, & put their names vpon the Role. When they appeare before the councill, sometimes the parties themselves will pleade their owne causes: or haue Advocates, Proctors, or speakers, which they bring with them, or chuse among such as they finde in *Bada*. For at all times, and whensoever these dayes are appointed, there will meet there a great number of such men, belonging to the neighbouring Townes & Burroughs, pensioners of the Switzers. Causes are there debated, not according to the ciuill Law, nor by the aduice of Lawyers; but with equity, and according to the lawes & customes of the people, long time obserued among them.

I know, that many will account this forme of pleading, to be barbarous, especially such as would haue men follow the Romanes order of pleading, for the ending of suites: without which (they say) the very wisest men do wrong themselves often, in the deciding of difficult causes, and matters of importance. As for my selfe, I thinke well of the Romanes lawes, written by men very wise and skilfull in affaires, and I will not infringe their authority in any manner whatsoever. But yet I say, that the proceeding obserued by the *Switzers*, for ending controuersiall cases, is to be preferred before that which is vsed among other Iudges, that giue sentence according to the Romanes lawes. And I am well assured, that mine opinion cannot be reiected, but by ill-disposed & wrangling spirits. For it cannot be denied, that many Advocates and Attornies, are much more careful for maintaining the ciuill law, then cyther equity or right: considering, they do nothing else many times, but tie themselves to sillables, words, and termes of the law, which they expound according to their owne fancy, labouring to circumvent a party, and to take him by the nose, as we vse to say. And surely, they do nothing but for the benefit of their owne purses, troubling themselves

ouermuch, to obscure and muffle vp matters; by which means, suites are made immortal, to the incuitable detriment & ruine of both parties, being brought (by them) to extreme poeury and misery.

In which respect, they gaue no very euill language, that teamed such practitioners and drablers, blood-suckers of the people: for they empty their purses, yea, and sucke them to the bare bones. And if among the Iustices of *Switzerland*, an error happen to be committed, in the decision of difficult causes, which cometh very sildome to passe: yet notwithstanding, it causeth no such harme, as doth the length and immortalizing of suites. So I may well say, that the manner of proceeding among the *Switzers*, doth lessen expences, ease the people, cuts vp the rootes of lingering suites and differences: because the sentence doth sooner resolute both the parties, and brings them to agreement: whereas in other places, we see suites encrease day by day, and from one case vndecided, growes a great number of nouel variances.

CHAP. IIII.

Concerning Sentences and Iudgements, in publike and peculiar differences.



Hauing thus made mention of the councill, and daies of audience among the *Switzers*; we are now to speake, concerning such sentences and iudgements as they vse to giue. If any suite doth happen betwene particular persons in the Bayliwicks: the Bayliffes or Governors are Iudges in those places, or else the Canton (from whence the appellation ariseth) taketh knowledge, and iudgeth thereof. But the Iustices of euery Canton do iudge (each one within his iurisdiction) in the causes & differences of the Subiects. Beside this, there is iustice for publike suites, which are variances, happening betwene two or more Cantons, or betwene some particulars against a Canton: and such condition as the Cantons haue, the same also their confederates haue.

Lawyers make
suites to seem
immortal.

Errors sildome
committed among
the Switzers in
law causes,
because the
suites are
quickly ended

Concerning
suites of parti-
cular persons
in the Bayli-
wicks.

Publike vari-
ances be-
tweene Can-
tons.

Do 2 Thus

Two Iudges
chosen for ei-
ther side.

Places ap-
pointed
for the
ending of
suites & dif-
ferences ac-
cording to
ancient cus-
tome.

They that
met at one
place, went
not to another
except by e-
special ap-
pointment.

What matters
cannot be lo-
vingly ended,
what course
they take then

Thus then, for the deciding of such differences, each of the parties doe chuse two Iudges for either side, who are absolved of the oath which they have taken to their Canton: and promise to iudge according to right and equity, and labour that the suite may bee lovingly and very speedily accorded, or iudicially ended.

By the ancient alliances, there were certain places appointed, for the ending of such suites. The seven first Cantons sent their ambassadors and arbitrators to the Abbey of the Hermitage, to end their such suites as happened among them. By an article of very ancient alliance with them of *Glaris*, it is expressly said: that if they had any suite with them of *Vri*, the assembly should be at *Merch*. If against the canton of *Switz*, the arbitrators should meete at *Bergeraz*: and at *Brinnen*, if against them of *Vnderwald*. And then the other Cantons, having had knowledge of the cause, pronounced the sentence. The *Bernians*, and the three Cantons of *Vri*, *Switz*, and *Vnderwald*, assembled at a place named *Daskienholz*. They of *Zurich* and *Berne*, at *Lofing*. The *Fribourgers* & they of *Sollewre*, having a suite against the eight first Cantons, or some of them, sent their Iudges to *Zufinge*; and if they were defendants, to *Wilshof*. As for the causes of them of *Basile*, *Schaffouse*, and *Appenzell*, they pleaded them at *Bada*, together with them of these Cantons, allied with them of *Rottville* and of *Mulhouse*. But the differences of them of *S. Gall*, were determined in the Abbey of the Hermitage: and them of the *Grisons*, at *Wallenstad*, which is a Towne at the ende of the Lake of *Rine*, in the Bayliwick of *Sargans*.

When then some difference happeneth, which cannot bee kindly accorded, and that the enmity of the Cantons serveth to no purpose: the arbitrators and ambassadors of the Cantons that are in suite, do meete at the place appointed, & (with them) the ambassadors of the other Cantons confederates, who come thither to atone the parties; and to make some amiable composition. The Iudges and Arbitrators being assembled, after that the parties have pleaded their causes: if the Iudges take resolution, & give sentence, the parties must (of necessity) be contented. But if they be of diuers opi-

nions (as many times it happeneth) and that there are as many voyces on the one side, as on the other, then a fitt Iudge or arbitrator is chosen, whom they call *Ein obmann*, or *Ein gmeinen mann*. He giueth no sentence at all, but only appeareth one of those, which the arbitrators have pronounced. Sometimes the Iudges themselves do chuse the odde arbitrator: yet in such sort notwithstanding, that he is a man of one of the Cantons, no medler with eyther party, nor having any interest in the cause.

The alliance of the seven first Cantons, makes mention of this election and choise: as that of *Fribourg*, that of *Sollewre*, that of *Appenzell*, and them of *S. Gall* and of *Mulhouse*. It is added to the articles of the alliance of *Schaffouse*, that if the Iudges cannot accord, by choise of another arbitrator, taken from one of the Cantons; they shall then take one of the Lords of the councill of *S. Gall*. And in the alliance of *Rottville*, command is given to the Iudges, to chuse for an odde arbitrator, one of the Lords of the councill of *S. Gall* or of *Mulhouse*. Sometimes also the complainant chuseth. As if the *Bernians* have a suite against the three first Cantons, or any one of them; the Cantons that name sixteen men, out of which number, the *Bernians* are to chuse a sub-arbitrator. But if they bee defendants, the Cantons will then (for sub-arbitrator) chuse one of the Lords of the lesser councill of *Berne*. If some difference fall betweene them of *Zurich*, and of *Berne*; the complainants chuse for an odde arbitrator, one of the defendants Lords of the councill. The same is obserued in suites for them of *Basile*, against the other cantons; and so in the *Grisons* causes.

Thus you see how the *Switzers* gouerne themselves, in the deciding of controuersiall suites betweene the common-wealths. I know very well, that some may dispute subtilly, both for, and against this order there obserued: but I will leaue that discourse to the Readers. For mine own part, I admire the simplicity and integrity of our ancestors, who by such manner of proceeding, haue often brought to end very great variances, and carefully conferred publike peace and concord. But they did not regard their owne particular profit, neither desired any thing

When voyces
are alike on
either side:
then a fitt ar-
bitrator is
chosen.

The addition
to the Article
of *Schaffouse*

The complain-
ant is allowed
to chuse the
odde Arbitra-
tor.

There is no-
thing so well
becoming
our place,
as may be con-
sidered
with
diligence.

Their ends &
ours are quite
contrary.

more, then to see their country peaceable and flourishing. If now each man had no other meaning, but would aime at that mark: so many suites would not be seene, and easily might those be appeald, that are the hottest attempted.

CHAP. V.

Of those Common-wealths, which are in each of the several Cantons.
And first, of the Common-wealths of Zurich, Basile, and Schaffouse.

HAuing thewne already how the whole Common-wealth of the *Switzers* is gouerned in common: it behoueth now to make mention, of the Common-wealth in each distinct Canton. Now it seemeth to me, that the common-wealths of the thirteene Cantons, may bee referred to three formes. For as there are three names of soueraign Magistrats and Cantons, so haue they likewise as many formes of common-wealths; differing not onely in name, but also in the things themselves.

In some certain Cantons, the cheefe Commanders or Heads of the councill, are called *Ammans*. This is obserued in the Cantons that haue no Citties or Townes, but Villages onely, hauing a popular estate, and the foueraignty appertaining to the people; by whose aduice, the very greatest affaires of importance are decided. Of this number are *Vri*, *Switz*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, *Glaris*, and *Appenzell*.

The other Cantons haue their citties and townes, which haue the foueraignty: yet in such manner, as there are two formes of common-wealths. For the citties and townes, especially such as haue bene built by some Princes, or some

times haue bene subiected to them: are gouerned by an *Auget*, whom they call, *Schultheiss*, (who is cheefe of the councill) and by some number of counsellers chosen by free election, from and by the whole number of citizens. The forme of this common-wealth is *Aristocraticall* among all the other: and in this manner are gouerned the common-wealths of *Berne*, *Lucern*, *Fribourg*, and *Sollewre*.

There are other citties and townes diuided by certaine companies, by each whereof, and by voyce of such men as are in euery of them, the Lords of the councill are elected, and the soueraign Magistrate or cheefe of the councill, who by them is termed *Burgermeister*, that is to say, Master of the *Bourges*, which we in a shorter word call *Bourgmesser*. Such are the common-wealths of *Zurich*, *Basile*, and *Schaffouse*. Now we are to speake of these diuers formes of common-wealths in order, beginning with the last, first.

First then, all the people of these Townes free and Imperiall, were diuided into two ranks: the one of Noblemen, the other of Yeomen. The Noblemen had a Society by themselves, apart, which the *Allemaignes* or *Germans* did call, *Ein Geselechaft*, and they of *Zurich*, *Ein Constaell*.

In elder times, in the city of *Basile*, which is very spacious, and for the multitude of Noblemen, they were diuided into two societies, bandes, or companies of Noblemen. Oftentimes they were in quarrels, and had the foueraignty: so that out of the one copany they chose the Confull, and out of the other, the Tribune or Capitaine of the city, which is the estate of greatest authority, next vnto that of Confull or Bourgmesser.

Neuerthelesse, afterward the Noblemen lost this foueraignty, or else forsook their right voluntarily. For at the time of the councill of *Basile*, when *Lewis*, then Dolphin of France, brought (very neere to *Basile*) an Army of *Armignacks*, in fauour of Pope *Eugenius*, and the Duke of *Austria*; many Gentlemen of *Basile*, went and ioynd with that Army, in regard whereof, they were all banished, and their posterity deprived & excluded from all publike honours.

In townes or
citties, the
cheefe man is
called the *Au-
guet*, the
cheefe man of
the councill.

Election of
the Lords of
the councill
and the so-
ueraine Magi-
strate, called a
*Burgermei-
ster*.

Townes di-
uided into two
ranks, No-
ble men and
Yeomen.

Two bandes of
Noblemen in
Basile.
The Confull
and the Tri-
bune or Cap-
taine of the
City, the two
cheefe offices

The Noble-
men banished
and their po-
sterity de-
prived.

Afterward, when the Burgesse (by common consent) made alliance with the ten Cantons of the Switzers, in the year, 1501. the most part of the Noble-men, who hated the Switzers: dislodged from the city, and withdrew themselves to Castles heere and there, so that their authority diminished greatly then, and all the rest was lost in the year, 1529. For by the Sermons & exhortations of *Oecolampadius*, the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church were reformed, by order sent from the council, against which, many Noblemen opposed themselves. And although they could not hinder the change of Religion, yet they abandoned and left the city, and would not abide in it.

After which time, the two companies whereof we spake, entered in againe, and got possession of some private houses, & as yet they keepe those houses to themselves, and they belong to the whole body of the Nobility. And those houses are called in their language, *Zunmünster* and *zum brunnen*, but yet none of this is of the council. For although the council do meete together (almost) every day, and the Gentlemen (having forsaken the city) dwell most part of the time in their Castles: by common aduice of the Burgeses, they were excluded from governing in the common-wealth, which they had renounced voluntarily. Neuertheless, some noble Families that dwell in the city, & haue had care of the common-wealth with the other Bourgeses, are in ranke of the foure first companies or supporters of the city, and (in them) are chosen to be of the council. And therefore, to do them honour, in regard of their condition; these Tribes or companies are called *Berrenmünster*, that is to say, the companies of Lords.

Therefore, there are no more companies of these Noblemen in *Basile*, but those that are distinguished with the other Bourgeses. But at *Zurich* and at *Schaffouse*, the Noblemen haue their companies apart by themselves. And they of *Zurich* haue this priuiledge beside, above the tribes and companies of Trademen, to take the moiety that is, the most part of the Lords of the council, from forth the company of these Noblemen: so that they are as a counterpoise to the other companies. Notwithstanding, there is

some difference among these Noblemen, for the Families of race, that are very noble and ancient: they do make a band by themselves, and they are called *Die Stubler*, by reason of the place where they assemble apart by themselves, by right & especiall priuiledge. To the whole body of these tribes or companies, are ioyned many citizens, which are not of any trade nor traffick: in which respect, they may haue place in one company, rather then in another. Porters, Labourers, Burden-bearers, and other such like manner of people, who when warre happeneth, are held and reputed to be of this body of companies, which they call *Sin Cowstall*, and receive wages: they haue a voice in electing the Master of the whole body of companies, and he is of the Seigneuries council, in regard of his place.

Beside the Society and Company of Noblemen, the people of those cities & townes there, are parted into certaine tribes or companies, which the Germans call *Zunft*. The word (it may be) taketh name or original, of *Zamenkunft*, which signifieth to meete and assemble themselves in company. Some interpret them to be Tribes, others, Courts, and others, Colledges or Abbeyes: but wee will call them Tribes or Companies. The number of them is not equall in the forenamed Cities and Townes. For there are fifteene at *Basile*: whereof the foure first are esteemed more noble then the other, and are called the companies of Lords, as already hath bene said. The first tribe or company, is that of Merchants. The second of Gold-smiths, Goldfiners, founders, and Pewterers. The third is of Merchants dealing onely in wines: with whom the Notaries, Masters of Hospitals, Spitzles, and other such like communities are ioyned. The fourth is of Merchants dealing in Silkes, and of Factors for all States: This company is the very greatest of them all. The other eleuen, are of all sorts of trades and handycrafts men.

Now there is a dozen or twelue tribes or companies at *Zurich*: heerefore they were thirteene in number, when many Drapers & workers in wooll dwelt there: for that was one company by itselfe. But nowadaies, the weauers of woollen cloth, and other things, are ioyned into one com-

Oecolampadius his preaching & the alteration of Religion.

Some of the Noblemen got entrance again into the City, but were excluded from governing in the State.

The companies of Lords, so called to do them honour.

The priuiledge of them of Zurich, chusing their Lords of council.

Porters, Labourers, and tryngmen are of the 5. policy.

Of other Tribes and Companies beside the 4. first.

Fifteene companies at Basile, and how they are distinguished from the Noblemen.

Twelue tribes or companies at Zurich.

Eleuen tribes or companies are at Schaffouse.

Chief trades and reasons are distinguished by themselves.

Concerning the election of the council.

The great council.

The lesser council.

The great councils of Zurich, Basile, & Schaffouse.

Of the lesser councils frequently.

Of Consuls and Bourgmasters in each City.

pany with the Fullers and Diars. At *Schaffouse* there are eleuen companies onely: neuertheless, it falleth out many times, that diuers trades are ioyned together in one company. They haue their meetings by themselves: as at *Zurich*, the Millers and Bakers, the Barbers and Chirurgions, the Smiths and Metall men. So at *Basile*, the Fishermen and Marri-ners or Barquers, the Cordwainers and Curriers, the Taylors & Skinners. These companies are diuided, and they are called *Spaltue Zunft*. For when there is question of cheefe Trades, and especially workmen in them, their houses of meetings and assemblies are by themselves. But in things that concern the common-wealth, and when, and where all ought to be present, to elect Lords of the council, or the *Zunft*-Masters, who must be also in the council; every man speaks his minde, and giues his voyce.

Out of each of these companies, some men are chosen, as many of one company as of another, to be Lords of council. In every city there are two publike councils, which haue the principall authority: as namely, the great council, when as a good number of counsellors meete together, in name of all the people: as is vied in the affaires of greatest importance, and which do appertaine to the whole common-wealth. Next, the lesser council, who meete together every day, about the common-wealths businesse, and take knowledge of differences happening among the citizens. The great council of *Zurich*, consisteth of two hundred me: That of *Basile*, is of two hundred forty foure: and that of *Schaffouse*, is of foure score and sixe.

As concerning the lesser council of *Zurich*, it is of fifty: that of *Basile* hath threescore and foure: and that of *Schaffouse*, hath but twenty sixe. For out of each tribe or company, twelue are taken for the great council: except at *Zurich*, where they elect eightene of the Nobility. At *Zurich* also each company giueth three men for the lesser council: at *Basile*, foure; at *Schaffouse*, two. Next, in every of these cities, there are two Consuls or Bourgmasters, who are the cheefe and Presidents of council.ouer and beside these two, at *Basile* there are two Tribunes, who are cheefe in council with

the Bourgmasters. Moreover, at *Zurich* the Noblemen send sixe from among them, to the lesser council: the other companies doe send each one but three. By the plurality of voyces, choise is made of sixe other men, out of such companies as the council do propose, to fill vp the number.

As concerning the election of counsellors (for so will wee hereafter call the Lords of the lesser council) it is done in manner following. Every year, about mid-Iune, and mid-December, all the citizens of *Zurich* assemble themselves together, every man in his tribe and company: and the elect a cheefe man, whom they call, *Zunftmeister*, that is to say, Master of the tribe or company. The custome of these three cities, is, that the companies haue two Masters: but one of them is in estate but sixe Moneths, at the end whereof, the other succeedeth him. Neuertheless, it often comes to passe, that hee who was *Zunftmeister* the halfe year before, is chosen againe. By this meane, the lesser council is diuided in two parts, to wit, the old & new. Such as haue bene in charge the first sixe Moneths, we terme them of the olde council; for although they be called whe the council is helde, yet notwithstanding, it is not alwayes so done, and there are many matters which passe in the new council onely.

The great council of *Basile* is diuided in the same manner, and of twelue which is taken from each company, there are sixe of the new council, and sixe of the olde. Beside the *Zunftmeisters*, the lesser council of *Zurich* chuseth one counsellor from each of the companies: but the lesser council of *Basile* chuseth two. These counsellors thus elected, with the other which we haue said to be chosen extraordinarily at *Zurich*, are diuided into two bands: whereof the one is the olde council, and the other the new. These two councils are changed euery sixe Moneths at *Zurich*; so that at their ending, the olde council electeth the new. At *Basile*, and at *Schaffouse*, they continue in the estate a whole yeare together.

The election of the council at *Schaffouse*, is made on the morrow after Pentecoste: and that of *Basile*, on Saterdag be-

How many are sent from each company

The election of counsellors for the lesser council, and after what order they elect the Zunftmeister.

Of the old & new councils.

The great council of Basile diuided in like manner.

The changing of the old and new councils.

The times of their elections, & their approbation.

before the foure and twentieth day of June. At Zurich, the **Zunftmeisters** are elected by the companies in their houses of meeting; then the councill of two hundred confirmeth this election; but at Basile this confirmation belongeth to the olde councill. The voyce is given openly at Zurich, and secretly at Schaffouse. For in each tribe or company, charge is given to particular persons, to collect the voyce, whereupon they all come to them in order, and tell them closely in the eare, for whom they give voyce to be **Zunftmeister**. The lesser councill assemble at the oftenest, three times every weeke, and some whiles (vpon earnest occasion) four times. The old and new councillors of Zurich, are seated one by another, & sometimes one among another: but at Basile, the old councillors are above the younger. They haue also this custome, to withdraw often into another Hall, to consult together. After resolution is taken, a councillor of the first company, reporteth the aduice to the new councill: and they call the reporter **Den Offner**.

The Bourgmaster, whom they call **Burgermeister**, as much to say, as Master of the Bourgesles, is President of the old and new councill. The great councill electeth him by open voyce at Zurich; at Schaffouse by secret voyce: and at Basile, the olde councill first electeth the Bourgmaster, and the new councill the yeare following. The Bourgmaster is in state at Zurich, like Monerhs: but at Basile and Schaffouse, a whole yeare together, and turne by turne, the Bourgmasters and Councillers olde and new are changed. They whom at Basile they terme **Zunftmeisters**, and **Oberstermeister** at Zurich (as much to say, as Masters of companies and communities) doe second the Bourgmasters in their authority.

At Zurich there are three, and at Basile two, who with the two Bourgmasters are called the foure chiefe & principal Lords of the city. Nine other Lords of the lesser councill at Basile, are ioyned to these four in chiefe, and by reason of the number, they are called the councill of thirteene. They heare the causes of very greates importance, and deliberate on them first, before they propound any thing to the lesser councill: and therefore they may be called Preconsulters, or first council-

lers. Moreover, there is a particular councill at Zurich, whom wee may name the Chamber of accounts, for it manageth publicke affaires: and is composed of eight councillors, and haue the Bourgmaster of the olde councill for their President. Then is there two Purse-bearers or Treasurers, and the Superintendents for Ecclesiastical goods do assist them, together with foure other councillors, two of the olde, and two of the new councill. They take knowledge not onely of monies employed for the common-wealth: but oftentimes also, the younger councill demandeth their aduice in cases of importance, whereon they consult a while, and then giue their report to the yonger councill.

To these publicke councillers, there are alwayes two Secretaries assisting, with their committees, when necessity requireth. The first and chiefe is called **Stattschreyber**, that is to say, Secretary of the city. At Zurich, the other is called **Indertschreyber**, that is to say, sub-Secretary: but they of Basile call him **Raatschreyber**, that is, Secretary to the councill. There is a particular Secretary for the Chamber of Accounts, whom they of Zurich call **Rechenstschreyber**. The estate of Secretary in these cities is honorable, and of great gaine. In regard whereof, the Gentlemen strine to keepe it in their owne power, as sildome is it giuen to any other. These men are they (among all other) that know the lawes, customes, priuiledges, and all the secrets of the common-wealth.

Next to the councillers publicke, are Iustices of the city. There are two at Zurich, one for ciuill causes, **Das Statgricht**, which was in ancient times vnder power of the Nunnes, and the Abbesse elected the Lieutenant, or chiefe man in that kinde of iustice, whom they called **Den Schultheissen**, and his assessors or assistants: but now the election belongeth to the lesser or yonger councill. Their number is of eight, and they haue their Lieutenant, Secondary, and Sericant. To them appertaineth the knowledge of ciuill causes, Debtes, Hires, Lendings, Borrowings, Sales, and as the **Smizers** vse to say, they iudge **Umb erth und eigen**. There is no appeale from their sentence: but if there happen any

The chamber of accounts, the officers thereof.

Two Secretaries assisting to the councill.

The office of Secretary, is notable.

A Iustice for dealing in ciuill causes.

What causes they take knowledge of.

No appeale from the Iustices sentence.

Of giuing the voyce it is not in all places alike.

The sitting of the olde and new councillors.

Of the Bourgmasters or Consuls, the manner of their election.

Masters of companies & communities, Tribunes of the people.

The councill of thirteene men.

difficult cause, they send it to the Councill.

The other Iustice, whom they call **Das Zunftgricht**, is a Iudgement of proccesse and suites, which happen for rents and yearly reuenues. The Secretary of the other Iustice, and two Lords of the yonger councill, it seemes doe daily assist for the ending of all such differences. In the bigger Basile there are two such kindes of Iustices, and a third in the lesser Basile. That Law or Iustice of greatest authority, which they terme also **Das Statgricht**, is composed of ten Iudges; one part whereof is of the councill, and the other, such as the people do name. They take knowledge of all causes, ciuill and criminall: but when there is question of testaments, wils, contracts, monies borrowed, and other such like things: the Prouost or Lieutenant of the city sitteth in Iudgement. As for causes criminall, the Prouost of the Empire iudgeth them. And there are three Lords of the councill, who do pursue criminall causes, by the sollicitation of one, who is an ordinary Attorney, named by them, **Oberstenknecht**, and keepeth company with the Iudges, having an advocate waiting on him.

These Iudgements are done publickly, and haue eight open audiences, where by all are permitted to be there present, to heare and see what fouer is done. But at Zurich and at Schaffouse, the new councill doth iudge the criminall causes. Neuerthelesse, the Bourgmaster doth not then sit: but it is the Prouost of the Empire, whom **Rechtsvogt**, or, **Blutrichter**, who presideth and collecteth the voyces. Every yeare the councill chuseth some one of that body, to exercise that charge. Proccesse and suites criminall are handled at Zurich, with the doores fast shut: but at Schaffouse in open Court, so that all men may vnderstand the accusations and defences. But the councill commandeth all to bee absent, when there is question of pronouncing sentence. The second order of Iustice at great Basile, iudgeth not but in cases of small importance, which hardly exceedeth the summe of ten pounds. But the Iustice of smaller Basile, hath a Iudge apart, & taketh knowledge of all causes, except of criminall.

There are two Courts, or kindes of

Iustices at Schaffouse. The one which they call **Das Schuldgricht**, is law or iustice for debtes: for therein onely is ended differences of contracts, debtes, and such like things. And if the summe whereof question is made, doe amount aboue an hundred crownes, the councill then takes knowledge of it. In this Court are twenty assessors or assistants, to wit, one of each Tribe: moreover, eight other persons, chosen by the councill. The other order of Iustice is named **Taggricht**, or, **Pfluggricht**, that is to say, Iustice for fines and amercements: because the Prouost of the empire, or Iudge in causes criminall, presideth there, and condemneth all such forfeitures & fines. There are twelue assessors out of the twelue Tribes, and who are of the great councill. Causes criminall of lesser importance, are debated and ended in this Iustice there; as light iniuries, vulgar outrages, and such like. But when wordes do wound honour, and the wrong is not easie to bee dissembled or digested; the knowledge of such cases appertaineth to the lesser councill.

Beside what hath bene said, these three cities haue each one their particular councill, which they terme **Ein Chorgricht**, or, **Begricht**, where they discourse on causes of matrimony. For after that the religion was changed, the councill of the three cities established one councill: wherein were a certaine number of assistants, elected by publique suffrages, and taken out of the olde and new councill, and among whom were some Diuines or Theologians as they call them. Neuerthelesse, at Schaffouse none of the Ministers were assistants, but onely some learned men admitted to councill, who had each one as his adiunct, some Doctour of the Law. These Iudges take knowledge of all matrimoniall causes: punish whoredomes and adulteries; and haue charge to obserue the liues & manners of euery one.

Beside, in these common-wealths, bastards are deprived of all honours and dignity: nor is it lawfull for them to bee seene at the councill, nor in the Courts of Iustice. True it is, they are not guilty of that stain to their birth, neither can it bee denied, but that (oftentimes) bastards haue wonne more commendations for

Two kindes of Iustice at Schaffouse.

The second kinde of Iustice at Schaffouse.

Criminall offences of lesser importance.

The three cities haue peculiar councillers beside the other.

Diuines admitted to be of the councill.

Of such as are exempted & prohibited, not to be seen in the councill, or in any Court of iustice.

The office & authority of the other Iustice.

The Iustice of greatest power and authority.

Law and Iustice for criminall causes.

Criminall Iudgements are openly performed.

Criminall causes at Zurich not openly heard.

The other orders of Iustice in great and lesser Basile.

for their virtues, then ever could their legitimate brethren: as we have an example of *Iephia*, a Judge of Gods owne people. But to bridle the leud concupiscences of many, and to conferre the dignity of sacred marriage: Bastards stand as branded with infamy, and ykefome eye-fores to well ordered common-wealths.

Next, hee that hath not dwelt tenne years within the city of *Zurich*, cannot be choſen to be one of the publike counsell.

Such as are borne out of *Switzerland* cannot be of the lesser counsell at *Schaffouse*: But if they be Bourgesſes of twenty yeares standing, they may be brought into the great counsell, & into the number of the Iudges.

I will not tell you that strangers are unworthy of these honors: but it is requisite first of all, that hee who ought to haue charge in a common-wealth, should be particularly affectioned and obliged thereto and afterward be well skilde and sence, in the lawes and customes of the country.

And me-thinks, citizens, and such as (from their youth) haue bene bred in a common-wealth; should haue more advantage therein, then strangers.

Moreover, there is nothing more pernicious to common-wealths, then enuies and despights, proceeding from such advancements to high degrees: as draw on partialities and factions, the danger whereof cannot be auoyded, when natural borne subjects are left despised, and ancient Families contemned, and charge of publike Officers giuen to strangers, & men of no merit.

Beside bastards and strangers, adulterers, murderers, and men made infamous for any crime: are (by a common law) excluded from counsell in these common-wealths.

Publike estates and conditions are of diuers kinde in these common-wealths, and in great number, according as the cities are peopled: we will make mention of the principals onely.

The highest degree, next after the Bourg-masters and *Zurist*-Masters, are such as haue charge of the publike monies: who are called in many places of *Switzerland*, *Seckelmeister*, as much to say, as Treasurers or Purse-bearers. At

Basile there are three, named *Dreyherren*, that haue the keeping of the cities treasures. Besides them, there are three other, named *Ladenherren*, who manage the monies of the Imposts, Customs, and yearly reuenues of the common-wealth: They also pursue criminall causes, making themselves parties, by meanes of the ordinary Attorneys. At *Zurich* there are men (almost) in the selfe-same charge, whom they call *Die Ambgeister*; who manageth the tolle-monies of Corne and Wine, which they cause to be gathered by their committees. This tolle or taxation is not but on the Wine publicly sold, and on the Corne brought in from abroad: but for the wine & corne which the Bourgesſes eate and drinke in their houses, they pay not any thing.

Beside these two Treasurers of the common-wealth, there is a third at *Zurich*, for the reuenues of the Church, & he is called *Der Klosteren obman*: he gathereth certaine reuenues of the Abbeys; wherewith the Ministers wages are payed, the Churches maintained, and the poore cherished or releued, and the ouerplus remaining, is referred to ease the people in times of publike necessities. Some yeares past, the country of *Zurich* hauing bene afflicted with an extreme dearth of victuals: the receiver sold torne at a meane price to them of the city, and to most part of the Villages round about, bought with the referred money at the best rate, and thereby the Subjects of the Seigneury were greatly releued.

Next to these, there are other Officers, as they that take care of publike buildings, whom the French call *Foyers*, the Germans *Putzherren*, and they of *Basile*, *Lontherren*, because they pay the works & workmen that serue in publike. These Sunayers haue charge of the waies, Gates, Towers, Rampiers, Bridges, Couidits, and other publike Edifices: taking order that they shall bee maintained and kept in their best ability. Moreover, they judge with three Lords of the counsell (who are their adiuncts) such differences as happen for the confines, Gutters, Channels, Windows, Walles, and such like things, & wherein the neighbours are to be guided by their direction in their building. At *Basile* there are five Seigneurs, that take knowledge of these matters.

There

Dues Officers appoint to take charge of victuals. For bread. For fish.

For fish.

For butter & cheese. Other Officers noted by their names.

Of Schoole & vniuersities.

The vniuersity at Basile, founded by Aeneas Syluius, who was after Pope, called Pius.

The reason why so few Schoollers are, in the vniuersity of Basile.

There is another degree of them that take charge of victuals. Of this number are the vintners for bread, to consider if the Loafe carryis full weight, or no. Others view the flesh in the Butchery, and aduisedly observe, that they kill not any Beale, the flesh whereof is bad, and dangerous to be eaten; they also set a price vpon the pound, to sell it by. Then there are some that take charge of fish, and heedfully foresee, that none be taken whē they are spawning, and haue an eye, beside to the goodnesse of all other fish in the Market. Others looke to salt fish, and to the Market of Butter and Cheese, how it is reasonably sold. There are some other Officers, whose names are sufficient to be noted: as the Patrons of Widowes and Orphanes, *Schirmvoegt*, and at *Basile*, *Arztensherren*: The Almoners; Visitors for weights and measures; Deputies for questioning of matters; Comptrolers of Ecclesiasticall goods; and Visitors of Schooles.

Moreover, in these cities there are Schooles very well ordered. At *Basile* is an Vniuersity greatly renowned, established by *Aeneas Syluius*, afterward Pope, named *Pius* the second, who gaue it all the same priuiledges, rights, and immunities, which the Vniuersities of *Boulogne*, *Colongne*, *Heidelberg*, *Erford*, *Lipsa* & *Vienne* haue. *Aeneas Syluius* was lodged at *Basile*, during the time as the counsell was kept there. He found the city so pleasant, the ayre so sweete, with such commodity and abundance of all things; that hee reputed the place apt and worthy to haue an Vniuersity founded in it. In the times of our ancestors, and our owne also, this Vniuersity hath yielded many wise men, professors of the tongues, in Philosophy and all Sciences, who are needlesse here to be named. Neuertheless, considering the greatnesse of the city, and the same of the Doctors there abiding, there are but few Schoollers. *Beatus Rhenanus* tendereth the reason, and saith: It is occasioned by the smallnesse of reuenues belonging to this Vniuersity, and to many Schooles in Germany. As thinking, that if there were fewer Schooles and Vniuersities, they would bee much more frequented than they are. There is not any Vniuersity at *Zurich*; notwithstanding, cūen to this present day, the tongues haue

beeene so faithfully taught there, and all good Sciences and Diuinity, that it is very famous, and highly esteemed among all them that study Diuinity.

Finally, these three cities whereof we speake, haue power to stampe and coyne monie: and therefore there are forging Mints, and Masters of the monies, whose charge is to take order that the money coyned with the stamp of the city, should beare full weight, and be of a good alloy. Each of these cities hath her money apart by her selfe. They of *Basile* do coyne the same money with them of *Halstatt* and of *Burgogne*, and call it a *Kappennuntz*, in regard of a Rauens, which serueth for Armes to many peeces of their money. Five & twenty Sols of this money, makes a Florin of gold, which is thought to value threescore cruzers. At *Schaffouse* the money is of the same alloy & price, as that of the Empire. They of *Zurich* do coyne Dallers, and halfe Dallers, of equall price with them of the Empire: but they haue a kinde of money, which is their owne in particular, whereof forty Sols makes a Florin of gold. They stampe also another sort of money, which they call *Baches*, whereof sixteen makes a Florin.

In ranke of these publike charges and offices, we may set downe the Watch, & such as take care for prouision against the accidents of fire. There are two sortes of watch, besides the Sentinels in the clock-houses, and the Porters. First the perpetuall guardes at the cities cost, who keepe watch every night, and diligently search through all parts of the city, crying at all houres of the night. Outward beside these, out of each company are taken a certaine number of Bourgesſes, who likewise watch (according to their turnes) with their Armes. This double guard is not done for any feare they haue of enemies: but to auoid the inconveniences of fire, and to take order also, that (during the time of night) matters may be peaceable and quiet.

They that are Committees, to take care of dangers concerning fire, when any such happeneth in the city, may command the Carpenters, and other men of like quality, to runne for quenching the fire, taking order that all may bee done without confusion, and for the best safety of them that haue the misfortune of the fire.

Mints for the coyning of money in these three cities.

The money of Basile.

The monie of Schaffouse.

The monie of Zurich.

The watch may not be forgot among other officers in publike, & tending to the generall good

The office of them that are guards for accidents of fire.

For time of dwelling.

For men borne out of Switzerland.

Against strangers not natives.

For natives.

Against advancement of strangers and unworthy persons.

Adulterers, murderers, & infamous persons.

Of publike offices and estates.

Treasurers of the publike monies, & of Customs and Imposts.

The order at Zurich.

Tolle or tax for corne and wine.

The Treasurer of churches & monies.

A great dearth in the country of Zurich.

Sunayers of publike buildings & their charge.

They iudge with the council on disputes with the neighbours.

fire. Moreouer, they carry an eye over the watch at the Gates, and on the wals; leste any tumult should happen in the city. For it is ordained, that when the fire is in any one place, a certaine number of the Bourgeses (chosen out of each company) make their sudden appearance at the Gates or Ports, and vpon the walles in Armes. Moreouer, the whole city is distributed into certaine bandes, eury one of them having his Capitaine & Ensigne to it selfe, vnder whom they go marching in excellent order. The Bourgmaster betakes himselfe to the Town-house, with some of the principall councillors and officers of the Seignury, to aduise on what is good for the weale publike. And not only Carpenters, Mafons, and their seruants, but likewise most of the Bourgeses meete together, all labouring industriously to quench the fire: and oftentimes the women shew themselves of no meane courage, in bringing and casting on the water. Beside, if the fire happen in some Village out of the city, the lustiest disposed of eury Tribe (whereof election is made for the purpose) do meete, and issue forth together, to quench the fire. They are conducted by one of the councill Seigneurs, who is sent to helpe and aduise what is meetest to bee done, but most especially, to comfort them that haue the losse.

We haue already told you, that the *Switzers* take great care for the poore. At *Zurich*, and in some other Townes, there is a daily distribution of almes to all the poore there, as of Bread and Pulse-pottage. There are a great number of poore Schollers in *Zurich*, sometimes forty, othervhiles fourescore, that are thus releeued; some bestowing garments, and other needfull things on them also, vsing the poore in no worse manner, then they of the Abbeyes and Couents in the Seignury of *Zurich* are. Vpon the Sundayes and festiual dayes, an almes collection is made of the people: which Monethly, or at eury two Moneths, by men chosen & deputed to the office, is distributed equally to the poore in the city, and such as live abroad in the fields. Beside, in the Cities there are great Hospitals, wherein needy citizens, aged, impotent, sicke persons, orphans, and many other are releeued. The Seignury appointeth diuers

honest people, to haue care of the poores necessities: such as are the Master of Hospitals, Proctors, Receiuers, & their Committees and Comptrollers.

Hitherto wee haue shewne you the forme and state government obserued in the cities; but ouer and betide these, they haue authority in the neighboring countries, and (among the rest) the canton of *Zurich* hath more country iurisdiction, and larger Bayliwicks, then eyther *Basile* or *Schaffouse*. But in all the Lands and Seigneuries belonging vnto these three cantons, there is one and the selfe-same order of government. For certaine Bayliwicks are governed by the councill of the city, in such manner, as the Bayliffes dwell in the city, and are councillors of the common-wealth, and yet go to keepe Courts in the Villages. And if there happen any criminall suite, and whereof there is desert of punishment capital, the councill taketh knowledge thereof. There are other Bayliwicks of farre larger extent, and thether Bayliffes are lent with ample power: so that they iudge not only in ciuill causes, but oftentimes in criminall occasions, and chastise malefactors, according to the cheapnesse of the delicts. These Bayliwicks haue their priuiledges and ancient customes; some also haue law and iustice apart by themselves, and are administrated by Iudges chosen out of the same places.

The Bayliffes make no change or alteration (of any thing) in these places; but they leaue to the inhabitants, all their rights safe and sound: contenting themselves onely to preside in iustice, and giue sentence according to the lawes and customes of each Bayliwicke. The canton of *Zurich* hath nine great Bayliwicks, to wit, the country of *Kybourg*, the Bailwicks of *Groningen*, *Andelfingen*, *Griffensee*, *Eglisow*, the free Province, *Regenbourg*, *Vaudenille*, and *Laufen*, neere to the fall of *Rhein*. There are two and twenty small Bayliwicks or Castle-tships beside: in some of which, there is as large extent of ground, and as great number of men, as in some of the greater Bayliwicks. Moreouer, beside these Bayliwicks, two pleasant Townes, namely *Winterdner* and *Stein*, are vnder the protection of *Zurichs* canton. The Officers of iustice are in the same Townes; but the inhabitants are ty-

The cities extent in government is a broad, fourth of the cities limits.

All the Bayliwicks are subject to the cantons, and are in their obedience & authority.

No charged lawes, priuiledges, or customs, whereby the Bayliffes are any of their iurisdiction.

What Bayliwicks do belong to Zurich, & what Townes be side.

What the order is in times of fire.

The city distinguished into diuers bands in martial order.

When fire taketh a village out of the city.

What care the Switzers haue of the poore.

A collection of charitable almes for the poore.

ed in obedience to the Seignury of *Zurich*, to obey their lawes, and to go to war for that Canton; in which respect, the two Townes haue their feuerall Ensignes by themselves.

The Bayliwicks belonging to the Canton of *Basile*, are the Castle of *Farnsburg*, seated on the top of a Mountaine aboue *Rheinfeld*; *Walbourg*, a small towne on the Mount *Iura*, which they tearme *Der Howerstein*, in regard of the Rock there cut in funder; *Hombourg*, *Munchensteln*, and *Ramstein*.

Schaffouse hath the most part of the country of *Clegowen*, all about *basile*, and sendeth Bayliffes and Chastellaines into the Bourroghs and Villages on it depending.

CHAP. VI.

Of the publike estate and government, of the Townes of *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Sollewre*: which are not diuided into Tribes and Companies, as *Zurich*, *Basile*, and *Schaffouse* are.

We haue already said, that the second kinde of publike gouernment, is considered in such Townes, as are not distributed into certaine Tribes or Companies, out of which are equally chosen, the Lord & Seigneurs appointed for Councill and Iustice. In these Townes they that are soueraigne Magistrates, or Heads of publike councill, are called *Sten Schuldheissen*. The old *Alleman* word is found in the Lawes of the *Lombardes*, where it is written, *Schuldabis*. It seemeth that the word came of debt, which the *Switzers* tearme *Schuld*, and of commanding: as much to say, that the *Schuldabis* commands the debtors to satisfie them of whom they borrowed. And in this fence it is found written in the *Lombards* lawes, vnder the title of debts and wages, in these words.

If a free man who is a debtor, hath nothing else wherewith to make satisfaction, but his owne priuate Castell, as Horses and Oxen for labour, or Kine to the pale: when he that chalengeth or demandeth the debt, shall go to the

Schuldabis, and intimate the cause, giving him to vnderstand, that his debtor hath nothing else to make repayment vntill, but the matters aboue rehearsed. Then the Schuldabis is to make seizure on the said Castell, &c.

The same word is found also in the twentieth title of King *Luipranus*'s lawes in significant termes, as followeth. *If any man haue a cause or suite, and do appeare before his Schuldabis to demand iustice: if in case that the Schuldabis do him not iustice within foure houres after following (if both the parties stand bound, to answer before him), himselfe shall pay to the demander fixe Sols, and to his iudge fixe Sols.*

We may perceiue heereby, that the word *Schuldabis* signified (among our graue Ancients) a Iudge, that gaue sentence vpon differences concerning debts, made leuicy on the debtors goods, and compelled them to pay their creditors. Neuerthelesse, there was no iustice so high, but hee stood in subiection to the county. At this day, the name is in frequent vse among the Princes of *Germany*: so that the Iudges of Townes and Villages haue no other name. Among the *Switzers* it is more honourable, for in the forenamed townes, the *Schuldabis* is lord ouer all. The soueraigne Magistrates of Townes among the *Switzers*, some haue thought were called Consuls, in imitation of the Romans: others hold opinion, that Bourgmasters and *Schuldabis* ought to be called Prefests. For mine owne part, I call them Consuls, that are Presidents in publike council. The French call him an *Auoyer*, whom we tearme *Schuldtheff*.

Now as concerning the Towns whereof we speak, they are not diuided by companies and trades, because there are lawes which prohibit them from so doing. But although the forme of the Commonwealths of *Zurich* and *Berne* are different: yet the one stands bound to succour the other reciprocally, to maintaine and conserue the estate, such as is established in eythers common-wealth. In the meane while, the trades that are at *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Fribourg*, and *Sollewre*, haue houses established for meeting, for knowledge of the best and chiefeest workmen, but not for the election of Magistrates. They tearme those Officers by the name of *Gschichtschafften*, and not *Zunftten*.

Ecc In

The words out of King Luipranus lawes to the same effect.

A Iudges that sentenced cases of debts onely.

The chiefe Magistrate of any Towne among the Switzers.

No Trades or companies in these Townes after such manner as at Zurich.

The Bayliwicks belonging to Basile.

Of the second kinde of gouernment without tribes or companies.

Schuldtheff: The deuision of the word.

The words as they are written in the Lombards lawes.

Two public
councils in
those Towns:
the great and
the lesser.

In these Townes there are two public councils, as at *Zurich*, *Basle*, & *Schaffhouse*; to wit, the great and the lesser. The great council of *Berne*, is of two hundred men, as at *Zurich*, although it hath more then two hundred councillors. The lesser council of *Berne*, is of fixe and twenty. At *Lucerna*, eighteen councillors do governe the estate, during the space of fixe Months, and eightene other fixe Months, or the rest of the year. To elect the council of *Berne*, the proceeding is in this manner.

Banderet is
the Capitaine
of a quarter in
any good
Towne.

The third Feries before Easter day, the four Banderets of the Towne, do chuse, and take with them sixtene Bourgeses, the worthiest and best esteemed men of all: then these twenty, with the *Auoyer*, do elect the great council, wherefore we may well call them Electors. First of all, they consider and examine exactly, the lues and manners of all them that are to be of the council of two hundred: and if any one of them hath soyled his dignity and reputation, with any bad or villanous acte; they depose him, and in the place, as well of the deposted, as of the dead, they chuse another, whom they do better like and allow of. In meane while, their election remaineth secret, untill the evening of the day before Easter. & then the Officers goe, and signifie to all them that are elected for the great and lesser councils: that they are to meete on the morrow morning in the Towne-houfe.

The Seigneurs
of the great council
meete in the
Towne-houfe

The first Feries after Easter, the Seigneurs of the council do assemble in their houses of meeting, and afterward they conduct them to the Towne-houfe, that are newly set downe, to be in number of the two hundred, and then all the Magistrates are elected. The election ended, the Bourgeses go to feast in their houses, and after dinner, walke forth into the fields: exercising themselves there in leaping, running, throwing the Barre, Stone, and other pastimes. But the *Auoyer* goes againe to the towne-houfe, accompanied with the twenty Electors; and there they elect the councillors, that are to be of the lesser council. On the morrow, they are named to the council of two hundred, and after that their election is approved, they goe and sitte downe in their places. Now in regard that the council of *Lucerna* doth command no longer time the

fixe Months onely: the election of the Seigneurs both for the lesse and greater council, is made twice yearly, if there be any vacant places, and that is done about mid-Iune, and mid-December. The new councillors are taken from the lesser council, that governed during the fixe precedent Moneths.

The *Auoyers* or Consuls, who are about the other Seigneurs, are elected by the lesse and greater councils, & by common voyces. The authority of the *Auoyer* at *Lucerna*, lasteth but a year, and a years at *Berne*: but yet in such manner, that the voyces are yearly taken for him, and hee againe elected. Next to the *Auoyers* of *Berne*, the principall men in the commonwealth, are the four Banderets, chosen out of foure companies of trades-men onely, or men of handy-crafts, to wit, Carpenters, Curryers, or Leather-dressers (who are distributed in three parts) Bakers, and Butchers.

The Towne of *Berne* is divided into foure parts, which are committed (each one of them) to these foure Banderets: who view and over-see the Armes of all the Bourgeses, and provide for the affairs of warre. They continue in their charge the space of foure years: but every year on the same day as the *Auoyer* is elected, they resigne their estates, and deliver in to the hands of the cheefe Visier of the Seigneury, their Ensignes, and all the other markes of their dignity, which are laide on a Table before the *Auoyer* and the council: and then the great and lesser council giues their voyces, concerning the Banderets. If one of them have continued in his charge fully foure years, or is preuented by death, another is planned in his place: but yet it is thus conditionally done, that if the dead did not finish his foure years, his successor must accomplish them in the nature of a substitute, and afterward, execute the same charge foure other yeares.

In all the Townes of the *Switzers*, the dignity of Purse-bearers or Treasurers is great. Some whiles, the time of their charge is not limited at all; but they continue in that estate, so long as pleaseth the council, and themselves also. There are two of them at *Berne*, the one receiveth the reuenuues of the Towne, and of the *Allemagne* country: the

The council
of *Lucerna*,
chosen twice
yearly.

The election
of the *Auoyers*
or Consuls.

The chusing
of the four
Banderets out
of foure companies.

The division
of *Berne* into
the foure Banderets.

The time of
the Banderets
continuing in their
office.

The dignity
of Purse-bearers
or Treasurers.

The election
of the lesser
council.

Two Treasurers
at *Berne*,
and their
charge.

the other is for the Romane country, because hee receiveth the reuenuues which the Seigneury deriueth from the countries of *Vant*, and of *Saugue*. Those men which we haue so lately named *Auoyers*, Banderets, and Treasurers, with one councillor of the two hundred, are called at *Berne*, *Die heintlichen Rath*, which is as much to say, as the secret or priuy council. For to them (before all other) matters of most secrecy, of consequence, and which concerne the whole Common-wealth, are reported and trusted.

After that the abouenamed Magistrates haue bene elected, and confirmed by the lesse and greater councils; aduice is vied, concerning other public Offices, which is done in some of those Townes the very same day, and on the morrow in others.

As for those estates that haue not any dignity, as Sericants, Executors of iustice, Messengers, Watches, and other such like charges: ordinarily, the lesser council bestowes them of such, as they know meetest for them.

The Bernians hold this properly to themselves, as concerning election of their councillors, that they will not receiue any person into the lesser council, if he be not borne within the Towne. In elder times, if the sonnes of councillors were borne out of the Towne, they could not attaine to the fathers dignity. Now adayes, when some councillors are absent, about occasions of the weale-public, and for the gouerning of some Bayliwicke: if they happen to haue any children, they are reputed as borne in the Towne. For the great council, they may be elected that are borne out of *Berne*: provided that they be Bourgeses, haue houses in the Towne, and are issued of the *Switzers* country, or of the confederates of the Cantons. For no man is receiued into the council of the two hundred, if he be borne out of *Switzerland*: and the same is in practise at *Zurich*, as we haue already declared. In like manner, bastards, and people of infamous note, are quite excluded from coile.

There are three Courts or Benches of iustice at *Berne*, all the Iudges whereof, are elected by the Banderets & Treasurers, and are confirmed by the lesser council.

The first Court of iustice is called, *Das Amsgericht*. The *Auoyer* presideth there, but the cheefe Visier, whom they call *Der grofz Wibel*, doth (almost) daily keepe the place, and hath 12. Assitants, to wit, the last man elected of the foure Banderets, one of the Seigneurs of the lesser council, and tenne of the great, with one Secretary, and two Officers. They take knowledge of debts, injuries & outrages of slender consequence, as if one man giue another a box on the eare, or giues some words to his disgrace. A man may appeale from their sentence, to the lesser council, and from them, to the sixty men, which is a council composed of Seigneurs of the lesser council, and of fixe and thirty councillors of the great council. From the sixty, appeale may be made vnto the generall. The Iudges doe assemble every day to conclude causes, onely Tuesday excepted, which is the Market day.

The second Court of iustice, iudgeth the appellations of the country of *Saugue*: and therefore it is commonly called, the Court for strange Appellations; *Das veltich Appellatz gericht*. The Purse-bearer or Treasurer of the country, sitreth in iudgement there, & hath ten assitants, to wit, two Seigneurs of the lesser council, and eight of the great, with one Secretary and an Officer. They end all the appeales for the country of *Saugue*, and giue audience to parties at all times, and as ofte as they desire it. Notwithstanding, their ordinary vie is to meete after the day of *S. Martin* in November, vntill the Month of December. All they of *Saugue* come thither to the appellations, they onely of *Lausanna* excepted: but at every two yeares, the Treasurer cometh to *Lausanna* with some assitants, and there decideth the causes of appeale.

The third Court or iurisdiction, takes knowledge of matrimoniall causes. It is the Consistory, where there are eight Iudges; two of the lesser council, who preside or giue sentence there (turne by turne) from two Moneths to two Moneths; two Ministers of the Church; foure of the great council, and they haue a Secretary or Clarke, and an Officer. They assemble three times in the weeke, namely,

The first
Court of
Iustice, how and
what causes
are therein
determined.

The second
Court is
called the
Court of
appellations,
or
appelat.

The ordinary
meeting of
the Court.

The third
Court, the
Consistory
for marriage
matters.

Concerning
the election
of other public
Officers.

The election
of councillors
at *Berne* for
the lesser
council.

Election of
them for the
great council

The ordinary
manner of
Iustice at *Berne*.

The limitation
of their
authority.

Two Courts
of iustice at
Lucerna, and
what causes
are con-
sidered in them.

Criminal
causes con-
cerning life
and death.

How they
proceed in ca-
ses of death.

In the Bay-
liwicks of Berne

Of the Bay-
liwicks belong-
ing to them
of Berne.

namely, on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, then they consider not onely on matrimoniall causes, but also censure such as giue scandales, and put in practise the discipline of the Church. Moreover, these men and the Iudges of the first court of iustice, doe hold in estate but halfe the yeare, and are changed about Easter, and likewise about the end of September.

They of *Lucerna* haue two courts of iustice, the one they call *Das vuchengricht*, because the Iudges do meete euery weeke, and decide al suites proceeding of debts and contracts. The other is called *Das nuer gricht*, the iustice of nine: for nine Iudges take knowledge of iniuries and outrages, and accordingly inflict punishment. There is not any Consistory at *Lucerna*, neither at *Fribourg*, or *Solleurre*: because they are Catholiques, and subiecte to the iurisdiction of Bishops, by whose Officials the causes concerning matrimony are debated.

As for criminall matters capitall, there are not any particular Iudges thereto appointed, neyther at *Berne*, nor *Lucerna*. But when question is made concerning any ones life, the great and smaller counsels take knowledge thereof, and iudge it. The *Auoyer* sit in cheefest authority, and censure on the matters. After sentence is refused on at *Berne*, the *Auoyer* goes and sits in a seate of iustice, appointed in some eminent part of the Towne, enuironed with Officers of the Seignury. Then the Clarke or Secretary readeth out aloud the confession of the offender, & the sentence giuen against him. Afterward the *Auoyer* enioyneth the hangman to execute the sentence, and commandeth the condemned person to bee deliuered to him. At *Lucerna*, the counsell do iudge in criminall causes, of all the Bayliwicks, and all the Malefactors are punished within the Towne. But in all the Bayliwicks of *Berne*, there is iustice apart by it selfe, which they call *Landtgricht*, and thether the Iudges of all the bayliwicks are called, and giue their aduice in presence of the Bayliwicks, who presideth: and yet in such sort, as the counsell of *Berne* may approve, or change the sentence, if they thinke good.

The *Bernians* haue many Bayliwicks, & are the most powerfull Seigneurs of the Leagues. In some they speak the *Alleman*

or *Germane* tongue; in other the *Romane* or *Sauyan*. Among the *Alleman* Bayliwicks, there are foure depending on the Towne, and are euen as Subburbs thereto: whereof the foure Banderets are Bayliwicks, and if they were to go to war, those Bayliwicks march vnder the Ensignes of the foure Banderets. Moreover, there are seuen and twenty other beside, to wit, the vale of *Fisell*, which hath an *Anman*, out of the body of the inhabitants, but hee is elected by the counsell of *Berne*, & there rendereth an account of his charge. *Vndersee* is a Towne so named, because it is at the end of a Lake: thether is an *Auoyer* sent, but he is of the Towne of *Berne*, the vale of *Sinna*, both high and low, do call their Bayliffes *Schachtlande*, that is to say, Castilians. *Fruingen*, *Sane* and *Aelen*, do name their Bayliffe, *Gouernour*. *Laupen* and *Thun* are in the same condition as *Vndersee*.

Next to these, are *Signow*, *Trachselwald*, and the Rivers of the vale of *Emme*. *Brandis*, that receiues her Bayliffe from the Lord of the place: but he is numbred among the Bourgeses of *Berne*. *Sumfelmald*, where the Masters of the *Tentour* Order established a Bayliffe. *Burgdorf* and *Pyrenette* are gouerned all alike, as *Vndersee*, *Landhont*, *Arberg*, *Nidow*, *Erlach*, *Bippin*, *Wange*, *Arwange*, *Arboarg*, *Fibersheim*, *Schenkenberg*, and *Leimbouurg*. Moreover, there are three free Townes in the country of *Ergow*, vnder the Seignury of *Berne*, to wit, *Zofinge*, *Arow*, and *Brug*. There are eight Roman Bayliwicks, as namely, *Auanches*, *Madon*, *Tuerdun*, *Laufanna*, *Morges*, *Nyon*, *Orbe*, *Aille* and *Venay*. Beside, they of *Berne* and of *Fribourg* haue foure Bayliwicks in common; as *Mort*, *Schwartzenbourg*, *Granfon*, & *Chalansse*, whether they send a Bayliffe successively at euery 5. yeares end: so that if the Bayliffe be of *Berne*, his causes of appeale goe to *Fribourg*, where the reasons of the Bayliffe are examined. There are Prouoosts beside, for the gouernment of Abbeys. The *Bernians* had nine in the *Allemanne* country, sixe whereof held iurisdiction, and three in the *Romane* country.

They of *Lucerna* haue onely two out of the Towne, as at *Wiken*, and at *Sempach*: but hee of *Sempach* hath no other authority in the place, but only the superintendency of the Lake, and of the Fish.

The Auzer
of the Vale
of Fisell.

The Auoyer
of Vndersee.

The Bayliffe
of the Vale
of Emme.

* The compa-
ny or the
Hunt-Mer-
cians.

Eight Roman
Bayliwicks.

Foure Bay-
liwicks in com-
mon.

Of the Bay-
liwicks shar-
ing to Luc-
erna.

As

The priuilege
of Merisun-
day, and of o-
ther places
belide.

Lex Talionis
is iustice in
some vic at
Lucerna.

Cornets of
Brasse vied in
stead of trum-
pets at Lu-
cerna.

Cornettes.

Rowland who
the Italians
call Orlando.

Monies coyn-
ed by all
their townes.

As for their other Bayliwicks, they are gouerned by some of the Seigneurs of the counsell. Those Bayliwicks are *Willisau*, the Vale of *Entlibuch*, *Rotenbourg*, *Halspourg*, *Berone*, and the neighbouring countie, which they call, *Che-lumpt*: *Merisunde*, that hath this priuilege, to chuse for Bayliffe, one of the Seigneurs of counsell in *Lucerna*, euen whom they list, except the *Auoyer*: *Weggis*, *Ebikon*, *Horbe* and *Krientz*. Moreover, the two Townes of *Sursey* and *Sempach*, are in the protection of the *Lucer-nians*: Neuerthelesse, they haue their counsell apart by themselves, who iudge in causes both ciuill and criminall. But the *Auoyer* of *Sursey*, giueth his oath to them of *Lucerna*. Hee of *Sempach* is elected by the counsell at *Lucerna*: but he is in number among the citizens of *Sempach*.

The law of likeness or equality, which the Latines termed *Lex Talionis*, is as yet vied (in some sort) at *Lucerna*. For if any man kill a citizen of the place, although he did it vpon iust occasion, hauing bene prouoked thereto by the other, and in defence of his owne body: yet if hee betaken, they smite off his head, or if he flye, he is banished for euer. But if he make satisfaction to the children or kindred of the dead, and cause them to giue ouerall pursuite: hee may obtaine leaue of the counsell to come againe into the town.

Among all the *Switzers*, there is not any but them of *Lucerna*, that make vfe of *Brasse* Cornets, instead of Trumpets. The crooked Cornets, which they call *hartsch-boerck*, giues a frightfull found. The *Romans* also made vfe of Cornets in warre: and thereupon, they that founded or winded those Cornets, were called *Cornettes*. The men of *Lucerna* say, that *Charlemagne* gaue those Cornets to the, because they carried themselves valiantly in a warre which hee had against the *Sarrazins*, and that *Rowland*, a Lord very highly beloued of *Charlemagne* in those times, serued himselfe with those kindes of Cornets long before.

These forenamed Townes do coyne monies, but *Berne*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*, haue one particular kind of coyne: whereof two and forty Sols, and two thirds of a Sol, makes a Florin of *Rheine*. Moreover, they stampe another more great fort

of money, which the *Switzers* call *Bin Dickenpfennig*, and the French a *Teslon*. These *Teslons* are minted at *Solleurre* for the most part; and yet notwithstanding, are counted of lesse value, by a tenth part, then them of *France*. They of *Berne* coyned first certaine money, which the *Switzers* termed *Baches*: in regard of the figure of a Beare, which was stamped on the one side, for they called a Beare *Bachern* and *Bactzen*. Afterward, the other Cities and Townes of *Switzerland* and of *Suabs*, coyned the same money: sixteene peeces whereof, valued a Florin of gold. The money of *Lucerna* cometh not neere to the value and price of that of *Basile*, which is more hard and strong: for the Sol of *Lucerna* valueth but the moiety of that of *Basile*, and fifty Sols of *Lucerna*, will make one Florin.

Now we come to speake of *Fribourg*, which is diuided into foure parts, like vnto *Berne*: the first is called the Borough, the second, the Island, or the Meadow; the third, the new Towne; and the fourth, the Hospitall. The counsellors of the common-wealth are chosen out of these quarters. As in the other Townes, so in this there are two publike counsels; to wit, the great counsell, consisting of 2. hundred, and the lesser of foure and twenty. The election is made on the Sunday before *S. Iohn Baptist* day. The lesser counsell manageth the affaires of the Towne, deciding the causes of appeales: except of the Bayliwicks of *Sauoye*, conquered in warre. As for the matters which concerne the whole State, and are of maine importance, the counsell of two hundred takes knowledge of them. The *Auoyer*, who presideth both in the lesser & great counsels, is elected on *S. Iohns* day by all the people, and continueth in his charge the space of two yeares.

Next vnto the *Auoyer*, are the foure Banderets, who are Captaines of severall quarters in the city or town, & although they are not of the ordinary number of Seigneurs of the lesser counsell: yet notwithstanding, they assist there in name of all the people, and deliuer their aduice, except in appellations. If some thing be propounded which seemeth to belong to the counsell of two hundred; they may ther make their report of it. Furthermore they remaine in authority, three yeares:

E c 3 and

Worth eight-
teene pence
sterling.

Money with a
Beare stamp-
ed on it.

The valuat-
ion of the
coines.

The estate &
condition of
Fribourg, and
how it is di-
uided into foure
parts.

The two coun-
cils.

The office of
the lesser coun-
cell and of the
greater.

The Auoyer
in his place
of charge.

The foure
Banderets next
to the
Auoyer.

The office of the Treasurer.

and are chosen by the great & lesser coun-
cils, as many other Officers are. Then
followeth the office of the Treasurer,
who manageth the monies, and all the
revenues of the Towne: he hath (as his
coadiuter) the Secretary or Clerke of
the Towne, or his Committees, who re-
gister downe all those summes, which the
Treasurer receiveth, or employeth. His
charge also is, to have an eye on all the
publike buildings. Twice every year he
renders an account to the lesser coun-
cill, and remaineth in his charge, the space of
three years.

Four principal Secretaries in Fri-
bourg.

In *Fribourg* there are foure principal
Secretaries: the first is called Secretary
of the Towne; the second, Secretary of
the coun-
cill; the third, Secretary of the
country; and the fourth, Secretary of law
or iustice. In like manner, the estate of
Saulnier, or cheefe Vicer, is honourable
both in *Berne* and *Fribourg*, where it is na-
med, *Großweiblich*. He is very often
necere to the *Auoyer*, and when the Seig-
neurs are set in coun-
cill, he is at the door,
counteth voyces, calleth the parties, and
takes care of prisoners. His charge conti-
nueth three years.

The Saulnier
or cheefe Vicer.

The Courts
of law and ius-
tice at Fri-
bourg.

As concerning Law and Iustice at
Fribourg, they are established in manner
following. First, the Court of Iustice be-
longing to the Towne, called, *Das
Stattgericht*, is a particular assembly of
certaine Iudges, to know and decide dif-
ferences among the Bourgeses. And if
there be any criminal proceffe or suite;
their charge is to interrogate the prison-
ners, to present & deliver the case in ques-
tion, and then to relate all to the lesser
coun-
cill. The other assembly of Iud-
ges, is termed *Das Landtgericht*, judg-
ing the causes of dwellers in the coun-
try. In each of these iurisdiccions, there
are two Seigneurs of the lesser coun-
cill, and two of the great, and they meet three
times every week. Appeale may be made
from their sentence, to the lesser coun-
cill. Moreover, there are twelve Iudges, cho-
sen out of the great and lesser coun-
cils, for the appellations of the Bayliwicks,
conquered in the last warre against the
Duke of *Savoie*. They meete together
once in every Moneth, and there is no
appealing from their sentence.

The first
Court or as-
sembly.

The other
Court of ius-
tice.

Twelve Iud-
ges for the
conquered
Bayliwicks.

At *Fribourg* there are two Kindes of
Bayliwicks, as in the other Townes: the

one of Bayliwicks neigbouring to the
Towne, which are governed by certaine
Seigneurs of the coun-
cill, who dwell in
the Towne, and come dayly to coun-
cill, and of such Bayliwicks there are five. The
other is, when the Bayliwicks are sent to
dwell on distinct places with ample au-
thority: and they of *Fribourg* have four-
teene such Bayliwicks, and foure in com-
mon with the *Bernians*. The Bayliwicks are
elected by the great and lesser coun-
cils, the morrow after *S. John Baptists* day, and
hold in office the space of five years: but
every year they render an account of
their charge, before the lesser coun-
cill. They instruct also, and deale in criminal
suites: but them they send to the lesser
coun-
cill with their sentence, which the
coun-
cill hath power to approue, change,
or moderate.

That which at *Fribourg* is called *Zro-
stungen*, and in the vulgar, *Leutungen*,
is carefully maintained at *Fribourg*. By
these words is understood a remise or ra-
tiance for certaine time, and the charges
to be on his owne head; when the debtor
doth not pay his debt, or on the day of
assignement, as in this manner. When
the debtor maketh not satisfaction, on
the day appointed for repayment, the
creditor sendeth one, two, three, or more
servants (on horse-backe) to an Inne or
Hofery, whose expences there the debtor
is constrained to pay (tarry they there ne-
cessit so long) untill hee hath made satisfac-
tion to the creditor. Some say, that the
Duke of *Zeringen* established this Law.
Such as infringe or breake it, are punished
by imprisonment, banishment, or by the
purse. And there is a certaine Iudge, who
they call Bourgmastier, that holdeth a
stritt hand in this case. Moreover, if ac-
tion or suite is moved, and a man demand
the *Croftung* three times, if it is not gra-
ted to the demander, it is present banish-
ment. Such as breake the peace, where-
in they are enioyned to live one with a-
nother, are banished likewise: and they
that (without iust cause) will meddle, or
take part on eyther side, when a cause is in
pleading.

Finally, the *Fribourgers* make feasting
yearly, with solemne procession of all es-
tates through the Towne, on the second
day of March, and on the eight and twen-
tieth day of Iune, which are dayes of bat-
tailes

Two kindes
of Bayliwicks,
distinguisht
from each
other.

Four Bayli-
wicks in com-
mon with the
City of Berne.

Dealing in
criminal
causes.

A day or so
being a de-
bitate
cost & charge
on the debtor.

A law made
by the Duke
of Zeringen,
the payment
of debts.

Banishment
for the breach
of peace.

Dayes of
feasting
for victories
obtained.

tailes given, and victories wonne by the
Switzers, against the Duke of *Bourgonne*,
at *Granson*, and at *Mora*.

CHAP. VII.

Of the Commonwealth of those Cantons that
have neither Cities nor Townes, but dwell
only in Villages.

Hitherto we have discoursed on two
formes of Common-wealths, con-
cerned in the Cantons of *Switzerland*,
that have Cities and Townes. There re-
maineth now a third, which is of those
Cantons that have no Townes, but make
their abode in Villages, and for that cause
are called, *Die Laender*. There are fixe
of them, to wit, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*,
Glaris, and *Appenzell*. *Zug* indeede is a
towne, & hath her Officers in the townes,
but the fouraignty of the Canton apper-
taineth to them that dwell in the lands of
the Canton, with them of the townes, and
are Lords as well the one as other. In
all these Cantons, the cheefe of the pub-
like coun-
cill, is termed *Aumman*, which
signifieth a man in office and authority,
and that name is attributed to all publike
Officers. So that Abbots, and other Ec-
clesiasticall persons, do call their Iudges,
Receivers, and other such like Officers,
Aummans.

As the Townes are divided or parted,
by Companies and Colledges of *Arte-
zans* or *Tradefmen*; so the Cantons are
distributed into certaine parts and por-
tions.

CHAP. VIII.

Of all the fixe Cantons forenamed, which in
this ensuing Chapter we will handle to-
gether, according to their severall rights &
iurisdiccions.

THE whole country of *Vri* is divided
into ten parts, which by them are
called *Gnoshaminen*, as if a man
would say, Participations. It may be in

this respect, because they are all partakers
in palturages, goods, honours, and pub-
like charges, and that from those ten parts
only, they are summoned and called, to
be present at those assemblies which are
yearly made.

The Country of *Suits* is divided into
fixe parts, which they call quarters. Be-
cause the country (hitherto) was di-
stributed into foure portions: but the
people coming to encrease greatly, they
made a new partage into fixe portions,
which neuerthelesse do retaine the an-
cient name.

As for the Country of *Vnderwald*,
there is a Forest that divideth it in the
middle: and therefore the division is thus
made to them that dwell above and be-
neathe the Forest. The whole Country
taketh name of that part which is beneath
the Forest: for *Vnderwalden* is as much
to say, as beneath or vnder the wood. In
eldertimes, *Stans*, a principall Village
beneathe the Forest, and neere to the
Lake, was the prime and cheefe place of
the country, and the people were called,
inhabitants of the Valley of *Stans*. But
now adayes, because the word *Vnderwald*
is taken for the whole country, the *Swit-
zers* have added these words, above and
beneathe the wood, *Vnderwalden ob
und nider dem Kernwald*.

Now as concerning them of *Zug*, we
have said already, that they are divided in
two parts; the one is the Towne it selfe,
the other the Villages round about, com-
prehended vnder three assemblies, to wit,
the Mountaine, the Vale *Egeria*, and *Barh*,
a Parish very neere to the Towne.

Glaris is divided into fifteene parts,
which they terme *Agawan*. The word
signifieth the work of a day, and as much
distance or spaciousnesse of ground, as a
man can plow in a day. It may be, that
these parts were called *Iournals*, or day-
labours: because every one prepareth &
ordereth the way in his quarter, and each
one knoweth where he is to labour.

The country of *Appenzell* is parted in-
to twelve orders or portions, which they
call *Raden*, whereof those fixe conioyn-
ed to the Village of *Appenzell*, they
name them the orders within, and an-
ciently were subiects to the Abbot of *S.
Gall*. The other fixe are called the or-
ders without: to wit, out of the Abbots
Seignoury,

The division
of Suits.

Vnderwald di-
vided in the
middle.

Of the name.

Stans a prin-
cipall village.

The partition
of Zug, the
Towne & the
Villages.

The division
of Glaris.

The orders or
portions
belonging to
Appenzell.

Election of the council.

The general council of Appenzell.

Publication of a council to be holden on a day appointed.

None but natives can be councilers

The Switzers louing and kinde to strangers living among them.

The council generally of all the people, & their appointed places of meeting.

Seignury; heereofore partly free, and partly in the iurisdiction of Gentlemen. Out of these parts (by equall number) are chosen certaine men, for the council of the Canton: in many of them there are threefore councilers, beside such as (having bene in office) continue perpetuall councilers. At Zug there are five and forty councilers, nine of each assembly, for the Towne is counted for two.

The council generall of Appenzell, consisteth of an hundred forty foure, to wit, twelve of each order. And if matters of importance are to be treated on, and it appeareth needfull to assemble the council of all the people: then they will double or treble the council in this manner. Each of the councilers takes a man or two with him, if they be to hold a council of three times as many persons, as ordinarily they use to do: and one of the councilers, on Sunday, in the Church after Service is done, hath a custome to signifie, that on such a day as he nameth, all the councilers are to meete in the Towne-house of the Canton, and each man is to bring with him such a one, as he holdeth to bee an honest and wise man, who shall also bee there bound to obedience, vnder the oath whereby all are obligated to the common-wealth. Beside, no man is elected to be a counciler, neither can he assist in the generall council, if he be not borne in the country. **Ein Landman**: And it is much more easie to obtaine the degree of Bourgeshippe, in the Townes of the Switzers, then in these Villages. Which proceedeth not of any inhumanity, for there are great store of strangers among them, towards whom they shew themselves very kinde and humane. But rather by a certaine order of aduised iudgement, and according to the custome of their predecessors: being neuer willing to mingle new commers among olde inhabitants of the country, both to prevent charges, and to preserve the common-wealth (the more easly) in one and the same estate and condition.

The souerainty in these fixe Cantons, belongeth to the assembly of all the people. All they of the country, from the age of fourteene, or fixteene, or vpwards, do meete eyther at the principall Village of the Canton, or else at some other place in the midst of the country. As they of

Vri meete at *Betzelingen*, distant halfe a dayes journey from *Altorf*, the cheefest Village of that Canton. The people of *Glaris* meete at *Snauda*. The ordinary and annuall assemblies of these Cantons, is made euery yeare about the beginning of May. They of *Sans*, of *Vnderwald* vnder the wood, of *Glaris* and of *Appenzell*, do meete the last Sunday of April. They of *Vri* and of *Zug*, the first Sunday of May. In elder times, they of *Zug* held their generall council the 24. day of Iune, being *S. Iohn Baptists* day. They of *Vnderwald* about the wood, meete the first day of May.

In these assemblies, first of all he is elected whom they call the *Amman*, in which office hee continueth the space of two yeares. Heereofore there was no terme of time assigned, but (oftentimes) the same *Amman* gouerned for many yeares together. He is permitted to be chosen among all the people, as a man that (for his vertue and wisdom) shall be thought most worthy of that dignity and charge, without regard at all, in what place or Village of the Canton hee dwelleth. Notwithstanding, in certaine Cantons, as at *Appenzell*, while the *Amman* is in his office of authority, hee goeth to remaine in the principall Village, where the publike council keepeth most.

At *Zug* there are three assemblies of them without the Towne. Next, the Towne hath the power of two assemblies and the *ammans* are chosen by order of each assembly. They that are elected of the assemblies without, doe dwell in the Towne, during the two yeares that they are *ammans*. In the same assembly where the *amman* is elected, his Lieutenant also is chosen, whom they terme *Schaltzer*: and so are the Treasurers & Purse-bearers, called by them *Schelmeysters*. Next, the Secretaries and Bayliffes which gouerne the Bayliffes of the Canton: or those which the Canton holds apart with other Cantons. Moreover, Edicts are there read & confirmed, or abrogated yearly, by the voyces of all the people: so likewise sports, and playing at cardes, dice, dancing, excessive drinking, fore-stalling Markets of victuals, and such like things.

When the council is thus held yeare by yeare, councilers are elected and confirmed:

The yearly assembling of these cantons.

The Amman is the chief officer chosen in these assemblies.

Of the assemblies at Zug, which without and within.

The election of the Lieutenant.

Secretaries & Bayliffes.

The electing and continuing of councilers.

An extraordinary council holden.

Council more secret and priuate.

The council of seuen at Suits.

The 3 Courts of iustice. The first of nine.

The second of seuen.

The order at Vis.

The Court of fifteene there.

Two Courts of law & iustice at Vnderwald.

firm'd: but yet this is not done by euery assembly, but each of them ordered by the subiects of the Canton, and by the companies among whom they dwell. Finally, if at some other times of the yeare, there happen affaires that concerne the estate of the common-wealth, an extraordinary council is held. As if need require, to send Ambassadors to the dayes at *Bada*, or to some other Kings and Princes; or if there be question of making alliances, be they eyther for peace or warre, &c.

Beside the lesser council and the generall, composed of all the people, some of the cantons haue a council more strict and priuate, and courses of iustice for discision of suites. In the Canton of *Suits*, which is diuided in fixe parts, the principall counciler of each part is taken: and these fixe, with the *Amman*, make the council of seuen, called secret. These seuen do manage and order all the reuenues of the country, and furnish all that is laid out for publike expences. Moreover, there are two Courts of iustice, the one being called the order of nine, in regard of the number of Iudges, and there the *Amman* sits as President. In this Court are decided the causes of greatest importance: as of inheritances, outrages, and terrible injuries, hard to be endured.

The Court of seuen, (so is the other order of iustice called) where the Lieutenant to the *Amman* sits as President: and those seuen are Iudges in causes concerning contracts, debts, and such like. They of *Vri* haue (almost) the same gouernment: for there the Court of seuen, with the Lieutenant to the *Amman*, doe censure and iudge of debts, which exceede not the sum of threecore pounds. There is another iudicial Court of fifteene, where the *Amman* sits as President, and concludeth causes ciuill of greatest consequence.

At *Vnderwald* also there are 2. Courts of iustice, the one at *Stans* vnder the wood, and the other at *Sarna* about the wood, and each of them hath an *Amman*. It is saide, that the country was parted, in the yeare one thousand, one hundred and fifti; when some debate fell among them for paying of a certaine tribute. And whereas before that time, they had but one council, and one Standard, bearing

a double key for the whole country: this partition caused each of the sides to take one key onely, and they that were about the wood, retained still their olde Standard, white and redde, because they were the greater part of the Canton. Then they vnder or beneath the wood, received from Popes another Ensigne, which had two keyes in it: for in regard that *Stans* (long before) had bene the principall Village of the Canton, they therfore kept still the Ensigne, which in those times they had at *Stans*.

The Towne of *Zug*, beside the council generall of the whole country, hath a council apart, order of iustice, Magistrates, a Lieutenant to the *Amman*, Treasurer, Voyer, &c. who iudge the causes of the Bourgeses, and manage all the publike affaires.

At *Glaris* there are two Courts of iustice, one of nine, the other of five Iudges, which the council generall of the Canton do elect euery yeare. They decide law-suites in the Moneths of May, and of December onely. The nine take knowledge of differences concerning inheritances, and dangerous injuries. The five do censure suites of debts and payments, after that the nine (who keepe Court the space of fixe dayes) haue ended.

They of *Appenzell* haue two courts of iustice also, the first is kept in a public place of the streete; in regard whereof, they call it *Das gassen gericht*. Therein are foure and twenty Iudges, two of each order of the canton, and their President is the Vicer of the canton, *Der Landtweibel*, and they meete together weekly euery Thursday: they condemn men in fines, and chastise such as wrong one another. The other court is called *Das geschworen gericht*, iustice of oath: because twelue Iudges sitte there, and take knowledge of differences, which are ended, by giuing oath to one of the parties. Moreover, from each order of the canton, a counciler is chosen, & many from the orders that are greater. These men make obseruation of such as breake publike ordinances, and deliberate on matters which are to bee propounded to the council generall. In which respect, they are as Guardians of the lawes, and reard cheefest councilers: their charge is perpetuall, and they are called in this canton,

But one council and one Standard till the diuision.

The Forces cause them another Ensigne.

The obseruation at Zug.

Two Courts of iustice at Glaris, and their severall authorities.

The Courts of iustice at Appenzell.

The first Court.

The se cond Court.

Another order of councilers, and their power.

Of the catho- like Cantons.	ton Landthelick. <i>Suits, Uri, Vnderwald, Zug, Glaris, and Appenzel</i> , are Catholicic, and vnder the Diocesse of <i>Constance</i> . And if there happen any difference concerning marriages, they goe to the Officialtie of the sayde place, but they of the other opinion goe to <i>Zurich</i> .	four Bayliwicks, to wit, the <i>Marche</i> , the <i>Hermitage</i> , <i>Cusnach</i> , and certaine small Villages or great Farmes, neere to the lake of <i>Zurich</i> : but the two former haue obtained municipall right, and doe elect a counsell and triall of suites in their owne bodye. Notwithstanding, euery yeare, when a counsell generall is held at <i>Suits</i> , ordinarily they send their Ambassadors thether, and require, that they may haue leaue to elect their Magistrates; which is granted them, as in verie great fauour, with this exception, that they are to bee modest and obedient, for otherwise it remaineth in the peoples power of <i>Suits</i> , to send a Gouvernour thether, whensoever they thinke meet.	Four Bayliwicks, to wit, the <i>Marche</i> , the <i>Hermitage</i> , <i>Cusnach</i> , and certaine small Villages or great Farmes, neere to the lake of <i>Zurich</i> : but the two former haue obtained municipall right, and doe elect a counsell and triall of suites in their owne bodye. Notwithstanding, euery yeare, when a counsell generall is held at <i>Suits</i> , ordinarily they send their Ambassadors thether, and require, that they may haue leaue to elect their Magistrates; which is granted them, as in verie great fauour, with this exception, that they are to bee modest and obedient, for otherwise it remaineth in the peoples power of <i>Suits</i> , to send a Gouvernour thether, whensoever they thinke meet.	
Punishment for adultery.	As for adulteries, they are chastised in each Canton: some, by confiscation of goods; others (sometime by the fine of ten Dallers. I haue heard likewise, that (diuers times) the counsell generall of the whole Canton, doeth decide some differences concerning marriages.	Justice in causes criminall, is administered (almost in all the Cantons) by the publike counsell, and oftentimes doubled or multiplied by the ordinary councillors; the <i>Amman</i> sitting President, or his Lieutenant. At <i>Zug</i> , in criminal matters, other assistants are ioyned with the counsell or Iudges, chosen out of each diuision or assembly of the Canton. Suites of Law are discuss in an open publike place, where all may heare that which is said, and know the merite of the sentence giuen by the Iudges.	<i>Cusnach</i> hath the same condition, but because, within some few yeares certaine strangers (customers for carriage of salt and other things that way) made their complaint, that they of <i>Cusnach</i> did them wrong, and vsed them harshlie vpon no occasion: the men of <i>Suits</i> knowing the accusation to bee true, sent a Bayliffe thether againe, and appointed new ordinations for <i>Cusnach</i> . Besides, they haue two Bayliwicks in common with them of <i>Glaris</i> , to wit, <i>Venzac</i> , which is a Towne, and <i>Gastal</i> . Thether they send Bayliffes, turne by turne, and alwaies there is one of <i>Suits</i> in one of the Bayliwicks, and one of <i>Glaris</i> in the other.	What priuiledges belong to <i>Cusnach</i> , but through their owne neglect.
Justice in criminal causes.	Now to speake of the Bayliwicks or Governements appertaining vnto these Cantons, they are carried and disposed in manner following. They of <i>Uri</i> send a Bayliffe into the valley of <i>Liuner</i> beyond the Mountaines: who hath one of the same valley for his Lieutenant and. Assistants also; with whom he iudgeth causes both ciuill and criminall, and continueth in his charge the space of three yeeres. Beyond the same Mountaines, they send Bayliffes also to <i>Bellizona</i> , and to two other places. They of <i>Bellizona</i> haue three Bayliwicks, to wit, <i>Bellizona</i> , the Vale <i>Brune</i> , and <i>Rimera</i> , where the three Cantons do command in such manner, that each of them hath alwaies a Bayliffe. Moreover, the inhabitants of Mount <i>S. Godardo</i> , are subiects to the Canton of <i>Uri</i> ; neuertheless, they haue their Counsell and their <i>Amman</i> , who are confirmed by them of <i>Uri</i> , & when there are criminal suites, two of the counsell of <i>Uri</i> do meet there. They haue their Standard likewise: but when they of <i>Uri</i> do display that belonging to the Canton, the other hold vp theirs.	Justice in causes criminall, is administered (almost in all the Cantons) by the publike counsell, and oftentimes doubled or multiplied by the ordinary councillors; the <i>Amman</i> sitting President, or his Lieutenant. At <i>Zug</i> , in criminal matters, other assistants are ioyned with the counsell or Iudges, chosen out of each diuision or assembly of the Canton. Suites of Law are discuss in an open publike place, where all may heare that which is said, and know the merite of the sentence giuen by the Iudges.	In like manner, they haue three other Bayliwicks in common, beyonde the Mountaines, in the valley of <i>Liuner</i> , with the Cantons of <i>Uri</i> , <i>Suits</i> , and <i>Vnderwald</i> . The charge and office of all their Bayliffes lasteth two yeeres, except in the Bayliwicks beyonde the Mountaines, where they holde for the space of three yeares; and they goe not to the other but at certaine times, and to decide law controuersies.	What Bayliwicks they enjoy in common with other.
The order & disposition of the Bayliwicks in these Cantons.	They of <i>Suits</i> haue sometimes hadde	They of <i>Suits</i> haue sometimes hadde	They of <i>Suits</i> haue sometimes hadde	What time their Bayliffes continue in authority of governing.
<i>Bellizona</i> hath 3. Bayliwicks belonging to it.				The order and manner of sending their Bayliffes, to their seuerall places of jurisdiction.

	<i>Venzac</i> and <i>Gastal</i> . They of <i>Toggenbourg</i> are their Bourgeses, as we haue sayde already; and go to warre for them, and for the Canton of <i>Suits</i> . Finally, the five first Cantons are Lordes with the other Cantons, of the Bayliwicks governed by them in common: except the men of <i>Appenzel</i> , who send a Bayliffe onely to <i>Kunthal</i> , with the seuen first Cantons, & in the same manner.	of <i>Glaris</i> do yearly celebrate the memoriall of the victory which they wonne against the <i>Austrians</i> , in the year 1387. and in the month of April, I will declare at large, the ceremonies obserued by them in this festiually to the end, the better iudgment may be made of such feasts as are vied by others.	Reads in the former parts.
Of customes belonging to these six Cantons.	Now follow some particular customes of these six Cantons, and which are not common to all the Switzers. Whosoever shall haue committed a murder, although it was done in the defence of his owne body, hee is constrained to forsake the Canton, and it is not lawfull for the lesser counsell to repeale him; but hee may demand and obtaine leaue of the counsell generall to returne againe.	The order of the solemne Feast and Procession, performed by the men of <i>Glaris</i> , in honor of their victory against the <i>Austrians</i> .	
In case of murder.	They doe not permit, that Landes and foundations of sufferances should be pawned or ingaged vnto any one that is not of the Canton; for they holde them to be no longer Lords of their countrey, if once they will become bound for debts and mortgage in such manner their inheritances to strangers. Likewise in the Canton of <i>Uri</i> , it is not lawfull for strangers, that haue bene receyued there as inhabitants, to buy any inheritances, but a house and a small garden for Pot-herbes onely.	IN the moneth of April, euery yeare, on the Thursday of the first weeke (except Easter day fall on the Sunday following, for then it is deferred til Thursday in the weeke after) the Feast is celebrated. On the Sunday before, it is a lowde and openly published in the church, in behalf of the Seignery, that on Thursday following, the most honourable persons of euerie Family, especially the men, are to meete and go in solemne Procession to <i>Mulhoufere</i> , by those waies, places, and passages, where their Ancestors were in great danger, euen so far as the Fountain, and to be ware of descending to the Village of <i>Haures</i> , til first they haue past the other way. Moreover, that all keepe silence while the Sermon is done, and to carrie themselves (that day) so modestly in their refection, that no disorder may be noted, because the Seignery will chastise them seuerely that do otherwise, and because the whole Canton of <i>Glaris</i> doth solemnly feast that day. Forbidding also, that no man shall mount on Horsebacke out of the Village of <i>Glaris</i> , sicke & aged men onely excepted, who are not (being so mounted) to goe anie further then <i>Schensingen</i> .	The great Feast of <i>Glaris</i> .
Against murthering of lands and inheritances to strangers.	If any man being drunke, doe commit some scandalous action, hee is punished by imprisonment; and beside, hee is forbidden to drinke wine for the space of a certaine time, and vntill the Counsell generall haue pardoned him.	Rememberce of their Ancestors great peril.	
Against drunkenness.	In publike assemblies, and in the distribution of honourable charges and Offices: hee that is put in election, is present, and his parents, brethren, and sons may giue him their voyces. They giue their voyces by lifting vp their hands on high, and some are set in an eminent place to count them. If they stand in doubt, and cannot so decide it, then they haue another course. There are two men, who hold two Halberds touching together at the points; they that giue their voyces, do passe vnder them, and two other men count them as they passe.		
For voyces giuen, the election of publike officers.	Finally, they vse Feasts and Processions, on such dayes as their Ancestors obtained any remarkable victory. As they	After they are all assembled together, and rounded in a ring as it were, the <i>Amman</i> , who is in the midst, makes a kinde welcome (in name of the whole Canton) vnto such strangers as are come thither. First, to the Ambassador of <i>Suits</i> , who is yearly sent for celebration of the Feast: because thirtie Souldiers of <i>Suits</i> were present in the battell for which this Feast is kept. Likewise, he salueth the Abbots, Priests, & neighbors of <i>Gastal</i> , <i>la Marche</i> , <i>Rapperswill</i> and <i>Toggenbourg</i> , giuing them hearty thanks, for comming to celebrate this	Obseruation after their meeting together.
Feasts & Processions for honourable causes.			

this ſolemne Proceſſion, and to thanke & ſing praifes to almighty God, the Virgin *Mary*, and their Patrones, *S. Fridolin*, and *S. Hilary*.

Fiſt, one beareth a red Standard, wherein is the Image of *S. Fridolin*, then follow a men, bearing a gilded Toomb, whereon are many faire and holy reliques enchaſed. Then come the Croſſe-bearers, carrying the Croſſes of *Glaris*, *Haurer*, of the Vale of *Linth*, and of the churches neighboring to the Canton of *Glaris*, as of *Schenniff*, *Wefen*, and others. The Croſſes are followed with Banners of all the Churches, and the Priests come after them, ſinging according to their order. The Curate of *Glaris* is the fiſt, accoſted by an Abbot, or elſe ſome other man of the Church. Among the ſtrangers the other Priests follow. Then the councell of *Glaris*, to witte, the *Amman*, with the Ambaſſadour of *Swits*; then the Lieutenant to the *Amman*, and the other Officers in their order, each guiding or leading one of the moſt honourable ſtrangers. The women (in great number) follow, to make vp the end and concluſion of the Proceſſion.

Being come to the place where the battail was fought, there are eleven ſtones ſet down in thoſe ſeveral parts of ground where they began and held on fight with the enemy: for they had partings & meetings againe at hand-blows, eleven ſeverall times, and at each of thoſe ſtones the Standards and Banners ſtay, and all fall upon their knees in prayer to God. Vn he they are come to the ſixt ſtone, they caſt themſelves round in a ring, and then the Secretarie of the Canton readeth in a paper, the cauſe and originall of this Proceſſion, the ſummary whereof is this. War being moued betweene *Leopold*, Duke of *Auſtria*, and them of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Solothurne*, *Lucerne*, *Vri*, *Swits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*; *Leopold* led his Army to *Sempach*, where hee was ouercome, and ſlaine by the *Switzers*, the ninth day of Iune, one thouſand, three hundred, foureſcore and fix, beſide ſixteene Earles and Barons, and a great number of Gentlemen.

Afterward, in mid-Augult following, they of *Zurich*, *Vri*, *Swits*, and *Glaris*, beſieged and tooke the towne of *Wefen*, & the inhabitants promiſed perpetuall fidelity to the *Switzers*. Truce was made, till

the beginning of Lent in the yeare following, which being ended, and war beginning againe, they of *Glaris* lent a Garriſon to *Wefen*, where the Souldiers thinking themſelves to be in ſafety, and conſiding on the oath of the townefmen, were ſlaine (for the moſt part) in a night by them of *Auſtria*, who entred in the dead of night, by intelligence which they had with certaine of the inhabitants, that machinated this villany againſt the garriſon, and opened the gates to their enemies.

Furthermore, that the very ſame yeare, and the ninth day of Aprill, they of *Auſtria* brought an Army of ſixteene thouſand men towards *Haurer*, and wonne the Fortreſſe of the Country. But three hundred and fifty Souldiers of *Glaris*, & thirty which the Canton of *Swits* lent to aſſiſt them, ſlayed the enemy, and (Gods helps furthering, the Virgin *Mary*, and their Patrones, *S. Fridolin* and *S. Hilary*) they became conquerors, wonne eleven of their cheefeſt Enſignes, and left two thouſand five hundred enemies ſlaine in the field, beſide them that were drowned in the Lake, and among the reſt, many of *Wefen* were there ſlaine, that formerly had betrayed the Garriſon of *Glaris*. And therefore, in duſtfull thankſpines to God almighty, the glorious Virgin *Mary*, and *S. Fridolin*, and *S. Hilary* their Patrones, and to all the Saints and Saintelles of Paradiſe, & in euerlaſting remembrance of ſo great a helpe and deliuerance, this annuall Proceſſion was ordained vpon thoſe limits, where their Anceſtours had ſuffered many inconueniences.

After the reading of theſe ſeueral letters, a Sermon is made in the ſame place; the Priests of *Glaris* performe their Aniuersary, and followeth the Miniſter of the new opinion. All their prayers being ended, they go againe to the ſame ſtones, in the ſame ranke and ceremony as they began, vntill they come to the eleuenth, which is placed neere to the Village of *Haurer*, towards *Wefen*, where they aſſayed the enemy at the laſt time. Then they take their way to the Church of *Haurer*; but they of the new opinion return home to their houſes. The reſt go to the church, where they ſing a Maſſe for the *Switzers* that were ſlaine in the battaile: and one reciteth all the names of them of *Glaris*, that periſhed there. Soone after this, a banquet

A thundration of coming with an Army againſt *Haurer*.

Gods iudgement for breach of faith.

Performance of the ſanct ceremony.

The concluding of the ceremony the ſame.

A Banquet made at the Cantons col.

banquet is made (at the Cantons expences) for the Priests, and all the ſtrangers that came in the Proceſſion. After dinner, the Priests ſing, bring backe againe to *Glaris* the gilded Toombe, the Banners and Croſſes.

This is the manner of the annuall Proceſſion and Feaſt of them of *Glaris*, in remembrance of ſo famous and remarkable victory. The other Cantons alſo haue their Feaſts, to celebrate the victories obtained at *Morgarten*, *Sempach*, and elſewhere.

CHAP. IX.

Of the Common-wealths belonging to the Confederates. And fiſt of all, Of the Abbey of S. Gall.

AFTER we haue ſpoken of the thirteene Cantons, and of their ſeueral Common-wealths; me-thinks now (according to the ſame order) we ſhould make mention of their Confederates, among whom, the Abbot and Abbey of S. Gall holdeth the prime place. The Abbots of S. Gall, haue bin great Lords for the ſpace of many ages poſſeſſed of great meanes, and numbered with the Princes of the Empire: but I know not well, from what Emperour they received this honour and title. *Stumpfius* noteth, that *Conrad de Pfawertz*, Annaliſt of *Switzerland* writeth, that *Abbot Haldrich*, of the houſe of *Alſace*, was made Prince by the Emperour *Phillip*, in the city of *Basile*. Now albeit theſe Abbots are not of ſuch power as heretofore; yet notwithstanding, they continue ſtill great Lords, and haue their dominion in large extendure.

In the country of *Turgow* they are Lords of *Wile*, and haue a Pallace and a Vicar in the Towne. Moreover, in the high country of *Turgow*, they haue a great Territory, and well peopled, who are all ſubiect to them. The inhabitants are called *Die Gottſchut*, the Subjects of the houſe of God, or of the Abbey, and are parties in certaine Regions. Their names are *Rofac*, *Thumbech*, *Gold*, *Vndererg*, *Moswill*, *Tablate*, *Gozow*, *Wald-*

kilch, *Ramſhorn*, *Summery*, *Mule*, *Hotſchwill*, *Bernattzell*, *Lumſſwill*, *berg*, *Wittenbach*, *Redmont*, *Strubenzell*, *Geſſerwald*, *Hellbach*, *Bergknecht*, *Zuzwill*, *Ziberwangen*, and *Wiger*. Theſe places are diuided into Caſtle-wicks or Preſident-ſhips, and the Abbot ſendeth Prouoſts thither. Moreover, he hath his *Ammans* and Officers, that hold meane Courts of Juſtice in many places. Beſide, he hath a higher Court of Juſtice, whether reſort all appellations, and where cauſes of importance are decided. All kindes of duties, and ſuch as are rendered to Princes, in theſe places are confirmed vpon him.

Beſide this country, the county of *Toggenbourg* acknowledgeth (as Lord) the Abbot of S. Gall, who ſendeth a Gouernour into the country, and a Iudge in criminall cauſes, which admitteth no further appeale. And yet they of *Toggenbourg* are Bourgeſſes of *Swits*, and of *Glaris*, & haue their priuiledges & franchiſes; by means whereof (among other things) they enjoy the Freedom of Religion. Alſo in the Bayliwick of *Rhinthal* which belongeth to the cantons: the Abbot holdeth law courts of Juſtice in many Villages, & keepeth Officers there for that purpoſe.

CHAP. X.

Of the Common-wealth in the Towne or Citiſe of S. Gall.

Saint Gall, *Mulhouſe*, and *Rotuile*, are numbered among the Imperiall townes, and therefore haue (almoſt) the ſame manner of gouernement, as we haue already deſcribed vnto you. But becauſe the citiſens of S. Gall, do hold ſomething in particular; I will here ſet downe a ſummary deſcription of their common-wealth.

In the fiſt place then, the Towne of S. Gall is diuided into fixe Tribes or Companies, & the Society of Noblemen. The fiſt & principal of theſe Tribes, is of weauers, becauſe of the linnen cloth there wouen, which is made very faire, and in abounding quantity: which afterward is ſold in *Germany*, *France*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *Eoemia*, and *Poland*, greatly enriching the inhabitants that dwell in S. Gall, and making

The Abbots power in the county of Toggenbourg

Imperiall Townes.

Sixte Tribes or Companies in S. Gall.

The fiſt tribe is of weauers.

The order of the Proceſſion in marching, as they paſſe along to the place where the battaile was fought.

The ceremonies in the Proceſſion of Glaris, being come to the field where the eleven ſtones are fixed in the ground.

The reaſon and originall of the Proceſſion, read in particular by the Secretary

A ſecond reaſon, vpon the beſieging & taking of Wefen.

The Abbot and Abbey of S. Gall, the ſitt confederate.

Abbot Haldrich was made a prince in Baſile.

What poſſeſſions the Abbots hold in Turgow, and iudiſers of other parts of the country.

Two counsell in S. Gall.
Twelve masters.
king the Towne much renowned. It hath two counsell, according to other towns, to wit, the great and the lesse. The lesse is composed of foure and twenty, and namely first of all, twelve *Zunftmesters*. Each Tribe, Colledge, or Company, hath three Masters, which gouerne the company a yeare, turne by turne: but there are no more then two, which enter into the lesse counsell; the first is of the new, the second of the olde. The thirteenth *Zunftmester*, is the first of the eleuen, which are elected out of each Tribe, to be of the great counsell.

The election of the *Zunftmesters*.
Nine Senators.
Three Consuls and how they gouerne.
Election of the Counsell.
The great Counsell, in what manner they are chosen, and what order they obserue.
The *Zunftmesters* are elected by secret voyce in their Tribes, and are confirmed by the lesse counsell. Euery yeare, the counsell and officers of iustice, are elected about mid-Iune, and mid-December. Beside the *Zunftmesters*, nine other Senators do assist in the lesse counsell, and are chosen as well in the company of Noblemen, as in the other companies. The three Consuls (with them) make the number of foure and twenty counsellors: For there are three Consuls in S. Gall, the first is in charge; the second is called olde Consull, for hauing gouerned in the very neerest yeare before; and the third preiudeth in iudgement for criminall causes, and in other places he is called, Prouost of the Empire, *Rechnung*. The counsell is elected the first Sunday of Aduent, not in the lesse counsell, but in the generall, by secret voyce, *Mis derraun*: the Sub-consull and the *Zunftmesters*, going then out of office, do collect the voyces.

The great counsell is composed of threescore and fixe, to wit, twelve of each company: whereby there are ninety persons in the great and lesse counsell. After the election of the Consuls and the counsell, the ordinances of the Towne are read in this assembly: whereon the Consull and the new counsell do deliberate. Then they go (by two and two together) to the great Temple or Church, named S. Lawrence, where all the citizens meete, and after reading of the lawes and ordinances, the Consull sweareth first to obserue them, and afterward, receiue the oath of the counsell and whole assembly, the same oath. This done, the morrow after christmas day, and the day following the *Zunftmesters*, and the other eleuen Seigneurs of the lesse counsell, do meete to-

gether in the Towne-house, and elect the Sub-consull, whom they call *Vnderburgmester*. His charge is to take order for the watch of the Towne, and to appoint Tutors and Ousefers for Widdowes & Orphanes, and also to examine their accounts.

Euery weeke, the lesse counsell do ordinarily meete together twice, on Tuesday and Thursday; except those dayes be Festiuals, or haue Fayres. Also the Thursday before Lent, which they call the mad Thursday, *Den Unsinnigen donstag*: because once, and on that day, the people mutined against the counsell, by means whereof it was ordained, that (fro thence forward) there should be no more assemblies held, as on 8 day. The lesse counsell manageth the Townes affaires, decideth ciuill causes, and giueth sentence concerning inheritances and willes: but medleth with no criminall suites, nor differences about Scedules, Obligations and iniuries.

The great counsell meeteth together five times euery yeare. First, the morrow after christmas day, when they elect and confirme the new Magistrates. Secondly, in mid-Lent, to elect and confirme the Master of the Hospitall. Thirdly, the Friday before S. Bartholmewes day, being the foure and twentieth day of August, whē they establish the Masters of Halles, and consider on the tolles and taxes at the Gates. Fourthly, and fifthly, before the Fayres which they keepe, on the morrow after Ascension day, and the day of S. Gall; and then they consult on the conseruation, and course of Courts for the Fayre.

The great counsell also doth sometimes extraordinarily meete when they are to discourse on matters, whereof the counsell ought to haue knowledge, as concerning sentences in criminall suites. Then the Prouost of the Empire sitteth President, and demandeth each case: this is done in the Towne-house, and the doores kept close. The lesse counsell electeth the Prouost, and giueth him power to iudge. Afterward, the great counsell decideth the appellations made vnto him, and receiue such strangers as desire to be Bourgeois.

But this is done more often, in the ordinary assemblies of the great counsell, and

The election of the Sub-consull or Vnderburgmester.

When the lesse counsell do assemble together.

The mad Thursday.

The office of the lesse counsell.

The five times of the great Counsell euery yeare.

Extraordinary meetings of the great Counsell.

Election of the Prouost by the lesse Counsell.

and then also they conclude there on many appeales. Sometimes the lesse counsell sendeth affaires of importance to the great counsell, to bee considered on.

Euery yeare, the counsell generall of all the people, is assembled three times, about publicke affaires. First, to elect the Consull. Secondly, the morrow after Christmas day, to take oath of the new Consull, and to binde him to obey the Magistrates. And thirdly, in the Moneth of August, about S. Bartholmewes day, after that the ordinance for tolles and taxes is agreed vpon, to heare the Lecture, which is made before all. Moreover, the lawes and statutes of the Towne are distributed into three parts; one part whereof is deliuered to the people, in each of these three assemblies.

The principall and cheefest Court of iustice, is that of five; who are the Consull, the Sub Consull or Lieutenant, one of the new *Zunftmesters*, and two of the new counsell. They iudge in differences concerning borrowed monies, things laid to pawne, debts that haue no certaine time prefixed, wages that are due, suites concerning victuals, iniuries, and fines. They sit on the Wednesday, or Friday, and there is no appeale from their sentence; neuerthelesse, they may send backe difficult causes, and of importance, to the lesse counsell.

Next to this, there is the Towne court of iustice, *Das Statgericht*, composed of twelve Assistants, chosen out of the Noble mens companie, and out of the other companies: so that the one is of *Zunftmesters*, and the other of the people. The cheefe Officer of this court is called *Statamann*, Maier of the city, and is elected with the other Magistrates, about Christmas day, and is confirmed by the great counsell. As for the Assistants, they are changed twice euery yeare, and elected by the great counsell, on one of the feast dayes of christmas, & by the lesse counsell, about S. Iohn Baptists day, in the Moneth of Iune. These Iudges take knowledge of debtes, barrerings, and yearly rents, although the summes bee great. They are called together by tolling the Bell, and assemble in the Towne-house on Monday in euery weeke, except it bee a Feast day, or that

all the counsell doe meete together, for then they referre those causes till Wednesday. A man may appeale from their sentence, to the lesse counsell, provided, that the suite be of no lesse moment then an hundred Sols, or Shillings: and if the appellant loseth his cause, he is condemned in a fine to the Iudges.

The consistory court is composed of eight Iudges, whereof foure are Ministers of the Church, or some other men of learning: next, two counsellors of the lesse counsell, and two of the great. There sitteth another Seigneur of the lesse counsell, as President, who questioneth the causes: and if there be as many voices on the one side, as on the other, hee rediceth both parties to such a counsell, as hee conceiue to be iust, and then sentence is given accordingly. The consistory censureth matters of marriage, and of diuorces, and no appealing is permitted from sentence. But if there happen any inuolued or entangled variance, or if some colour of pollicy be mixed with the case of marriage; then cause and all, is sent to the counsell, where the deciding is suspended, vntill the counsell, and some other learned men, haue aduisedly considered thereon.

As for publicke Offices, estates, and charges, this common-wealth is therein gouerned, as the other are; hauing Treasurers, Masters of Halles, Receiuers, and Administrators at the Gates, for customs, tolles, and taxationes, *Vogts*, &c. Such as hold these places, do render their accounts, first to the *Zunftmesters*, next to the lesse, and lastly to the great counsell, on the morrow after christmas day. Hauing giuen vp their accounts, the lesse and great counsell do elect new officers, or reconfirm the olde: and it is openly read, what the charge is of each one of them in particular, and afterward, in presence of the counsell, they sweare to discharge their duty faithfully. But when many are established in one and the same charge, then such rules as they are to follow, are giuen them in writing.

And because the very greatest trading of S. Gall, consisteth in linnen cloth, and that not onely the people of the towne, but them also in most part of the Villages round about, doe maintaine their liues thereby, the counsell is diligent and

Of the Consistory Court, and Iudges thereto belonging.

Concerning intricate and cumbersome cases.

Of publicke estates, charges & offices.

New Officers chosen, or the olde admitted againe.

Linnen cloth the only main trading of S. Gall.

carefull, for well ordering all things in that respect, and for the auoyding of fraud and deceit. First, therefore, so soone as the weauer hath finished a peece of cloth, there are three expert sworne Visfiter or Ouerseers, that come to looke vpon it, and according as it is good, or indifferent, they set on such and such marks. If it appeare to be bad and naught, they send it to the **Zunftmaster** of the weauers, and to the other eleuen **Zunftmasters**, who condemne the workman in a fine, or cut the whole peece into some portions, of eight Elles in length each one, or else through the midd, or if it bee worth nothing, they burne it openly. This view and visitation is done daily, and there is a Market of linnen cloth, which hath certaine Lawes, for the obseruation whereof, they that deale in such Merchandize are strictly bound.

After that the cloth hath bene seene and approoued, the sworne Measurers do both Ell it, and marke it. The Measurers haue some other sworne men of the Mystery, to be their adiuncts, and the Merchants haue with them the Ouerseers of the measuring. They call them **Dirreiff**, measurers of linnen cloth, which are of diuers lengths: but a whole peece consisteth of 134 Elles, and may not be of any greater length. There is another view made at the whistlers, when the cloth is thickened and whited. These Viewers are called **Dirreiffen Schotter**. They looke that the clothes haue their requisite whitenesse, and whether they sustaine any harme in the thickning: and according as they finde, they marke, or condemne the whistler in a fine. Likewise there are certaine Merchants and Weauers, that visite the whistlers houses and grounds, to see if all things bee fitting and conuenient there: whether they haue sufficiency of wood and ashes, that none may be wronged by delay. Every yeare the Masters whistlers take newly their oaths, to doe their duties as becommeth them.

As for the clothes which the Viewers (which they usually tearme **Blaw und Schwarzgishower**) thinke fit to send to the Diars: the cutters of linnen cloth, named **Lintwirtschnyder**, do cut them iust in the midd, and there are other committees, to regard that they haue their iust measure. After they are dyed into colours blew or blacke, if the Ouerseers

finde the dying to bee well taken, they marke the peece, and when they haue plained and smoothed it with a Rowler; others come to approue it valuable, and they set on the Seale. Contrariwise, if it be spoyled and viciate in the dying: they cut it, or dip it againe, if it may bee done, and the Plainer and Diar are condemned in some fine. All these things aboue named, are very carefully obserued, and if any dare do otherwise, hee is severely punished. For the Towne or City of S. Gall hath this priuiledge, to condemne in criminall suite, to fetch men out of places of refuge, and to punish them that vse any fraud, in weauing, marking, sealing, dying, plaining, or misusing any Linnen clothes.

Something likewise must needs bee said, what order they of S. Gall take, to auoid the inconueniences of fire: because they hauing bene heretofore much endamaged thereby, it hath made them (suruiuing) to be the more prouident. Euery euening, for the space of a quarter of an houre, there is a Bell rung, and it is called **Die Feurglocken**, the Fire-Bell: which admonisheth euery one, to looke to the hearths of their Chimnies, for feare lest fire shold take in any part. Then are there two **Zunftmasters**, that four times yearely do visite the hearths, furnaces, & chimnies in all the houses; and thereupon are called **Die Feurglocken**, Visfiter for fire. They regard also, what Armes and prouision of foode the Bourgeses haue: and whether they be prouided and furnished, according to the ordinances of the Seigneury.

Beside, if there rise any impetuous windes, or any rough stormes or tempests happen (beside the ordinary Captaines of the watch, whom they call **Die Wachtbitter**) there are two other, named Masters of the watch, **Die Wachtmaster**, who take with them two men of euery Tribe, well appointed, and goe with the Captaines of the watch, to walke the round through all the streetes of the City, to prevent the dangerous accidents of fire.

Euery night, two and thirty men keepe watch on the Towers and Walles, and in other places of the City, beeing appointed as Sentinels, by the cheefe **Zunftmaster**, with the Captaines of the watch.

Viewers and Ouerseers for the goodnesse or badnesse of linnen cloth.

A Market of linnen cloth onely.

What is done after approbation on offe, cloth goods, nelles.

Viewers of the whitening of cloth, & how they are thickened.

Linnen cloth reputed fit to be dyed in colours, & how they deale therein.

Penalty for cloth spoyled in dying.

The priuiledge belonging to S. Gall.

What ground, on they raise, against the inconueniences of fire.

Visfiter for fire.

Against rebellion within and tempests.

Captaines of the Watch.

When fire takes in any place.

Four Captaines of the lesser council.

Schools, Almshouses, Hospitals, repaired to be spoken of.

Concerning the Grisons in elder time.

If fire take in any part, some of the Citizens runne to the Gates, some on the Towers and Walles, some into the cheefest streetes; some keepe company with the Confull, and others labour to quench the fire. There are foure Captaines of the lesser councill, that haue a care of all this businesse, commanding euery one to that which is to be done, and punishing greuously the disobedient. If the fire be without, and neere the city, they send forth a certaine number of men with their Captaines, to prouide against the inconuenience. Others keepe watch at the Portes, upon the Walles, and in other places, where they are by them appointed.

I spare to speake heere of Schooles, Almshouses, and Hospitals, because they of S. Gall gouerne themselves therein, as other well pollicied cities do, and carry a faire and comely order among them. Likewise, I will not speake of the election of the Ministers of the Church, nor of their establishing and charge, neither what order they hold in their assemblies: because in this worke, we treat on the matters of policy onely, referring to discourse on the other, at some after time and place.

CHAP. XI.

The Common-wealth of the Grisons.



HE name and dominion of the Grisons heretofore was of great extandure: but now wee vnderstande by that word, a people of the Alps, who the French and Italians haue named **Grisons**, and the Switzers **Gratopundter**. In ancient times, they inhabited **Rhetia** in the Alpes, neere to the source or head of **Rhine**, and of **Inn**.

The Grisons are diuided into three Leagues. The first is called the League

Grise, and hath ten Communalities, to wit, the Abbey of **Dissentz**, which the ancient Cardes or Mappes called **Dijertine**. To this Abbey are ioyned **Tumach**, **Trumb**, and some other places. 2. **Waltersbourg**, 3. **Oberfachs**, 4. **Lazmitz**, 5. **Fals**, 6. **Thanz**, 7. **Schlewis**, 8. They of **Laax**, **Siaiss**, and them enuironing about the wood. 9. **Thannen**. The Grisons call these nine Communalities; the part about the wood, **Die obber Wald**; and the other ten, they call, vnder the wood. 10. **Flims**, 11. **Trimon**, 12. **Saßen**, 13. **Ratzuns**, the ancient abiding of the noble Family of the Barons of **Ratzuns**, 14. **Hentzenberg**, and **Tafis**, 15. **Schoppe**, 16. **Schamps**, 17. **Spugen**, 18. **Mafax**, 19. **Rufflee**.

In each of these Communalities, they yearly elect a soueraigne Magistrate, which many of them do call **Amman**, who with the Iudges or Assitants, elected by the same comminallity, doth iudge suites in law, and condemneth delinquents, according to the exigence of the case. Beside these **Amman**, there is a great Prouoost of the whole League, whom they call **Der Landrichter**, who is chosen by euery one in the general assembly of all the communalities, and sitteth President in the dayes meetings for all the League.

These meeting dayes for this **Grise** League, is in the Village of **Trumb**, which is the cheefe comminallity, and there also meet the Seigneurs of the Iusticial court, wherein the **Landrichter** sitteth President, who hath fiftene Assitants, one Clarke or Secretary, and one Officer. The Lord of the Castle, and of the Barony of **Ratzuns**, is yett above the **Landrichter**, by an ancient prerogative, belonging to the race of the Barons of **Ratzuns**, in whose rights, the Lords of the places haue euermore succeeded.

The second League is called **Der Gottthubpundt**, The League of **Gods Household**, or of the **Cade** or League **Cathedral**, because of the Bishoppricke and Colledge of **Coire**: and it hath one and twenty Communalities, which sometimes were reduced into eleuen much greater. The Towne or City of **Coire** is numbered in the first place, as the cheefe of the League: and alone (among the eleuen Communalities) is compounded of two lesser. But as the citizens

Three leagues diuided into the Grisons.

The first league, using all these Communalities belonging to it.

A soueraigne Magistrate in each of the Communalities.

The Grand Prouoost of the whole League, and his order in Court.

The League of the Cade, or of Gods House.

The estate & condition of the common wealth of Coire.

The great councill of feventy.

The lesser councill of thirty.

Two Consuls.

The Governor or Provoost President.

The Lieutenants Court of Justice, and his Assistants.

Of the second Comminality.

These Comminalties are here counted as they stand in the Record.

are enclosed in the same walles: euen so are they counted but for one Comminality, and the other twenty reduced into ten, make vp ten great Comminalties. The city (for so we will call it) of Coire, hath a common-wealth apart by it selfe, like (waiting but little) to that of Zurich, and to other governments of the same condition. For first of all, the citizens are wholly diuided into five companies, from each of which are chosen fourteene men, who are of the great councill publike: so that the great councill and generally, is composed of feventy. From these feventy men, are chosen five of each company, for the lesser councill: to whom are ioyned the five *Zunftmatters* of the precedent year, whereby the lesser councill hath thirty counsellors, whereof fifteene called Senators, gouerne the common-wealth.

In the councill there are two Consuls, who are Presidents (turne by turne) a whole year. The councill and the Officers of iustice, are yearly elected on the eleuenth of Nouember, being the day of *S. Martin*. The thirty of the lesser councill do iudge in criminal causes, and the Governor or Provoost sitteth then as President, remaining in that charge a year: at the ende whereof, another taketh his place, and they two are (in this Office) as two Consuls. Next, there is a Court of iustice belonging to the Lieutenant, who hath fifteene Assistants, to witte, the five *Zunftmatters*, and ten from the thirty of the lesser councill. This Court taketh knowledge of ciuill causes, and pecuniary actions concerning debtes: there is appeale from them to the lesser councill, who doe decide also matrimoniall matters.

The second Comminality, which wee should count for the third, because Coire takes it selfe for two, is named *Die vier Doerfer*, the foure Villages. 4. *Bergon*. 5. *Tiefencastlen*. 6. *Stalla*. 7. *Trincken*, with *Reamps* and other Villages, which with *Tiefencastlen*, make one iurisdiction, where the Bayliffe of *Reamps* iudgeth ciuill and criminall causes. 8. *Fatz* the high, where sometimes dwelt the Barons of *Fatz*: this Comminality is ioyned with the fourth. 9. *Fursthon*. 10. *Ortenstein* in *Tumelch*. 11. *Sinnada*. 12. *Zutz*: these two are in *Engadin* the high, and make one of the great comminalties. 13. *Ardette*. 14. *Sculaine*. 15.

Reamps: which with two other small comminalties, maketh one of the great. 1. *Bergell* about the Port. 17. *Bergell* vnder the Port. 18. *Pesilaw*, or *Postlaaf*. 19. *Bruschi*, which is ioyned with *Postlaaf*, and maketh one of the eleuen great Comminalties. 20. *Munsterthal*. 21. *Mals*. Each Comminality hath his *Ammans*, *Podesjats*, and vnder Officers as they teame them in least authority, vnder whom they are maintained in liberty.

The third League tearmeth it selfe the League of Iuridictions, or the League of Rights. The first and principall of the ten, is called *Tafas*, in regard of a Village so named, where the house of the League is, and where the dayes meetings for the ten Comminalties are held. 2. *Beelfort*, or *Almanu*. 3. *Churwalden*. 4. *Langwyl*. 5. *S. Peter de Schanjk*. 6. The little Abbey in *Bretzgow*. 7. *Jenais*, or *Caelfer*. 8. *Schners*. These eight iuridictions doe acknowledge the Arch-Duke of *Austria* to be their Soueraigne. Anciently, the Barons of *Fatz* were Lords thereof: but all their race sayling, the Counts of *Toggenbourg* succeeded them. And after them, the Counts of *Amat*, whereof one being named *Gaudenius*, dying in the year one thousand, foure hundred, eighty nine, left these eight iuridictions to the Arch-Duke of *Austria*.

The Arch-Duke established a Governor there, which to this day is chosen among the *Grifons*. The Governor dwelleth at *Caelfers*, and presideth in sentence of criminall causes: he manageth and conserveth the other rights of the Arch-Duke, who hath not the same right and equal authority ouer the eight iuridictions: but each of them enioyeth his priuiledges & particular customes, the instruments and charters whereof are kept at *Tafas*. The first and fourth iurisdiction have great priuiledges and immunities, farre beyond the other.

The ninth Iurisdiction is called *Mals*, by reason of a Village so named, betwene the Riuer of *Langwyl*, & Mount *Rhetica* towards the South.

The tenth is named *Meysenfeld*. These two last did belong sometimes to the Barons of *Fatz*, afterward to the Counts of *Toggenbourg*; then they fell vnto *Wolfhard de Brandis*, in respect of his Wife, who was of the house of *Werdenberg*. The they

The League of Iuridictions, or of Rights. The house of the League for their meetings.

How they came vnder Duke of Austria.

The Arch-Duke's authority not absolute there in euery part.

A high Hill by Rhodan.

The addition of the third league to the two other.

The Iurisdiction is bought by the three Leagues.

The ten Iuridictions ally themselves together faithfully.

The three leagues voted all together a perpetual alliance.

The Author proceedeth to a more right freare explication of the Comminalties, in their due places and order.

they became ioyned (with the other eight Iuridictions) to the two Leagues of *Grifons*, and made the third; referring to the Lords of *Brandis*, the right iustly to them appertaining. Afterwards, these three leagues together bought these Iuridictions, and sent a Governor thither, who dwelt in the castle of *Meysenfeld*, and fare President to iudge in criminall suites: he condemned men in fines, and to death, & gathered the tolls, and other publike reuenewes. The ten Iuridictions allyed themselves together, in the year one thousand, foure hundred, thirty six, conditionally, to succour one another, & be abiding in all things (iust and reasonable) against enemies, repelling all wrongs that should be offered to any of them, & procure the peaceable enioying of their liberties. Also, all rights and duties appertaining to the Lords, they should be duly rendered, they permitting them to possess their franchises and priuiledges: all the rest being careful and proud to preferre the good and benefit of one another.

In the same year, or the next following, these Iuridictions made perpetuall alliance with the two other Leagues, and so the three leagues became ioyned as in one body, the particular parts whereof have bene already mentioned. But in our numbering and setting them downe, we haue rather followed the situation of the place, then the ranke which they holde in the dayes of assemblies, wherein notwithstanding are many opinions: & therefore I will describe them heere, according to the comminalties of the two first leagues, & as they are comprized in their alliance with the Switzers. The Comminalties of the *Grife* league, are the valley of *Luginz*, *Ylanis*, *Oberjachs*, *Waltersburg*, *Laax*, *Simis*, and other places about the Woods, *Flims*, *Schewis*, *Trimmis*, *Retzuns*, *Hemmenberg* and *Tufis*, *Schamps*, *Rhinwald*, *Mals*, and *Ruffee*, *Safen*, *Thannen*, *Schopine*, *Fals*. The Comminalties of the league of *Cade*, are in order as they followe, *Coire*, *Fursthon*, the foure villages descending on *Alpremont*, *Fatz* the high, *Reamps*, *Tiefencastlen*, *Grifonheim*, *Benio* or *Stalla*, *Auers*, *Bergel* about and belowe the Port, *Zutz*, *Sinnada*, *Postlaaf*, *Steinberg*, *Schuls*, *Remiff*, *Munsterthal*, *Mals*, *Galsen*, and *Schantzen*. As for the ten Iuridictions, I

vnderstand their order thus, *Tafas*, the three Iuridictions of *Bretzgow*, *Beelfort* or *Almanu*, *Churwalden*, *S. Pierre*, *Langwyl*, *Mals* and *Meysenfeld*. I know very well, that some doe name these Comminalties otherwise, but that importeth nothing, because in each Comminality there are many times notable villages, so that the Comminality sometime takes his name of one, and sometimes of another. For mine owne part, I haue named the principall places of the Comminalties.

Thus then there are three leagues of the *Grifons*, containing fifty Comminalties, which (neuertheless) doe make but one Common-wealth. For, although many of the Comminality haue their Iudges lawes, customes, & iustice, alwel ciuill as criminall; yet notwithstanding, the Soueraignty is with the councill of the three leagues (which they name in their Language, *Ein punds tag*): dayes of meeting or assemblies of Ambassadors, from each comminality of the *Grifons*: whether some of them send two Ambassadors, others but one only. If the councill be ordinary, the *Grife* League sendeth thirty 28. Ambassadors or counsellors; that of *Cade* 2. and from the Iuridictions, 14. If either one or other doe send a great number, they haue no voyces there, but according to the aboue-named account. Sometimes also, the councill general of the whole Nation (which was made no long time since) doe meet together: but that is very rarely.

The fore-mentioned councill, manageth the affaires of the common-wealth: yet in such fort, that the counsellors or Ambassadors deale not according vnto their owne best feeling, but as the commaunds and remembrances from their comminalties, and which they bring with them in writing on the dayes do direct them, and whereto they conforme their resolutions, which passeth by plurality of voices. The councill of the *Grifons* is (almost) like to that of the Switzer: for there they treat on the selfsame things which concerne the good of the whole country: of peace, of warre, of alliances, of Ambassages, lawes and ordinances, & causes of appeales from the Baylywickes. There are three places appointed for the to sitte in councill, to wit, *Ylanis* in the *Grife* league, *Coire* in the league of *Cade*, and

He leaueh his house in remouing conid radon.

Fifty Comminalties in the 3 leagues

The Council of the three Leagues of the Grifons, and tenuing their Ambassadors thither.

The Ambassadors are to be guided by their duties.

& *Tafas* in that of the ten Iurisdiccions. But oftentime the dayes are held at *Coire* at times of their affaires, which happeneth three times in the year: about the fixe and twenty day of January, the beginning of Iune, and the eleventh day of November.

Another principal Councell or Senate for them all.

They have another Councell or Senate, which they name *Cin bytag*: where the principal Magistrates only, and, as being the cheefe of the three Leagues, do assemble themselves together. These men, are the Iudge-Principall for the Grise-League; the Councell of *Coire* for the league of *Cade*, and the *Amman* of *Tafas*, for the League of the tenne Iurisdiccions. At all times, and as often as neede requireth, to provide for the publique affaires; and it appeareth not convenient, to call all the Deputies of the country together; then those 3. Principals do meete, with some of the cheefest of the three Leagues. But they cannot determine absolutely, only they referre separately unto the Communalities of the three Leagues, whatsoever hath bene difficult among the Councillers, and that which is approved by plurality of voyces, is receyved of all. There is appeal also from the councell, to the Communalities, and then matters are propounded in the Communalities, whose sentences are set downe in writing: and being conferred on, they are gathered to a resolution and an arrest, by the pluralitie of Voyces.

The Principals meete together when the other need not.

Appeals from the Councell to the Communalities.

Concerning judgements in publique causes

When variances happen amongst the Leagues, how they are to behave themselves.

the same League. But when the Communalities of divers Leagues are at difference: the councell of the three Leagues, namely the Iudges, are to provide therefore.

When one Comminality, or some particular person therein, hath proccesse and suite against the three Leagues, or any one of them; two or three Iudges of each League are then to be chosen for it. And when two Leagues are at difference against the other, fixe Iudges of the two Leagues, and fixe of the other alone, are to be appointed. If they cannot conclude the strife; an arbitrator must be chosen, by plurality of voyces of the three Leagues. These judgements are to be delivered first at *Ylantz*, nexte at *Coire*: a second time againe at *Ylantz*, then againe at *Coire*, and at *Tafas* the last of all.

It would much weary mee, if I should describe at large the Statutes & customes of the *Grifons*: notwithstanding, I shall not greatly displease or offend the Reader if here I glance at a worde or two. First then, it is agreed vpon betwene them, by the consent and aduice of the whole councell, that neither the Byshoppe of *Coire*, or any of the Ecclesiastical Order: shal elect or establish any ciuile Magistrate, nor aduance a Governour or *Amman*, for any Comminality or Iurisdiction whatsoeuer; but that the people of the *Grifons* (by their suffrages only) shal elect and choose theyr owne Magistrates.

Such as haue obtrayned any Offices of the Byshoppe, may not be accepted into councell, so long as they do remaine in his seruice.

As concerning the Ministers of the Church, every Parish electeth their owne: may depose them, pay them their Wages, which are too little in many places.

Thoroughout the country of the *Grifons*, no small Tythes are payed, and as for the great, they pay but the fifteenth part, and giue nothing in the field, but they giue it in the house, and alwayes after the haruests both for their Grapes and corne.

All they that are of a comminality, may fish in all the Riueres and Pondes, and hunt both Beasts, and fye Fowles freely, within

When one Comminality hath suite against the 3. Leagues.

The places appointed for iudgements.

Concerning some Statutes & customes among the *Grifons*.

For election of Magistrates

For Ministers of the church.

For admission to Councell.

For paying of Tythes.

For Fishing, hunting, and Fowling.

For weight and measure.

Of their Governements & Bayliwickes, and how they stand in the Grifons country.

Coales called stone or rock-coales in wondrous plenty.

The Towne and Countie of *Clauenna*.

The vale of *Telma*, & the Bayliwickes belonging thereto.

1. *Bormia*.

2. *Tiran*. 3. *Tel*.

within their Iayd Comminality.

Thoroughout all the countries, one weight and measure of things liquid and dry, is to be vsed, to wit, the weight and measure of *Coire*. And it is not lawfull for the Bourgeses of *Coire* to alter any thing therein, without the consent of the other Leagues.

For our conclusion, we are to speak of Governements and Bayliwickes, wherein the three Leagues of the *Grifons* do command equally. On this side the Alps nere to *Coire*, they send a Governour to *Meyensfeld* and to *Melaniz*. On the other side the Alps beneath *Bergel*, toward the riuer of *Maire*, the Government or Bayliwick of *Plurs* first presenteth it self, which is a great village in the field neighbouring to the Alpes and on the bankes of *Maire* riuer, and euen as sightly to bee lookt on, as if it were a good Towne. In this place, there are digged infinite Chauderons of Rocke stone coales, which serue as fewell for the kitching; and it is faithfully reported, that the nature of this stone-coale is such, as when Fish commeth to boyling, they make them mount and leape out of the kettle into the fire; these coales are very abundantly sold in *Italy*. All the villages round about, are answerable and like to *Plurs*, where the Governour (whom they terme *Podstat*) decideth causes, & is soveraigne in that place in name of the *Grifons*, and deputed by them.

Next is the Towne and countie of *Clauenna*, whereon *Plurs* in elder times depended. *Clauenna* is a Towne about the Lake of *Coma*, about fivie miles, as *Antonius* obserueth it also, in his booke of the wayes. The *Grifons* call the Governour of *Clauenna*, Commissary: & he is the most apparant, next to him of *Sondria*. The third more spacious and noble gouernement is that of the vale *Telma*, famous for the excellent wine, which there is made in extraordinary plenty, and is thence transported into Switzerland and Germanie. The whole vale of *Telma*, is diuided into fixe Bayliwickes. The first is that of *Bormia* a Towne about the valley, towards the Mountaine of *Braull*: this Bayliwick hath many priuiledges and franchises, farre beyond the other. The second is the townie of *Tiran*. The third is *Tel*, whereof (as some thinke) the vale *Telma* first tooke name. It is a Towne seated in a very high place, &

appearing to be so naturally: & it is counted to be the best fortresse of all the Province. *Sondria*, the most renowned town of all the vale *Telma*, maketh the fourth Bayliwick. It is the most rich & powerful among all the rest, and he that is Governour thereof, is called Captain, because ouer and beside the Bayliwick, hee hath an eye to the whole valley when it is chief in Armes. He hath his Lieutenant, who iudgeth with him the ciuill causes of the the Bayliwick. Hee iudgeth also the criminal matters of all the vally, hauing lawyers and learned men to his councell, and giuing sentence according to the Lawes and Statutes of the vale *Telma*, which ne (uertheless) may be moderated & made milder in the Bayliwick by the *Podstats*. Beside all this, all causes may be appealed to the councell of the *Grifons* Seigneuries, or to them that they haue ordained commissaries, and sent to iudge: or finally, to the councell of the Communalities, who haue the soueraigne power. The fixt Bayliwick is called *Morben*, and the fixt *Trahon*, which is last of all.

This is the order of the Bayliwickes of the vale *Telma*, yet some doe not set the Bayliwick of *Bormia* in this ranke, but diuide the whole vale into three partes; whereof the first comprehendeth *Tiran* and *Tel*; *Sondria* maketh the second; and *Morben* and *Trahon* are the third. In electing the Bayliffes, they follow the order of the Leagues and Communalities. As for example, if the Grise League establish a Capitaine at *Sondria* for two yeeres, the League of *Cade* sends one thither for the two following years: at the end whereof, the League of the Iurisdiccions sends one for two other yeeres, this order is obserued in each League of the Communalities. And sometimes the Communalities, who should send a Bayliffe by their turn, would elect him only; but now the councell of the *Grifons* makes the election. The byshop of *Coire*, and the City, do stampe money. The Abbot of *Disentis* hath the same priuiledge also, amongst many other.

4. *Sondria*.

The Governour of *Sondria* is called Capitaine, and iudgeth in causes both ciuill and criminal for the whole vale.

Appeal to the Seigneurs of the Grifons Councell.

5. *Morben*. 6. *Trahon*.

Another order of diuiding the vale.

The manner of electing their Bayliffes

Coining of money.

CHAP. XII.

The Commonwealth of the Valaisians, or people of Valois.

The diuision of the country of Valais or Valois, the higher, & the lower.



THE whole country of Valois is diuided into two parts. The higher Valois from the source or spring of the river of Rhone, so farre as the river of Morfia, which vnitheth it selfe with Rhone, somewhat beneath Sion. This was the dwelling of the ancient Viberines and Sedusians. The lower Valois, is from the river of Morfia, so farre as Saint Mauris, and this was the country of the Veragrains.

Suen Iurisdiction in the higher Valois.

The higher Valois is diuided into 7 Iurisdiccions, which they call Dixaines, wards, and Zenden in the Alaman tongue. I know not whence this worde is deriued, for it cannot produce the number often, because there are no more Iurisdiccions. A friend of mine told me, that the worde intended so much, as Diocesses, because that euery Ward hath his Diocesse or Iurisdiction, his Common-wealth, and priuiledges apart by it selfe. Others do hold that the word Zenden cometh of another word, signifying, an Hundred: as in the Lawes of France, the Offices of the Earldomes or Counties, the Vicariates and Hundreds are number; and in some places of Germany, they are called Zengraues, the Iudges of some certaine Iurisdiction. But without standing so strictly on the words originall: wee may verie sely reame them Diocesses or Comminalties. So then, there are seuen Comminalties in the higher Valois, to wit, Goms, Brighe, Vespie, Raron, Leuck, Siders, and Syon. These seuen Comminalties haue thirty parishes. The lower Valois hath fixe Comminalties, which they call Banneries: because each one hath his particular standard, and foure and twenty Parishes so numbered.

Hundreds or Banneries, or the account of so much land.

The names of the seuen Comminalties.

Six Banneries in the lower Valois.

Long warres betwene the Veragrains & Viberines.

The Veragrains or lower Valaisians, had (in times past) long warre against the Sedusians and Viberines. In the end, after fourescore and thirteen yeares, they were overcome and subiected; so that the Se-

duisians and Viberines ruined sixteene Castles, the old pitifull foundations whereof, are yet to be seene, and it is not lawfull for any to builde them againe, for feare they should prouee hurtfull to the countrys liberty. And therefore the higher Valois ouer-rueth the lower, and sendeth Gouernors thither to iudge in causes, & manage the affaires of the State. The Byshop of Syon (whom some call Count & Gouernor of Valois) is Prince of the country. Hee is elected by common suffrages of the Chapter of Syon, and of the 7 Dixaines of higher Valois.

Higher Valois ruleth ouer the lower.

The Byshop of Syon Prince of Valois.

Charlemagne gaue the Gouernment of Valois to the Byshop of Syon.

The Annales of Valois do declare, that Charlemagne gaue the County and Gouernment of Valois, to Theodofius, Bishop of Syon, and to his successors with power to beare a sword, in signe of ciuill Iurisdiction, and other priuiledges of Princes of the Empire. Because that Byshop (by reuelation of an Angel) had declared to Charlemagne, that some secret sinne (I know not what) was forgiven him. Howbeit, there are sufficient circumstances to call the country into suspicion, as we haue already made more ample mention in our description of the country of Valois. Notwithstanding, it is certaine, that the Emperors which came after Charlemagne, accorded & confirmed the fore-named priuiledges to the byshops of Syon: namely, the Emperour Charles the fourth, then Charles the first renewed & increaled them willingly, at the request of Mathew Shiner Byshop and Cardinal of Sion, from whom he had deriued many good and gracefull seruices.

The priuiledges of Valois confirmed by the Emperors.

Afterward, the Byshop had another grace granted, that the next most excellent estate to his, should bee that of the captaine or Bayliffe of the whole country whom they vse to call Landts haupman. He iudgeth in ciuill causes, and continueth in his charge the space of two yeeres: being elected by the Byshop, and by the Ambassadors of the Dixaines or Comminalties. Afterward, he is confirmed by publike approbation and consent of all the comminalties, which haue each one his Magistrate, whom they of Goms, Raron, and Leuck, call Maire, the others Capitallan. He iudgeth all suites, especially them criminall, with the counsellors which the comminalties giue him as assistants. There be Ammans also (who are

The Capitallan or Bayliffe of Valois, and his authority.

The Council of Valois, and disannulling and how farre they power extendeth.

The Barons of Raron, and their successors.

Of the Maze.

Of the Comminalties that are in the lower Valois.

The manner of the situation of Valois.

Saint Mauris, and its situation.

soveraigne Magistrates in the Cantons of Switzerland, but they of Valois are iudged inferiours, and haue Maiores as they are superiours.

Appeale may bee made from the sentence, which is giuen by the Iudges of a comminality, to the counsell of Valois, who are called Den landts rath; and according to the custome of theyr Ancestors, they assembled twice a yeare, in the months of March, and of December. At which times, two or three Deputies of each Village, do meete at Syon, in a Castle named Maierin. The Byshop assisteth there, and the Bayliffe calls for the causes, and then they treat on assayres of the Common-wealth, election of gouernors and publike Officers, & such as shal iudge in the last power, of causes that concerne appeale.

The Barons of Raron, were sometimes great Lordes in the country of Valois. Their successors were the Lords of Chirron, who are Marshallles of the Bishopricke of Syon, Vicount of Syon, and Stewards of Valois.

As for the Maze, which they tearme Murtzen, it is a particular inuention of the people of Valois, to oppose themselves against the power of great and rich men. We haue made ample mention in our description of the country of Valois, and there declared, wherefore it was putte in practise, and how it began.

We haue told you, that the Byshop & the seuen Dixaines of the higher Valois, hold the souerainety of the whole country in their hands. The lower Valois is subiect to them, and is parted into fixe Comminalties, viz. Gnaudes nere to Syon, is the chiefe Castlewicke or comminality of lower Valois. Heeretofores it appertayned to the Canton of Berne, but in thewar which the Switzers made on the Duke of Savoy, in the yeare 1536. the Valaisians did there recover it, in exchange of another country. 2. Ardon, 3. Sallion, 4. Entremont, 5. Martinach, 6. the Towne of Saint Mauris in Chablais, where the mountains seeme as if they ioyned together. So that all Valois, is shut or lockt vp by a Tower, & two gates (as it were) at both the endes of a bridge, vnder which the Rhone glydeth. In the yeare, 1475. the Valaisians brake down the wals and fortresses of the fore-named places, except that of Saint

Mauris. Without the country of Valois, the Valaisians possessed themselues of 3. Bayliewicks, during the warre of Savoy: as namely, Montey, Trian, and Hochall. Neuerthelesse, some few yeares after that they surrendered Yusan to Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, and retained both the other.

3. Bayliewicks without Valois.

CHAP. XIII.

The Commonwealth of Bienna.



THE Towne of Bienna made perpetuall alliance with the Bernians, as wee haue already sayde: and it happened in the yeare one thousand, three hundred, fifty two. Thirty yeares after, it contracted perpetuall Alliance with Solleurre; and in the yeare one thousand, foure hundred, and seuen, with Fribourg, so it became allyed with three cantons of the Switzers. It acknowledgege as temporall Lord, the Byshop of Basile, because as concerning the Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction, it is the Diocesse of Lansanna: but it is a long time, since it was no more subiect to the spirituall gouernement of the Bishop, as in like manner were the citizens of Zurich and Berne.

Bienna made alliance with the Bernians.

The Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction of Bienna.

Afterward, when it came to passe, that the Bernians got the possession of the Bishopricke of Lansanna, they enfranchised Bienna of the Ecclesiasticall subiection. The Byshop of Basile is Lord thereof very peaceably in temporall power, and establisheth the soueraign Magistrate, whom they call Maire: but hee is chosen out of the number of the Townes counsellors, and the Maire giues oath to the counsell, and they to him. Hee taketh knowledge (with the counsell) of criminall causes; & sitteth as President in censuring them. The moitie of fines, amounting to aboue 3. Liures Tournois, appertaineth to the Byshop, with some tenths, and other reuenues: but the ports, rolles, customs, and such like, belong to the Towne only, and not to the Bishop. For hee is not permitted to impose any charge whatsoever vpon the Bourgeses, nor to engage the Towne: but the Bourgeses are bound to

The soueraign Magistrate of Bienna, & his authority in criminall causes.

The Byshop impleth no charges on the Bourgeses.

go in warre for the Byshop, and at their owne expences, yet no further then a dayes journey from the Towne. If hee would haue them march any further, hee is bound to pay their wages. Yearly, there is repetition made to the Councell, what priuiledges Byshop *Immer Ramstein* gaue to the Town, in the year one thousand, three hundred, fourecore, & three. They of *Bienna* haue as ample priuiledges as in the greater *Basile*.

The Common-wealth of *Bienna* is gouerned in maner following. All the Bourgeses are diuided into fixe companies or brother-hoods: yet in such order & carriage, as no one man whatsoeuer may ioyn himselfe with two or more of the companies, who haue each one two Masters, & a seruant attending. The Councell publicke is chosen out of the number of these Bourgeses. The lesser councell is composed of foure and twenty: and the greater, of thirty councellers. The election is made at the yeares ending, and at the beginning of the year following, their names are openly published in the church. There is choise made of some Electours, out of the great and lesser councell: who (in presence of the cheefe Secretarie) do confirme the ancient Councellers, or elect new, if there be any such need.

He that sitteth President in the councell generall, is called Bourgmaster, and is elected by the great and lesser councell. He is next in office to the *Maire*, & when they deliberate on affaires of the Common-wealth, and question is vrged concerning ciuil cases: the *Maire* and Officers to the Byshop depart, and leaue the Bourgmaster President. Next to him are the Treasurers, *Banderets*, *voysers*, or Surueyers, the Iudges of the Consistory, the Hospitaliers, and others elected in publicke charges, by the great and lesser councell, who are not aduanced to such Degrees, but as they are knowne apt and able. The *Banderet* onely, is chosen by all the people. Hee hath charge not onely of bearing the Towns banner; but also (with the Bourgmaster) is protector of Schollers, taking care that they may haue diligent and faithfull Teachers and Querseers, and to take their accounts. The lesser councell assemblh three times every weeke, to wit, on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday; but if any man doe desire

to haue a cause extraordinarily decided, paying a Florin to the *Maire*, the councell shall be then assembled. *Bienna* hath no other particular Iurisdiction, but the Councell iudgeth all causes ciuill and criminall.

They of *Bienna*, are Lords of the Valley of Saint *Immer*, for so likewise is the Seignoury of *Argau* called, and is diuided into many Comminalties, which haue (each one) their *Maire* or *Amman* elected and confirmed euery yeare, in the moneths of May and September. But they of *Bienna* haue not any bayliffe, for the Comminalties haue their courres of Iustice, and when the parties cannot bee agreed, the cause is sent to the councell of the Towne, who send sometimes assistants to helpe in the country pleadings, and to end their suits: but appeale may be made from their sentences to the councell of the Towne. The inhabitants of this valley, do march in warre vnder the Standartes of *Bienna*.

CHAP. XIII.

The Common-wealthes of such people as are gouerned in common by the Cantones of Switzerland. And first of all of stipendary Townes.



Our former booke, we haue distributed the people gouerned in common, by the Cantons of Switzerland, into fixe stipendary Townes, and nine bayliwickes or Gouernements. Those Townes haue their Magistrates & Councell by themselves, to wit, a lesser Councell composed of twelue, and a great, of forty Councellers, comprehending the twelue of the lesser in the number. The cheefe of the councell is called: *Schultheiss*, or *Auyer*: hee is elected at *Bada*, by the lesser and great councell.

At *Bremgarten*, the fixe first Cantons establish one of the two *Auyers*: who (notwithstanding) is in number of the Bourgeses, onely of whom the other is elected.

He

The valley of S Immer, and Seignourie of Argau.

Bienna hath no Bayliffe.

The diuision of the stipendary Townes.

Elected made at Bada.

At Bremgarten.

At Frawenfeld.

The priuiledges of the Townes.

The custome at Bada is the Townes, but not the Tolles.

Concerning the Towne of Bremgarten.

Long trinitie between Zurich & Bremgarten.

The reformation of Zurich.

The ordination of the seven Cantons.

Hee of *Frawenfeld*, is elected by the

Councell generall but in secret voyce. The Councell of these Townes doe elect Treasurers, *voysers*, and other Magistrats: for the Townes haue priuiledges, to provide for publicke charges, and haue likewise treasures, and good round fums of ready gathered monies in them, for their condition and extendure, because the customes, tolles, and taxes do belong vnto them. Neuerthelesse, in the town of *Bada*, which is the passage of Germany into France, the custome belongeth to the town; but the tolle for Merchandizes transported that way, appertaineth to the Cantons. The lesser councell of these townes, provide not onely for the townes affaires, but also do decide suites: for they haue no other Courts of iustice, except at *Frawenfeld*, & they haue likewise both ciuill and criminall iurisdiction.

Bremgarten commandeth ouer some Villages neighboring to the town, which they call the Bayliwicke of *Cella*. This country is in the gouernment of the free Prouince, appertaining to the Cantons: but it was engaged sometimes to them of *Bremgarten*. When the Emperour *Sigismund* did put them of *Zurich* in possession of the free Prouince, he gaue them priuiledge, to disengage the country: but they of *Bremgarten* entreated them, that in regard of the amity, which had til then continued betwene the two townes, they would leaue the country to them, which was easily granted them. Wherefore at that time, by the liberality of them of *Zurich*, who gaue it them by Letters: they of *Bremgarten* were put and confirmed in possession of the country, in the year one thousand, foure hundred, and eightene.

Neuerthelesse, they of *Zurich* referred to themselves the foweragntie, & the punishment of Malefactours deserting death. The year one thousand, fise hundred, twenty eight, a difference happened betwene them of *Zurich* and *Bremgarten*; to wit, about the causes of appeale, and to whom it belonged. The seven Cantons ordained thereupon, that the Bayliwicke of *Cella*, might appeale to the councell of *Bremgarten*, and from them to *Zurich*: but as concerning suites moued at *Bremgarten*, the appeale was to bee brought before the eight Can-

tons.

The town of *Frawenfeld*, beside the councell apart by it selfe, hath an assembly of twelue Iudges, who decide suites among the Bourgeses, and country people in the Villages, that are vnder the townes iurisdiction. But as for criminall causes, and variances touching inheritances, and such like things; the knowledge of them belongeth vnto the councell. These Iudges execute their arrefts, in condemning of certaine fines, and making seizure on the goods of condemned persons. Appeale may bee made from them, to the seauen Cantons: but there is no appeale from the councels sentence.

For the present, by permission of the councell, the *Amman* of the country is cheefe of those Iudges; but anciently, and about an hundred yeares since, it was to the Apparatur of the town, and afterward to the Agent or Prouost of the Empire.

Vhen any Malefactour is to be condemned to death, the Iudges make choise (as please them selues) of twelue other men of the town, or of the villages resorting thither; and then these foure and twenty men may condemne to death. *Frawenfeld* obtained this priuiledge of the Emperour *Sigismund*; and therefore they haue prisons purposely. From the time of the *Austrian* Princes, they hadde power to put criminall persons to death; now adayes the Cantons conferre and maintaine the rights to *Frawenfeld*: and although condemnation of death appertaineth to tenne Cantons, yet *Frawenfeld* stands excepted, which dependeth not, neither is subiect but to the seauen first Cantons, the priuiledges referred.

Moreover, this Towne hath some particular rights, touching testaments and inheritances, and the Bourgeses may exact their debtes thorough all the country of *Turgow* (annuall reuenues excepted) according to the rights of Iustice of the Prouince, and may (without punishment) lodge such as haue beene banished by the lawes; but they cannot bee drawne into any strange iustice, but the demander must come and pleade at *Frawenfeld*.

The Abbey of *Auge* the rich, hath
G g some

An assembly of xii. Iudges at Frawenfeld.

No Appeale from the councels sentence.

When any one is sentenced to death.

Frawenfeld subiect to the seuen first Cantons.

Particular rights belonging to Frawenfeld.

The Abbey of Auge the rich and prioules it hath at Frawenfeld

some rightes at *Frawenfeld*, whereto the Bourgesies stand obliged, and (anciently) the most part of them wer subiects to the Abbey: but afterward, they enfranchised themselves from all charges of seruitude, and now adays, before giuing any Oath vnto the Abbot, they receyue Letters from him, whereby hee promisseth them, not to sel, engage, nor alienate the rights which he hath at *Frawenfeld*, by reason of the Abbey; and besides, that hee will conferre and keepe all their ancient Priuiledges, Franchises, rights, and good customes.

The ancient power in time of warre.

Finally, in the times of war, anciently, the Seigneurie of *Frawenfeld* elected the Capitaine, the Ambassador, the Ensigne, and other cheefe offices of warre: which all the countrey of *Turgow* followed, and tooke Oath to them. Also, the Standard of the Towne is adorned with Images of Saints, like to the Standardes of the Catholique Cantons, to wit, with a Crucifixe, and two crossed Keyes; and on the other side, is the picture of Iesus Christs face, as in a Linnen handkercher. But within some fewe yeares they of the Prouince of *Turgow* obtained leaue, to haue their particular capitaines and Standards. In meane while the Towne of *Frawenfeld*, and the places that are of other Iurisdiction, haue theyr Capitaines, Ensigne-bearers, and their auncient Standards.

Turgow at liberty by it self

CHAP. XV.

Of the Bayliwicks or Gouvernments.

The custome obserued in most part of the Cantons for their Bayliwicks.

WE haue already formerly set downe, how many Bayliwicks or Gouvernments the Switzers haue, to what Cantons they appertaine, and how they became Lords of them. The Cantons do send their Bayliffes turne by turne, and in the most part of the Cantons, the custome is; that the charge is giuen vnto one of the Councillers of the lesser councill. The Bayliffe continueth in his charge two yeares, and then giueth place to him that is sent by another Can-

ton. They gouerne the Bayliwicks according vnto the Lawes and customes of the people: neuertheless, in the Bayliwicks on this side the mountaines, the Bayliffe doth not iudge alone in criminal causes; but hath (as adiuncts or assistants) the Iudges of the Prouince, in regard whereof, they do call this course of Iustice, *Ein Landgericht*. They take knowledge of all suites of importance, and especially, those criminall, and giue sentence; notwithstanding, the Bayliffe is soueraigne, for he sitteth President, and hath power to moderate the sentence.

The custome on this side the mountaine

But in the Bayliwicks of *Italy*, or beyond the Mountaines, the bayliffes onely condemne to death: they may vrell call some learned men for counsell, but those Councillers haue no power in the sentence. Finally, euery yeare about middelune, they render an account of theyr administration; they on this side the mountaines, at *Bada*, they beyond, at *Lugano*; before the Deputies, which the twelue Cantons then send thither, and then they iudge the subiects causes of Appeale. If some strange enemy make warre on the Switzers: all the Bayliwicks send theyr people, who march vnder their particular Standards, and euery bayliwicke ioyneth with the Canton, vnder whose power it is that yeare. As in the warre of *Bourgonne*, they of the bayliwicke of *Turgow* serued the Canton of *Zurich*. But if there happen any ciuill warre in Switzerland, because the bayliwicks do stand as much obliged to one Canton, as another: they are not bound to giue succor, if the most part of the Cantons do not commaund them.

The custome in the Bayliwicks beyond the mountaine

When some strange enemy warre on the Switzer

In time of ciuill warre in Switzerland

CHAP. XVI.

Of Bada.

THE Gouvernment or Bayliwicke of *Bada*, is much more magnificent then the other, because the dayes meetings and assemblies of the Cantons are held there: for the bayliffe of *Bada* euermore helpeth there, demanding for the causes in order, and sea-

lea-

Many villages and Iurisdic- tions commaund- ed by the Bayliffe.

In cases con- cerning life & death.

The Secre- tary of the whol Prouince.

Two little Townes, be- longing to Bada, Clingen- now, and Key- serboul.

Zurzach a great Village.

(sealeth with his Signet, such things as are written in the name of all the Councill. Moreover, if the voyces be equal vpon either side: hee maketh that auayleable, where he ranketh himselfe, and by that means endeth all variance. This Bayliffe hath no authorities ouer the Towne of *Bada*, but ouer the Countie, which is diuided into many Villages and small Iurisdic- tions: where hee hath his Lieutenants and Officers, who hold their pleadings with Iudges of the Village in name of the Bayliffe; exact the Fines, and render him an account, and sometimes also himselfe is present in those Iurisdic- tions. But when there is question of condemning a Malefactor vnto death, foure and twenty Iudges of the whole Countie of *Bada*, meete together, and the Bayliffe electeth them: but the custome is, that after they haue bene once thus elected, they continue all their life time afterward in that charge, if some lawfull impeachment doe not preuent it: and when any one of them dyeth, or is dismissed, then the Bayliffe putteth another in his place. These Iudges, giue sentence according to the Lawes: neuertheless, the Bayliffe (who hath the soueraignty in his hand) may mitigate their sentence. Next to this estate of the Bayliffe, is he that is called Secretary of all the Prouince: for, beside the dignity, hee hath profite, because all the Cantons serue him, so long as the dayes are kept. Moreover and beside, hee hath a Lieutenant, who is cheefe of all the Officers belonging to the Bayliffe.

The Bayliwicke and Countie of *Bada*, hath two small Townes vnder it, the one named *Clingenow*, and the other, *Keyserboul*; but the Byshop of *Constance* sendeth Bayliffes thither, and hee of *Bada* hath nothing to looke to there, save onely, the acknowledgement of causes criminall appertaining to him, and the people of those places, are comprehended with the rest of the County of *Bada*, when they goe to warre, with, or for the Switzers. Betwene these two little Townes, is a great Village, neere vnto the *Rhine*, named *Zurzach*, inhabited as if it were a good great Towne, subiect vnto the Byshoppe of *Constance*, and depending on the Bayliwicks of *Clingenow*. I must needs say somewhat concerning the po-

licy thereof, because it is a place greatly renowned, in regard of two great Fayres very goodly and commendable, which are there kept euery yeare. Many Merchants, not only of *Switzerland* and *Germany*, but also of *France* and *Italy*, meete there, albeit each Fayre lasteth but one day.

Many do hold opinion, that this village is the place, which *Platony* calleth *Forum Tiberij*; and that on this occasion, these Fayres are very ancient, as hauing bene ordained by *Tiberius*. It seemeth to haue taken this name of *M. Iulius Cestius*, a famous Romane Souldier, buried in that place, as is testified by an ancient inscription. The Iurisdiction of this village is one of the dependances of *Clingenow*: the Bayliffe electeth an officer yearly, in the Moneth of Ianuarie, and eyght Senatours, foure whereof, are in seruice a whole yeare, and they are called *sworne Senatours*; and then the other foure doe succede them, hauing foure Iudges giuen them as assistants. These twelue, with the Bayliffe of *Clingenow*, who presideth, iudge the causes, and meete once in xv. dayes; but if any man requirith (in the meane time) that the Iudges should meet together, they doe; the party paying thirteene Shillings of the Money of *Zucerna*.

Moreover, the Bayliffe to the byshop of *Constance*, cannot condemn any greater fine, then the summe of tenne pounds; but if the crime appeare to deserue more rigorous chastisements, to witte, corporally; then the Officer to the Bayliffe of *Bada*, executeth the sentence, and punisheth the faultie. But out of the Fayre times, Malefactors are examined, first, at *Clingenow*; after they haue confited theyr fault, and are conuined of capital crime, they are deliuered into the handes of the Bayliffe of *Bada*. At the times of the Fayres, to witte, the first day of September, and the first Holyday of the Weeke, after Pentecost, the day before the Faire, all the Iurisdiction of the Byshoppe ceaseth, and belongeth vnto the bayliffe of *Bada*, who hath sole power and authority of commanding and forbidding, euen vntil the end of the Faire. For in regard that a great number of people doe assemble there, our Ancestors were desirous, that these Fayres might be in the safegard and

Two great Fayres yearly at Zurzach.

Foru Tiberij.

Sworne Senatours.

The Bayliffe of Clingenow

Power of condemning fines or otherwise.

Concerning the times whil the Fayres are kept.

The government of Zurich.

protection of such as were souveraignes, and had meanes to bee strongest in these places then. In former times, the Princes of *Austria*, were Lords of the Countie of *Bada*, but now it belongeth to the eyght first Cantons. As for the government of *Zurzach*, it is managed by sixteene counsellors, to wit, the twelve before mentioned, and foure assistants. But if there be any businesse of importance, it is referred to the councill general.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Turgow.

Turgow the greatest of all the Bayliwicks



Mong all the Bayliwicks of the Cantons, there is not any more plentifully peopled nor of larger extendure then *Turgow*, which hath more then fifty Parishes. The seven most ancient Cantons send thither a Bayliffe, & to them appertaineth the Seigneury and ciuill Iurisdiction of the countrey. If Switzerland be assaulted by a stranger enemy, they of *Turgow* ranke themselves with the seven Cantons : but the knowledge of criminall causes, and such as are capitall, belong to the tenne Cantons.

Mean Courts of Iustice in the villages of Turgow.

Condemnation of fines.

The Ecclesiasticall persons and what Iuridictions they haue.

The Abbey of Auge.

Iuridictions in the countrey of *Turgow*, to wit, *Stekbure*, *Berninge*, *Amelach*, *Ermatingen*, *Tribeltingen*, &c. Many Gentlemen are vassalls to this Abbey. The Abbot of the Hermitage, is also Lord of *Elchenz*. In like manner, the Abbey of *S. Gall*, hath Iurisdiction in some Villages, as also the Abbeyes founded in the countrey of *Turgow* haue, as *Tobel*, the Comanderie of the Knights of *Saint Iohn*, *Fischinge*, the Abbey of *Benedictines*, *Istinge*, *Chartrouise*, *Munsterlinge* and *Tennikon*. The Abbey of the Monkes of the *Cisterians* order. Also *Feldbach*, *Calchere*, *Saint Katharine du Val*, nere to *Diessenhow*, and some other Prouosts in one or two Villages, and sometimes in many, haue Iurisdiction.

There are great store of Castles, appertaining vnto diuers Gentlemen, who dwell there, and enioy their ancient Iuridictions: the names of which Castles I will recite, together with the Lords vnto whom they belong. The Lords of *Vlue* dwell for the present time at *Wellenberg* and *Grisenberg*. *Herdere* and *Burgelle* are to the Lords of *Landberg*. *Wengie* belongeth to the Lords of *Guel*. *Spiegelberg*, to the Lords of *Montprat*. *Vinsfeld* vnto the Lords of *Schelnberg*, and of *Gemminge*. Vpon the limites of the countrey, there is a Towne belonging to the Count of *Oberstein*. *Nauenbourg* and *Mammer* appertaine to the Lords of *Tum*. *Salenstein* and *Blidec*, to the Lords of *Hannuille*. *Clingenberg*, to the Lords of *Herdroneimer*. *Ottishause*, to the Lords of *Schenck*. *Epishause*, to the Lords of *Hagenuille*. *Liebenfels*, to the Lords of *Lanz*. *Clinge*, to the Lords of *Brum*. *Neufere*, to the Lords of *Stacker*. *Sonnenberg*, to the Lords of *Gutenfon*. There are many castles also ruined the most part of whole Iuridictions, doe belong vnto Ecclesiasticall persons: but other some of them belong vnto Gentlemen dwelling in other castles, and also vnto some particular men of the Countrey.

Beside, the Abbey of *Rinow* hath iustice both ciuill and criminal in the townie of *Rinow*, which appeareth to be very ancient, although it hath no store of beautifull buildings. Some are of opinion, that the Romaines planted there campe there heeretofore, to encounter with the *Germanes*.

The Abbey of Benedictines.

Of Castles belonging to Gentlemen.

A Towne on the limited the countrey.

Castles ruined and desolate.

The Abbey of Rinow.

In

The title with in the Rheine.

The Standard of Rinow.

Bischoffzell or Episcopalia.

The Byshopps Bulke in the toane Castle.

The Councell and two Presidents.

The Byshopps takeh oath of the townsmen.

The ancient townie of Arbonna on the Lake of Constance.

In the lile which is not within the *Rheine*, the Abbey of the *Benedictines* is to be seene, one of the most ancient in all *Switzerland*. The Abbot is Lord of the Towne; neuertheless, if any Malefactor be condemned to death: he is deliuered vnto the Prouost or *Amman* of the Prouince, and his goods remaine seized and confiscated to the seven Cantons. They of *Rinow* haue their standard, vnder which they march in Warre for the Switzers. Moreover, there are some Towns in *Turgow*, which continue in the Switzers protection, and haue their Franchises & priuiledges verie ample, & Iurisdiction particular.

There is another Towne, named *Bischoffzell*, at the meeting of two Riuers, called *Sittera* and *Tur*, which is well into the countrey of *Turgow*: and it hath his Standard, where vnder the souldiers goe to Warre for the Switzers. But the Governour of the countrey is onely but to be seene there, and can command nothing of the inhabitants, who are subiect (in some things) vnto the Byshoppe of *Constance*, yet hee governeth according to their ordinances.

The Byshop hath a Bayliffe in the Castle of the Towne, to whom appertaineth the moitie of the Fines: but the Townsmen doe elect the Councell, and the two Presidents out of them, whom they call ancient Senatours, that gouerne the Common-wealth with the Councellers. One of the two, iudgeth in criminall causes, and there is no appeale from the sentence of the Senate: neither is it lawfull to draw a Bourgesse before any other Iustice then that of the Towne. The Impost of Wine, and other Reuenues belong to the common-wealth. When the Byshoppe taketh his Oathe of the Townsmen, hee promisseth first himselfe, neuer to diminish in any manner whatsoever, their ancient Priuiledges and Franchises.

Arbonna is an ancient Towne, on the Lake of *Constance*, whereof *Antoninus* maketh mention in his guide of the waies. It is vnder the dominion of the Byshop of *Constance*, who hath there a Bayliffe: but they of the Towne doe elect their *Amman* and Councell, who manage ciuill causes. The Switzers haue some Seignioriall rights in that place: for the cattle is

open to them in the times of warre, for best accommodating themselves, and the Inhabitants are theyr Souldiers for seruice.

Diessenhow, a Towne vpon the *Rheine*, betweene *Stein* and *Schaffouse*, as also of the countrey of *Turgow*, and besides the seven Cantons, who are Lordes of this countrey: *Berne* and *Schaffouse* haue some right in the domination of *Diessenhow*. Neuertheless, the Townsmen giue Oath onely to eight Cantons, and haue great store of priuiledges: their councell and *Aunger* haue the Iurisdiction of some Townes about it. But all are eleeched to bee vnder the government of *Turgow*, and goe to warre with the other for the Switzers: but yet vnder the Standard of *Diessenhow*.

But besides the Iuridictions of the Ecclesiasticke, and of the Gentlemen: there are many Villages, wherof the Cantons are entirely Lordes, and they are called the Iuridictions of the countrey of *Turgow*, and the Officers of the Bayliffe, do holde the pleadings in these Villages. Heeretofore there were diuers formes of pleas, and manie customes: but the seven Cantons (by aduice and consent of the Lords of the Iuridictions) ordained and established a common manner of pleading, thoroughout the whole countrey of *Turgow*. Beside, if a particular man haue a suite against the Lord of a Iurisdiction, he presents it to the Bayliffe or Governour of the countrey, and of him demandeth iustice.

There are two kinds of Law and Iustice (in the highest degree) in *Turgow*: for they must pleade before the Iudiciary bench of the Prouince, or else before the Bayliffe and his assistants. The Law or Iustice Prouinciall, it appertaineth not onely vnto the seven Cantons, who establish a Governour in the countrey: but likewise they of *Berne*, *Fribourg*, and *Solleurre*, haue therein their part, whereof wee haue giuen a reason in our former booke.

Sometimes this court of Iustice was held at *Winterdau*, when as the countrey of *Kybourg* was ioyned to the countrey of *Turgow*; afterward, it was helde nere to *Constance*, when the Emp. *Sigismund* had engaged *Winterdau* to the Bourgeses of *Constance*, & somtimes in other places: but

Diessenhow on the River of Rheine.

Oath to eight Cantons only.

The Iuridictions of the countrey of Turgow.

Order for the suite and pleas in Turgow.

Law or iustice termed Prouinciall.

it is fully refolued on at *Frauenfeld*, and the Cantons haue concluded, that it shal neuer bee transported any whether else heereafter.

Twelue Iudges are chosen by the Bayliffe, foure of *Frauenfeld*, and four of *Turgow*: the Bayliffe sits President in name of ten Cantons; or the *Amman* of country, established by the Cantons; or the Lieutenant whom the Bailiffe substituteth in his place. The causes of appeale, concerning the whole countrey of *Turgow*, are decided in this Prouinciall Court of Iustice, together with the suits in matters of debt, the knowledge whereof may appertain to this court: also the causes of injuries, crimes, and other offences deferring death. The Bayliffe and his assistants (who most often are the *Amman* of the country, the Secretary, and the cheefe Vther) do censure also in the same suites: & it is at the discretion of the plaintiffe or demander, to make choise before which of the two courts he will pleade.

The Bayliffe causeth the sentences and ordinances to bee executed, with imposition of a fine of ten poundes, payable by him, that satisfieth not the sentence in ten dayes. The Prouinciall court of iustice, imposeth no fine of money, but banisheth; only referred, that it condemneth him in a fine that pleadeth his owne cause in person (because the custom is, to take one of the Iudges to declare the fact) and enters it into the Court where the Iudges vse to sit. He that is accused to contemne the ordinances of the Bayliffe, is imprisoned.

A man may appeale to the Cantons, from the sentence given in either of the Courtes; and, according to the importance of the cause to the seuen Cantons, or to the ten in taking knowledge. Likewise al Fines (as the goods of persons put to death, confiscations, and fines imposed on such as are accessaries to crimes deferring death) doe appertaine partly to the seauen, partly to the ten Cantons. Heere may be alledged (for example sake) mighty and horrid injuries, yet not meriting death: violence done by any man to him that is strictly commaunded to liue in peace with his aduersary, outrageous acts committed to a man upon the publique high way, by wounding, robbing, or offering him any such like violence. Also, if

any man vsurpe, encroach vpon, enelope, or appropriate to himselfe any part of the high-way, transposse or alter boundes, markes, and limits; or change any goods layed to him by way of pawning, or giuen him in trust to keepe, if he violate Fayth, or forswear himselfe openly; or if he carry himselfe insolently toward the Bailiffe or Iudges, &c.

Besides, all such as the Prouinciall court of Iustice declareth guilty of death: are sent vnto the other Iudges with theyr causes, to haue the sentence pronounced on them. These Iudges are in number foure and twenty, and heretofore the custom was, that the Bayliffe ioynd twelue Iudges, to the twelue of the Prouinciall Iustice, and chose them thoroughout the country, at his owne discretion: but now adayes (and oftner then any other) the Iudges of *Frauenfeld* doe pronounce the sentence of death. This is to cut off charges, which would be farre greater without comparison, if the Iudges should bee called from diuers parts of the country, it being of so large extender.

There is no appeale granted from this sentence: neuertheless it is permitted to the Bayliffe, to moderate the Iudges sentence, or to alter the manner of the punishment vpon the Offender; or else to saue the condemned mans life; but heere may not (by any meanes) aggravate, or make heauyer the condemnation.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Sargans.



HE Countrey of *Sargans*, hath heretofore had Countes or Earles, that gaue it the name, and sold it vnto the *Switzers* Countrey. Those Countes were of the house of *Werdenberg*, by reason of the Counties thereunto belonging, and also of *Montfort*, being then diuided into many families: but the countrey standeth separated by a certain small Riuer, named *Sar*. Part of it, about the Riuer, hath some villages; the cheefest whereof

Concerning sentences of death.

A custom vsed in former times, but otherwise prohibited, and vpon good reason.

A grant power granted to the Bayliffe.

Concerning the Original of Sargans, for king name of the Riuer Sar.

whereof is called *Regatz*, where the law pleas are held: as also the Abbey of *Pfauertz*, the Abbot whereof hath iurisdiction in those quarters. It seemes that this part was heretofore diuided from the other, so as the name of *Sargans* belonged to them that dwelt beneath the Riuer, and whereof (vndoubtedly) they borrowed their name. For there is another *Sargans*, or of *Sarunets*, whereof *Pliny* maketh mention, which at this day is called *Engadin*, and neere the fourse or spring of *Rheine*: but they which dwell about the Riuer, may bee of the quarter of the *Rheguses* and *Rhucans*, at this day termed *Rhinthal* and *Rhucenaberg*. They haue their court of iustice by themselves, and other weights and measures, then they beneath the Riuer.

The towne of *Sargans* is small, and hath a Castle, wherein the Bayliffe dwelleth, and it is the cheefest of all the Bayliewie. There is a councill at *Sargans*, and an *Auoyer*, whom the *Switzers* (being Lords there) do establish: as also in another Towne of the same Bayliewick, named *Walhenstat*, on the Lake of *Kiue*. But the lower court of iustice belongeth to them of *Sargans*, as likewise the principall Villages haue their Court. The last or latest appellations, for causes criminall and capital, are held at *Sargans*; where Iudges are chosen, both of the Towne, and from the whole Bayliewicke. Oftentimes, in stead of the Bayliffe, the *Amman* is President of the country. The Bayliffe himselfe pleadeth against the offender, and hath a Secretary and an Officer. If criminall persons are prisoners at *Walhenstat*; then iudgement and execution to death is done there: but the Bayliffe sitteth President, and not the *Auoyer* of *Walhenstat*.

CHAP. XIX.

Of Rhinthall.

THE Bayliffe of this Valley (which taketh his name of *Rheine*, and is vpon the left bancke thereof, about his entrance into the Lake of *Constantine*) maketh his abiding in a small Towne, called *Rhinck*, somewhat below the Valley.

The whole Bayliewicke is diuided into certayne portions or fee-farmes, which they tearme *Hofs*, and these are their names: *Alstett*, a little Towne, *Marpach*, *Bernanng*, *Tall*, whereon *Rhinck* dependeth, and *Oberriede*. Each hath his iurisdiction by it selfe, and two *Ammans*; whereof the one is entailed by the Bayliffe of the cantons, and the other by the Abbot of *S. Gall*. The moiety of the fines belongeth to the Abbot, and the other part to the Cantons. Neuertheless, at *Alstett* the fines are diuided into three parts, whereof the third appertaineth to the inhabitants. Some say, that the higher and lower iurisdiction of this place, belongeth to the Prince of *Austria*. The lower court of iustice of *Lutzenow* (which is a Village in the Bayliewicke of *Rhinthal*) appertaineth to the Counts of *Amsta*. The acknowledgement of criminall causes, belongeth to the cantons: and their Bayliffe causeth the sentences to bee executed in those places where the delicts were committed, having *Ammans* for their Iudges.

The inhabitants of this Valley doe principally employ themselves in husbandry about their Vines, and spinning linnen yarne, which they sell at *S. Gall*, & liue very commodiously by these meanes. Also they of *S. Gall* haue flore of lands, and many vineyards in this Valley, with plenty of Vine-dressers and Barne-keepers: in regard whereof, they set a taxation on the wine with the inhabitants of *Rhinthal*, and set downe a price to be payed by the Masters and others, who buy it before vintage time at publique sale, and pay the mony to the Vine-dressers. This tax bindeth not them who haue not folde their wine before that time. When the vintage draweth neere, the Deputies of each Village doe meete at *S. Gall*, and the Seignery appointeth one or two of the councill to sit with them; and then they (altogether) set a price vpon the wines. If they cannot agree, but that there are as many on the one side, as on the other: then the Village, whose turne it is to bee Arbitrator, sets downe the determination. For euery Village (in his rancke and place) hath the right and priuiledge of arbitration, when as the taxers cannot, or will not agree together. The price agreed vpon, then they begin to cut and gather grapes for the vintage: but it is not law- full

The Bayliewicks diuision and their territoriall iurisdiction.

The diuision at Alstet.

Acknowledgment of criminall causes.

How the inhabitants of the Valley belloved their time.

A tax set vpon the wine (so such as are buyers before the vintage

In what manner they set a price vpon the wine, & how it is concluded by arbitration.

The election of all Iudges, by the Bayliffe.

Causes ended in the Prouinciall Court.

Power of the Plainliffe in his place.

Difference betwixt the Bayliffes Courts, and the Prouinciall Court.

Appeale from both the Courts to the Cantons.

Of them beneath the Riuer Sar.

Another Sargans or Sarunets.

Of the Bayliffe or Countsell of Sargans, & their Auoyer.

For criminall and capital causes.

The Amman gouerneth sometimes in stead of the Bayliffe.

Rhinthal taketh name of Rheine.

full to begin before.

CHAP. XX.

Of the Barons of Altfax.

Betweene the Bayliwicke of *Rhinthal*, and the county of *Werdenberg*, you may see the Seigneury belonging to the Barons of *Altfax*. Now, although the Barons are fouveraigne Lords; yet notwithstanding, in regard of the situation of *Rhinthal*, I was not willing to passe any further, without making some mention thereof.

The race of the Lords of *Altfax* is most ancient, and hee that hath written concerning Lustres and Tournamens, declareth, that the Emperour *Henry*, firnamed the Faulconer or Fowler, made choise among all the Gentlemen of *Swabia*, of *Frederick*, Baron of *Altfax*, to prescribe to others, the order to be obserued in those Royall pastimes. They of *Misank* in the *Grisons* country (whom *Pliny* calleth * *Hiraces*, at the Trophee of *Augustus*) were sometimes subiects to the Barons of *Altfax*: to whom the Emperour *Sigismund* gaue the name and dignity of Counts, and *Wolffe*, Baron of *Altfax* was in the warre against the *Obotrites*, in the year nine hundred, thirty five. Some say, that those Counts defended of the house of *Altfax*, and that there are many Gentlemen (of very ancient race) in the country of the *Grisons*, descended of the first *Rhatians*, who were of *Tuscany*, and vaunt themselves also to be issued of the Romanes.

In Antiquity, the Lords of *Altfax* dwell in the *Grisons* country. For neere to the Valley of *Lengz*, where they inhabite, who (among all other) vaunt and glorifie themselves, to bee of most noble and ancient race; there is the Village of *Obierfax*, which retaineth yet the name of that Family, and it hath a Castle of the same name. I am of the minde then, that the house of *Altfax* is *Grison* by originall, and defended (with many other of the *Grisons*) of the *Tuscans*, who were before the Romanes. Also the country, whereof they are Lords to this day, was heere-

tofore reputed to be of the *Grisons*: considering, that *Strabo* extendeth the *Grisons* limits, so farre as the Lake of *Constance*.

This Barony hath had heere tofore two strong Castles, to wit, *Sax* (which was burnt before the warre of *Appenzell*) and *Fortegge*, builded afterward, vpon the warranty of *Vrich* of *Altfax*, Abbot of *S. Gall*, at such time as the Barons were in warre against the Counts of *Montfort*. There are many Villages in this Valley, subiect to the Barons of *Altfax*. If any warre threaten *Switzerland*, they chuse their most valiant Soldiours, which they send to their succour. Also *Huldreich*, Father to *Huldreich Phillip*, now Baron of *Altfax*, fought valiantly for the *Switzers*, in the warre which they had against the Emperour *Maximilian*, and the league of *Swabia*; and as a recompence and acknowledgement of his valor, the Cantons gaue him diuers peeces of Artillery.

It is a long time since the Barons of *Altfax* haue bene Bourgesies of *Zurich*, the rest of the Cantons neuer had any dominion ouer the Barons of *Altfax*; but themselves were fouveraigne Lords, and no man might appeale fro their sentence, to any other iustice. At this day, there is no more of this race of the Barons of *Altfax* left, but one, namely, the Lord *Huldreich Phillip*: but by the grace of God, it is now augmented, because this lord hath had (by two wiues) five sonnes, already of good stature, and which promise faire hope, namely, *Albert Iohn*, *Thibault Iohn*, *Phillip Iohn*, *Iohn Christopher*, and *Iohn Huldreich*.

CHAP. XXI.

The Bayliwicks or Governemets of Italy.



HE first and principall of the four Bayliwicks of *Italy*, is called *Lugano*, and the Bayliffe is called a Captain, commanding ouer all the four, if any warre doth happen vnexted.

The second is that of *Locarno*, almost of

of as great and large extendure, as *Lugano*. I will set downe in this Chapter, an exact description of the Bayliwicke and Towne of *Locarno*, made (at my request) by *M. Thaddæus Dun*, Physitian, and a native of *Locarno*, my very good friend. For thereby may be knowne, what the gouernment of the other Bayliwicks is, which although they are not of the like extendure, neither haue the same policy, yet notwithstanding, they are gouerned in the same manner, in respect of the Bayliffe, and dominion of the *Switzers*.

The Towne of *Locarno*, is called *Lugari* by the *Germanes*, and *Locarno* by the *Italians*. Some do hold it to be so named, as being a place of flesh: because in all the country round about, there is no meane number of cattell. It is seated on a plaine, betweene the foote of an high Mountain, and the Bank of the Lake *Maior*. Towards the East it hath the head and beginning of this Lake: to the South, the neck of the Lake, and the high Mountaines. It extendeth and shooteth it selfe out along the middle of the Lake, to his fall, and towards the North are also very high Mountaines. To the West, and against the lands belonging to the Bayliwicke of *Bellinzona*, is a plaine of great length, yeelding yearly a plentifull Hay-haruest, & thwart it passeth *Thesina*. Neere to the Towne, betweene this plaine, the Towne it selfe, the foote of the Mountaines, and the Lake banks, is a fruitfull parcell of Land for Corne and Wine, and a great goodly field, abounding with grasse; which heretofore hath bene much more spacious, but the neighbouring Riuer (by vndermining it) hath borne away a great part thereof. The Mountaines of long extendure, are very aptly husbanded, hauing goodly and faire vineyards in them.

Heereby we may coniecture, that *Locarno* is great, by reason of the Families therein, to the number of foure hundred, or thereabout: and there is not any greater Towne about the Lake *Maior*, neither are there more Gentlemen in any towne of that quarter, by which reason, it is the cheefe and principall Towne. This description doth demonstrate, how pleasant the place is, the ayre also is there temperate, sweete, and healthfull, euen as much as can bee desired. The windes of the South do blow there very little, and euen

as tired, broken, and spent, by reason of the Mountaines defending before it. The North winde is there also sweet enough, because the high Mountaines doe couer the Towne. From the East to the West, the windes breathe at their ease: and there is not a Pond, or Marshy plot in this quarter, so that to say all in a word, the place is sufficiently pleasing.

Heere tofore, the towne of *Locarno* had a great & strong castle, of very goodly shew, in regard of the many Towers & Turrets, and well engirt with sightly Ditches. It was sometimes the principall dwelling of the Counts of *Rusque*; and the French were Masters there, the space of thirteene yeares, but yet could not expell the Counts. There is a Pallace within the saide Castle, which is the Bayliffes house: there also abideth the Trucheman or Interpreter, and the two *Switzer* Archers of his Guard, of whom wee shall make more ample mention heereafter: within the walles enclosure of this Castle, there was a goodly Hauen or Port, where the Ships for warre were kept.

The Castle was square and quadrangular, beautified with Towers at each corner, and had a very strong wall about it. At that time, the Lake *Maior* washed the foote of the Castle, so that the Ships were easily sent forth vpon the Lake. But now, the Riuer of *Madia* hath gathered such abundance of sand and grauell, as the place is become faire enough off from the Lake. Since the year one thousand, five hundred, thirty one, the *Switzers* wholly ruined the Castle, except the Pallace; the foundations are yet to be seene, and the walles of many houses, for there was not any castle so strong in all the country. Also it was munited with Artillery of all sorts, and other furnishings for warre, in great plenty. *Frances Guicciardini* maketh mention in the fift Booke of his Histories, that fiftene thousand *Switzers* got themselves together, to go and assault this castle; thereof he speaketh againe in the eleuenth Booke, and at the end of the twelfth.

Long since, in the times of the Dukes of *Milaine*, the whole country was commanded by the Bayliffe of *Locarno* (except the towne of *Brifag*) and it was a county, wherof the *Rusques* were Lords, they being Gentlemen of marke in the towne

The situation of the Seigneury of Altfax.

The Antiquities of the Barons of Altfax

* So named of the Forest of Hircinia running thorough Germany.

Gentlemen descended of the first Rhatians.

The Valley of Lengz.

The originall of the house of Altfax of the Grisons.

Two ancient Castles belonging to the Barony.

When warre was threatened against Switzerland.

The Barons of Altfax Bourgesies of Zurich.

The now living issued of the greatest Baron of Altfax.

Lugano the first Bayliwicke.

Locarno the second.

A great of great experience & knowledge.

The description of Locarno, and how it is situated by every way. The fleshy Territory, or where fethers in great plenty.

The ancient goodly Castle of Locarno.

A Pallace in the old Castle and how it is employed.

The singularity of the ancient Castle.

This goodly Castle was quite delaced by the Switzers.

Guicciardini in Lib. 5. 11. 12.

The extendure of the Bayliwicke of Locarno.

The County
of Locarna
divided in
twaine.

Of the ferti-
lity of the
country, and
encrease of
their Vines.

Of the Fields
and Meadow
grounds a-
bout Locarna

Two harvests
gathered in a
year continu-
ally.

towne of *Coma*, whereof also they were Masters sometimes, but after they surrendered it to the Duke of *Milaine*, in the year one thousand, foure hundred and sixteene. But afterward, this county was diuided in two parts, and the Vale *Madia* separated from the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*.

At that time also, the Vale of *Verzasche* and *Gambaron* (whereof shall bespoken hereafter) obtained leave, to elect their *Podestats*. The extendure of the Bayliwicke of *Locarna*, may bee knowne by the Parishes, whereof there are twenty and more.

The foote-ground of the Mountains of *Locarna*, and a great part of the Territory, yeeldeth plenty of very good wines. In the Hilles and Mountaines, the Vines are bound high, and store of good grasse groweth vnder them. On the plaines they shoote vp about Elmes and other Trees, as Hops do about Poles; also the twigs as being wouen together, and bound at the ends, are extended from one Tree to another. But if they stand too farre off, where the branches come too short, then they fixe poles in the midst, whereto they fasten the branches, for feare lesse they should hinder the Cornes encrease, or the other sorts of pulse, which are also there sowne. The Vines are of great and incredible yeelding, the grapes huge, and very ripe, which causeth an extraordinary plenty of wine.

The fields cannot be very spacious, in regard of the so neere neighbouring Lake and Mountaines: yet notwithstanding, they are very fertile, by reason of the grounds goodnesse, which the husbandmen do fatten and labour very diligently. For because there are no great store of fields and meadowes, and the townes is sufficiently peopled; their paines are performed at the better leysures. Many times they render twenty graines for one, and they haue two Harvests in one year. In the Moneth of June, they reape and gather Wheat and Rie: In the Moneth of October, they haue the like of Millet, Pannick, and other Pulses sowed in Spring time.

The Mountaines and Vallies are furnished with cattell in great abundance, especially Goates. Also there is plenty of Partridges, Pheazants, Larks, Hares, Co-

nies, Butter, Cheefe, and admirable store of Chestnuts, for the nourishment of country people. At the beginning, they eate them rawe, then dried, and afterward boyled, roasted, and fried. Also they make Meale of them for Bread, and that Meale serueth the diuers viles: but Gentlemen eate chestnuts among their other delicacies.

When therefore there is a good season of chestnuts, the death of other vituals is not great in that country: where also is store of good Figs, variety of Apples, Peaches, Peares, Cherries, and other dainty fruites, as Plums of diuers kinds, Pomgranets, Citrons, Oliues, Oranges, and other fruites in great plenty. The Lake aboundeth with Fish, dainty and good; especially Trowts, whereof store are brought & sold in *Milaine*. In briefe, the country is enriched with all good things, for the maintenance of life; yet sometimes there is scarcity of Corne, by reason of the countries narrowness, and Salt is brought thither from other places.

Every Thursday there is a great Market at *Locarna*, where meete no meane store of people. You shall see many boats arrive there, from all the Townes of the Lake *Maior*, from whence come diuers Merchants, rather to buy, then sell. They come thither also from sundry parts of the Dutchy of *Milaine*, from *Lugano* and *Bellinzona*, neighbouring Bayliwicks: as also from *Misunk*, and the Valley of *Lini*, not speaking of them about *Locarna*, and the vale *Madia*. It is one of the goodliest Markets in all those countries. There is a very spacious place neere to the Lake, where the Merchants set vp Tents, to defend them from raine, and such like accidents.

The people of *Locarna* are diuided into three degrees, to wit, Noblemen, ancient citizens, whom they call *Bourgeses*, and the inhabitants, descended from diuers parts, and whose ancestors began to dwell at *Locarna*, more then an hundred yeares before.

There is a fourth race noble, as of the *Aurelles*, *Murales*, *Magorians*, and *Duns*. That of the *Duns* is the most auncient, and before the other: their houses and goods beeing partly at *Locarna*, partly at *Scone*, which is a Towne

Witth this, Bourgeses, and the third degree of the country al-
sordeth.

Variety of all
kinds of
fruites, and
dainty vi-
all.

All being
for the li-
ce of
grain.

A market
Locarna
ty Thursday.

Noblemen,
Bourgeses,
Inhabitants,
the three de-
grees of peo-
ple in Loca-
na.

A fourth de-
cent of No-
blemen.

In memory of
former recei-
ued fauours.

The Commis-
sary, and how
he is elected.

The Commis-
sary's power
and authority.

Municipal
law, the pri-
uate law of
every City.

A Truchman
allowed to
the Commis-
sary to be his
Interpreter.

The people
have power
to elect Ma-
gistrates.

The election
of the Attur-
ney.

neere to *Locarna*, but not so wel peopled, seated on a plaine neere to the Lake. At such time as the Counts of *Rusque* commanded, the *Duns* were fauoured and honoured, more then the other Nobles, and advanced to great estates. And the Arms of the Counts of *Rusque*, magnificently illustrated, are yet to bee seene (outwardly) on the *Duns* Pallace at *Locarna*. Next, vnder name of the people, are reckoned all them that dwell in the Vallies and Villages, dependants on *Locarna*. The whole body of the Seignoury or Bayliwicke, is called the Comminalty.

As for the Bayliffe, whom they call Commissary, hee is choien by the twelve Cantons, and sent to *Locarna* every year, by one of the said cantons, as it is then in rancke, according to their lawes and alliances. This commissary is Soueraigne, and hath full power to chastise the fault, yea, to condemne to death, if the case do to require. His custome is to take wife & vnderstanding men, expert in the lawes and manners of the country, to bee his counsellors. Hee is not receiued into his charge, till he haue first solemnly sworn and promised, to keepe the lawes and ordinances, which the inhabitants rearme municipall rights. Which being done, the people there present, do acknowledge him for their lawfull Governor; with sollemne and publike acclamations, & swearing faithfully to obey him.

Now, because the commissary speaketh the Switzers language, and the people Italian; the Lords of the Leagues do allow him a Truchman, who vnderstands and speaks both the languages, to whom they pay wages. By entremise of the Truchman, the commissary, the parties that plead as Attornies or Aduocates, do vnderstand each other, and so debate the causes: which the Secretary or Prognatory writeth downe in Latine. The commissary medleth not with the affaires of the common-wealth, because the people haue full power to elect Magistrates and Officers, to ordaine of all things concerning the publike estate.

Moreover, they elect an ordinary Atturney, who pursueth criminall causes, & keepeth the fines adiudged to the common purse, which they call, *The fines Chamber*. The Lords of the leagues giue order for the election of this Atturney;

who is one of the Bourgeses of *Locarna*, and continueth as long time in that Office, as please the said Lords.

They establish also the Receiueurs of the taxes. For euery year, in Summer, when the twelve Ambassadors of the Cantons come thither: they giue the farming of the taxe (mitigating a certain summe) to one, or to many Bourgeses, who then also receive ample power, to exact the taxe, and at the yeares end they pay it.

The Commissary chuseth (sometimes) a Switzer Officer, who walketh daily attending on him, with an Halbert and a Sword. He is the cheefest of the Sericants, that arresteth men, and guardeth offenders. When the Ambassadors come to *Locarna*, hee is their Viceroy: also, they pay him his wages, as well as the Truchman.

The same Commissary electeth his Lieutenant, some one of the Bourgeses, fitte to decide suites and criminall causes. This Lieutenant giues attendance in the Commissaries absence, or when hee is with-held by sicknesse, or any other hindrance: hauing (in those causes) the same power and authority, as the Commissary hath.

Moreover, the councill (of whom we shall speake presently) makes choise of some Sericants among the people. Their charge is to serue the Common-wealth, and to execute the commands of the commissary.

The Bourgeses and inhabitants that are of this County and Comminalty, do meete together according to their custome, which yearely is the first day of Ianuary, and then they elect the one and twenty counsellors of the Common-wealth. Twelve among them are of *Locarna*; three of the townes of *Scone*, which is neere: the other fixe are of the Vallies and Villages round about. As concerning the twelve of *Locarna*, fixe of them are Noblemen, foure Bourgeses, & two inhabitants; yet sometimes three, and fixe Nobles. The three of *Scone*, there is one of the family of Gentlemen, called *Duns*, and the two other are of the body of the people. The other fixe, whom I haue said to be of Villages and Vallies, are of such places, as acknowledge no other Gouernour, but the fore-mentioned Commissary.

The Recei-
uers of the
taxes & tolles

The Officer
waiting on
the Commis-
sary.

The Lieuten-
ant to the
Commissary.

The Sericants
and Officers.

Of the coun-
cell, their man-
ner of mee-
ting, and or-
ders obserued
among them
in their election
of coun-
cellors.

A contrary
kind of go-
vernment &
Officers.

What charge
the counsell
do undertake

Of the seven
Aduyers,
& what their
office is,

The Secreta-
ry or Chan-
cellor.

A Treasurer
every yeare
elected.

Consuls ap-
pointed and
their office.

The sum of
one of the
least assess-
ment.

sary. This I speake in regard of the towne of *Brissag*, the Valley of *Verzasche*, & *Gambaron*: which haue their *Podestats* or *Lieutenants*, and some rights apart by themselves, as we shall shew anon, and they do not elect any counsellors.

The counsell of the Bayliwicke of *Locarno*, hath charge to watch and waite on the affaires of the common-wealth: to conclude on needfull expences & wages: to dispose and set in order, whatsoever seemeth for the good of the weale publike fit and conuenient.

Seven Procurators or Attornies are added to the one and twenty counsellors, who giue order, that the decrees of the counsell may be effectually executed, and that euery man do his duty thoroughly & faithfully. They stand also in stead of *Voysers* or *Suruayors*: because they take charge of publike buildings. In like manner, there is a Secretary whom they call Chancellor; and he setteth downe in writing, all things whatsoever that are concluded on by the counsell.

And forasmuch as the Conminality lockes not vp any of the publike monies, there is yearly a new Treasurer elected, who exacteth and collecteth of consuls and communities, such summes of money as are imposed by the counsell. For euery community or parish hath his Consull (so called, because they counsell and aduise that which is necessary for the communities welfare) and is in Office as a Receiver. They leuie vpon euery Father of the Family, or on each house, the money whereat they are assessed by the counsell, and afterward bring all to the Treasurer. The manner of assessing these summes, is according to the estimation of goods, & the number of households in euery community.

There is not any Parish nor Family (how little soeuer it bee) but iustly knoweth, how much it is valued at in the assessment. One of their cottisations amounteth to an hundred pounds of the Empire: which make seven and twenty Florins of gold, or thereabout. The Consuls do first collect this summe of the Families, and then deliuer it into the Treasurers hands, and he afterward paies it to the Seigneurs of the annual accounts. Then it is payed out in wages, to the Bayliffe, to the Physicians, to Masters of Schooles, Officers,

and other persons, who are al at wages of the common-wealth: And beside, it acquitteth all other publike charges. The yeare being expired, hee yeeldeth vp his account to the counsell, or to the Procurators. If there be more omitted then received; his successour disburseth it himselfe. Contrariwise, if the receipt doe surmount the ordinary charge, the remainder is deliuered ouer into his successour. Moreover, the fore-named Magistrates make choise of two sufficient men, to haue a care of food and prouision. And other two are elected by the counsell, to see the wayes and streetes duly and decently repaired and well kept.

Now in regard that the country is enuironed with Mountaines and Vallies, replated with woods of extraordinary tall trees, exquisite for their beauty and braue branching (among others the Pine, which produceth very excellent Agaricke, and the Firre-tree, notable for building, and whereof they of *Locarno* make very great benefit) the Merchant dealing in wood, do elect a Judge or Master of the Forests, who decideth all differences proceeding in such cases. When the taule trees are cut, they bring knowledge therof to him, and then he ordereth their lesser cutting, for more commodious conuaying them through the narrow passages and vallies, as also the Rocky crooked windings, to the Lake *Maior*. When they are there shipt in apt Barques and Boats, they passe along the Lake, and then on the *Thesina* to *Millaine* and *Pauia*, in great Trunkes, Beames, Joists, and long Planks; together with great quantities of wood-coales, and other brush-wood, for heating Ovens. Afterward, they descend with them from *Pauia*, by the Riuer *Po* (wherein *Thesina* discharge it selfe) to farre as *Cremona*, and *Plasentia*, and may goe also to *Ferrara*, *Manua*, *Venice*, and to the Adriaticke Sea. The trunks of the trees haue their length and thickenesse iust, and the Merchants marks on them. The valley of *Verzasche*, the vale *Madia*, and other neighbouring places, doe also send away Trees very abundantly, when the Riuer swell higher then their vsuall wont.

The towne of *Brissag*, which is vpon the Lake *Maior* towards the North, and at the end of the country which the *Svizzers* hold, is of the Bayliwicke of *Locarno*, and

The Treas-
urers account
to the Coun-
sell.

The govern-
ment of the
Forrest.

The Judge or
Master of the
Forrest, his
authority.

The Mer-
chants set
their marks
on the trunks

Brissag belon-
ging to the Ba-
ylwicke of *Lo-
carno*.

The govern-
ment of *Lo-
carno*.

Prising diffe-
ring in authori-
ty, from *Gil-
bern*.

The Locarno
inhabitants
at *Zurich*.

and is but foure miles distant off from *Cambrico*. It hath also to the East, the Vallie of *Verzasche*, taking his name of a Riuer so called, and thence descending: Also *Gambaron* to the South, and on the Lake *Maior*. These places haue their *Podestats*, who iudge in ciuill causes: for as concerning their criminall, the knowledge of them appertaineth to the Commissary of *Locarno*. There is appeale granted from the sentence in ciuill causes, if it seeme good to the party condemned. They of the Valley of *Verzasche*, and of *Gambaron*, do chuse (among themselves) such persons as they please, to be their *Podestats*: but the people of *Brissag* haue not that authority, but yearly doe elect a Lieutenant, who is of the Family of the *Aurelles*. Gentle men of *Locarno*. The Inhabitants of this place are not cottised or selfed, as the other Communities be: but onely pay their part of rentage due, to the Lords of the leagues, and of wages to the Commissary. Beside, they furnish towards the charges, that are in their Villages and Communities.

Of this Towne of *Locarno* thus described, are descended the *Locarnians* dwelling at *Zurich*, and in other places. It is not about thirty yeares since, that some Citizens of *Locarno*, yet living, affected to the new Religion; tooke knowledge

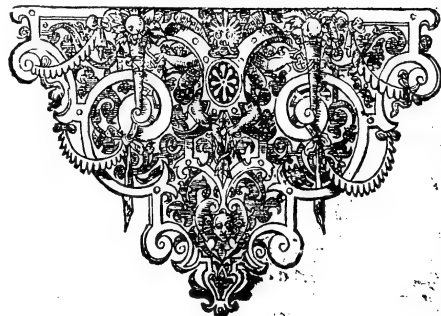
thereof, by the reading of certain books, and afterward constructed it to many of their Townsmen. From the yeare one thousand, five hundred, forty two, vntill the yeare one thousand, five hundred, fifty foure, the zeale and number of them began to encrease, and notwithstanding the persecutions, embraced it the more earnestly. The most part of the Seigneurs and people, not willing to suffer it, expelled (in the yeare following) about thirty Families: namely all such as would not forsake that new opinion, and returne againe to the Romane Church. There were people of all kindes in this troope, Nobles, Gentles, and Yeomen; learned and vnlearned; rich and poore; great and small; husbands without their wives, and wives without their husbands; fathers without their children, & children without their fathers. The men of *Zurich* receiued them very louingly, and did, and yet do many kinde courtesies to them: so that diuers of the are embraced as Bourgeses, and the rest maintained at the expences of the Seigneury. At the beginning, they receiued a good sum of monie, lent by them of *Serne*, and another collected at *Basile*, and in some other Townes of *Sauoye*, where with the poore people haue bene long time maintained.

Religion the
people per-
secuted the
more, it pro-
spere.

Persecution
is the true
Christian
touch-stone.

HH THE

The End of the third Booke.





THE FOUVRTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdome and Court of Spaine; the Lawes, Customs, and manners of the people, as also the division and situation of the Country.

* The City Suil in Baxica.
* The West star, and supposed to be the farthest Country Westward.

Rivers in Spaine.

The first three divisions of Spaine, and how since altered.
Baxica.
Andalusia.
Extremadura.

* Called also Celar augustin.

* Called also Vltior and Citor.

S Spaine, so tearmed of *Hispalis*, or of *Hesperia*, or *Helperus*, by being a part of Europe, and neere to the VVest; hath her Confines in this manner. On the East, the Mediterranean Sea: On the VVest, the Ocean: On the South, the fireights of *Gibraltar*: And on the North, the Pyrenean Mountains, which make diuision of France & Spaine. The principall Riuer in this Prouince, are fixe in number: *Myuo*, *Luria*, *Traia*, *Guadiana*, *Guadalquibir*, and *Iberus*. This Kingdome (by our Auncients) was diuided into three parts, to wit, *Baxica*, *Lusitania*, and *Tarraconia*. At this day, *Baxica* contayneth three Regions, namely, *Granata*, with her City Royall, which is called *Granada*; *Andalusia*, with the City of *Siuil*; and *Extremadura*, with the City of *Menda*. *Lusitania* hath two Regions, to wit, *Portugall*, with the City Royall, named *Lisborne*: and *Galicia*, with the city that is called *Compostella*, where the body of *S. James* is saide to be. *Tarraconia* hath nine Regions; as *Aragon*, with the city of *Sarragossa*; *Nauarre*, with the city of *Pampalona*; *Catholonia*, with the city of *Barcellona*; *Biscay*, with the city of *Viluro*; *Castile* the elder, with the city of *Burgos* or *Brage*; *Castile* the newer, with the city of *Toledo*; *Leopuca*, with the city of *S. Sebastian*; *Valenza*, with the city of *Valencia*; *Murgia*, with the city

so called. In the kingdome of *Granada*, there is an Island named *Caliz*, which hath a city also called by the same name. In the Ocean Sea, and in the Mediterranean, there are three feuerall Islands, subiecte to the gouernement of *Valencia*, to wit, *Jeniza*, *Matorica*, and *Minorica*. The *Portugals* vse their nauigation into the East Indiaes; and the *Spaniards* of *Siuil* and *Caliz*, into the West. The circumference of *Spaine* is about 1893 miles. The kingdom of *Portugall*, frō the South part, beginneth at the city of *Leppa*, and on the North it extendeth to *Baiona* of *Galicia*. The most notable Ports or Hauens of *Spaine*, on the North part, are *S. Sebastian*, the Port *Galezia*, the Port *Andrea*; the Port of *S. Vincenzo*; and the Port of *Ribadeo*; the Port *Ierol*; and the Port *delle Gragne*, or of the *Groyne*. On the VVest part, are the Port of *Monuedra*; the Port of *Portugall*; the Port of *Lisborne*; & the Port *Secuball*. On the South part are the Port of *Silua*; the Port of *Siuil*; the Port of *Caliz*; and the Port of *Caliz* in the Island; and the Port *Beger*; & the famous Port *Cartagena*. On the East part is Port *Calibre*, now called *Porto venere*.

Spaine hath feuen Arch-Bishoppicks, and the residence is made in *Tarraconia*, in *Sarragossa*, in *Toledo*, in *Compostella*, in *Braga*, in *Lisbona*, and in *Granata*. Vnder the aboue-named Arch-Bishoppicks, are many Cities and their Bishoppicks, as *Barcellona*, *Girona*, *Ierida*, *Tortosa*, *Valencia*, *Maiorica*, *Ostia*, *Monnedro*, *Burgos*, *Salamanca*, *Corduba*, *Legua*, *Tariffa*, *Almaria*, *Siuglia*, and others.

This Country (in many places) is not reduced to tillage & husbandry, because the ground consists of a very stony earth, and is much squallide and filthy through desertnesse: notwithstanding, in respect of *Africa*, it is very fertile, and this entueth through the ouer great heate which is

Of Islands the Kingdome of Spaine.

Nauigation.

The three Ports and Cities in Spaine on the North.

On the West.

On the South.

On the East.

Archbishops, Bishops, and Cities, and their command.

Not much tillage, or husbandry, in many places of the Country.

All things necessary for man.

Salt digged out of the earth.

Of Coll, Silver, & Yron.

Gold in Rivers.

Springs of hot and cold water.

Said running fountains.

Conis farm full cultures.

Soft peccet of iron, stored with fish.

The gold Mines of Galicia.

The Spanish Language.

Commodities sent into France and other places yearly.

in *Africa*. It aboundeth in all those things that are necessary for man: as in *VVine*, *Come*, *Fruites*, *Oyle*, *Cattell*, *Line* for all garments, yron mettals, *VVaxe*, *Hony*, *VVaters* well stored with *Fish*, and such other like things. They make no *Salt* by buying or seething, but dig it out of the earth. And they haue not so many windes as *France*; neyther are they so stored with marish and fenny grounds, whereby the ayre is much corrupted. There is not found any *Gold*, *Siluer*, or *Yron*, so good and approued, or in such plenty, as in *Spaine*, and the gold is taken not only out of the *Mines*, but also out of the *Riuers*, which when they encrease by much plenty of raine; they doe produce sandes of gold; & especially the *Riuer Tagor*. There are found out in many places, diuers wells and springs of hot and cold water; maruailously good for the helpe of diuers & sundry infirmities, which happen to the bodies of men. There is likewise great abundance of Beasts, both wilde and tame; and especially of swift horses, which were supplied by our Elders, to be conceived by the windes. They haue no hurtful creatures in any great store, Conies onely excepted, who making their caues vnder the ground, doe much harme to the rootes growing in the earth. Their *Riuers* glide away very gently, for hardly can their motion be discerned; and therefore they do not ouer-flow, or drowne the fields, being also well stored with *Fish*, because the Sea (by helpe of the *Riuers*) doth not send any plenty on land. *Galicia* is much commended for the *Mines* there breeding, and sometime it hapneth in this Region, that by prowing vp the ground, the people finde little graynes of gold. The language of the *Spaniards*, is not much different from the *Italians*; from whom they receiued it, whē they were subiecte to the *Romane* Empire. On the Northerly part, the Prouince is not so colde as in that climate of *France*: for it sendeth into *France*, *Oyle*, *Hony*, *Waxe*, *Saffron*, *Madder*, *Barly*, dying-coulors, *Chuchinelo*, *Snger*, *Oliues*, *Lemons*, *Dates*, *Cedar*, *Pomgranats*, and other things; but especially many thousand weights of wool, & much wine, dried plums or prunes, rafines, almonds, chefnuts, bay-berries, salted salmon, and other things, which are sent into *Italy*, & frō thence transported to *France*.

The temperature and complexion of the *Spaniards*, is much more hot and dry, and their coullor more dun & foggy, the that of the *French*: because they are more colde and moist, hauing their flesh more soft, and their coullor whiter, & the *French* women are more gentle, and apt to conceiue children, then the *Spaniards* are. The *Spaniards* are more raw-boned men of body, the *French*, and in war they teed with counsell and arte, being silent by nature; as men that know most exquisitely, how to dissemble their owne intentions, walking very grauely, and vsing much ceremonious behaviour in their customs & qualities. They drinke wine temperately, line with great respect, & are of acute vnderstanding & knowledge in their words. In *Spain* there are a great number of Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, & Barons, and euery one of them hath the reuenues and profits, from 50. to 60. thousand Ducates yearly. The Marquesses are 20, beside the like reuenues. The Earles are 60, with reuenues from ten, to twenty thousand Ducates. Then there are Viltcounts, Gouernours, and Barons, which are called *Adalantadoes*. There are great Masters of the Orders of knighthood; as of *S. James*, of *Alcantara*, of *Calatrana*, of *S. Iohn of Ierusalem*, of the *Rhodes*, of *Montese*, and others; who dispend (each one) about 50. thousand Ducates in reuenues yearly. The women go pompeously apparelled, wearing rich eare-rings of Pearl & Gold, hauing their garments plaited, after the manner of *Italy*. Vhen they walk abroad out of their houses, the men-seruants go before them, and the maids follow after. The most part of them do willingly drinke water, and so paint their faces with white and red, that it is most lothsome to behold. They are discreet in speech, yet prettily wanton and lasciuious, & deliuered with effectual gestures, especially in amorous matters. It is not many yeares since, that the people of this Prouince, hath gotten a great name of military seruice, as men that are most patient in labors, suffering most valiantly both thirst and hunger, and being matchlesse for subtilities in Soldier-like affaires, quicke and nimble of body, both for pursuit & flight. They haue conquered many countries, bringing thence very honourable victories, especially vnder *Charles* the fifth, Emperor.

The temper and coullor of the Spaniards, compared with the French.

Their disposition of body and spirituelle to war.

The Princes and Nobility of Spaine, & their reuenues.

The Adalantadoes, or Great Masters of the Orders of knighthood.

The women of Spaine, their attire and behaviour.

The fame for Military seruice, of no long antiquity among the Spaniards.

Of the Maiesty Royall.

THE Kings of *Spaine*, as great in power, and valorous, in regard of Military prouision, were alwayes held in no meane reuerence among their people. For men bearing ordinarily affection to their Soueraigne, their beneuolence is so much the more encreased, by how much the King liueth vertuously and iustly, according to the ordination of his owne lawes, for so shal hee be both loued and serued. And in conclusion, the worthy deeds of his Lords, that are enriched with vnderstanding and iudgement, doe highly support him: euen as the wicked actions of such as know not how to rule and gouerne, doth ruinate & ouerthrow him. The Kings of *Spaine* haue possessed this Prouince many yeares peaceably, though it was (a long while) nested by the Moors; whom at length they expelled, and reduced the whole politicke body to a quiet condition, and greatly deuoted to the catholique church, whereon the King attained to the title of Catholique King. The king then is the cheefe Ruler of the kingdom, and ordereth matters as best him pleaseth: but heere it shall not much differ from our purpose, to sette downe some other obseruations, concerning the originall & succession of this kingdom.

Spaine in her younger daies was held by sundry petty Kings and Tetrarches, & afterward became diuided into many commonwealths fix in number, as some haue written. The *Carthaginians*, a people of *Affrica*, bazzarding their fortune thereto: held one part thereof, and possessed themselves of many Cities, Townes, and places; vntill they were expelled thence by the *Romanes*, in the time of the Punicke wars. Since when, it was continually subiect to the Roman common-wealth, & reduced into forme of a Prouince onely, in the reigne of the Emperour *Augustus*. So it remained till the Emperour *Honorius* in whole dayes, the *Vandales* (a people of the North parts) brought it vnder their command. But they (soone after) chased thence by the *Goths*, who established there the seate of their kingdom; which they maintained (in that kinde) for the space of about 200 yeares. Nor were they then called kings of *Spaine*, but kings of the *Goths*. In the reigne of *Roderick*, king of the *Goths*, the Moors entred

Spaine, in the year 715, they being brought thither by one named *Iulian*; in very desperatefull incignation, and to shapen our way to his bloody reuenge, because king *Roderick* had dishonoured his Sister, or as others say) his Daughter, whereof heretofore we haue spoken more largely. And so did the Moors possesse themselves of all *Spaine*, seizing the city of *Tolledo*, which was then the capitall city. So ended the kingdom and name of the *Goths* in *Spaine*. Nor rested they thus, but pursued on their conquest still, & there remained but *Gallicia*, the *Asturies* and *Leon*: which countries king *Pelagius*, Vnkle and Successor of *Roderick*, had fled too for refuge, & there shutt up himselfe, in regard that those places were enuironed with Mountaines, and might well defend and shelter him for some time. But his Successors being hardly pressed by the *Sarrasins*, could no longer resist: wherefore, vnder the reigne of *Alphonso* the second, they were forced to craue the helpe of *Charlemagne*, king of France, by whose valour and vertue, the Moors were beaten thence a great way, and had bin quite cast out of the country, if the *Spaniards* mallice had bene no hinderance thereto. Afterward, the kings of *Leon* and *Gallicia* (for such were then their onely titles) being so formerly preferred, began somewhat to encrease in power. And in regard of this expeditiō performed by the *French*, the strength of the Moors was so weakened & diminished, that many other kingdoms were established in *Spaine*, as that of *Nauarre*, by *Enecho*, Count of *Bigorre*, in the year 950. which hee tooke away from the Moors and *Sarrasins*, by a very valiant conquest of them. And afterward, in the year 1166. was *Arragon* reduced to a kingdom, by the will and testament of *Sancho* the great, fourth king of *Nauarre*; for loue to *Ramyrus* his naturall Sonne, who was the first king thereof. This was the same *Sancho*, who being Earle of *Castile*, in the kingdom of *Leon*, tooke on him first the name of King of *Castile*, which he left vnto his Sonne *Ferdinand*.

The kingdom of *Portugall* was also conquered fro the same Moors, by Earle *Henry*, Sonne vnto the Duke of *Lorraine*; who held it first of all vnder tytle of an Earle, in the year 1110. but quickly after, he brought it to be a kingdom. *Spaine* did

The Moors in possesion of all *Spaine*.

Pelagius, Vnkle and Successor of *Roderick*.

Charlemagne king of France against the Moors.

The strength of the Moors much weakened.

The kingdoms of *Nauarre* and *Arragon*.

The first King of *Castile*.

Portugall conquered from the Moors.

did continue so (in this kinde of state) for a long time, diuided into many kingdoms: & the Moors had also their abiding ther, possessing still a great part thereof; till such time as *Ferdinand*, the first, king of *Arragon* (who was married to *Isabell*, the onely heire of *Castile*) wholly expelled the Moors out of *Spaine*, in the year 1492. In no great distance of time after, he possessed himselfe of *Sicily* and *Naples*, invading also the East *Indies*. But fraudulently he sturped the kingdom of *Nauarre*, against *John d'Albret*, who was (indeede) the lawfull King. And it is this *Ferdinand*, and *Isabell* his wife, in whom onely wee may truly say, that the kingdom of *Spaine* had her first beginning. They left one only daughter, named *Joane*, who was married to *Philip* the first, of *Austria*, Sonne vnto the Emperour *Maximilian*, and *Mary* of *Bourgundy*: he succeeded in this kingdom of *Spaine*, and other countries beside. He was likewise Earle of *Bourgundy*, of *Flanders*, and Lord of the Low-countries, in the right of his Mother. In this his marriage, was borne *Charles* the fifth, who was afterward Emperour. He reigned nine & thirty yeares, preferring his Prouinces very happily: and hee left succession (both in *Spaine*, and the more part of his other countries) his Sonne *Philip* the second, who reigned three and forty yeares, hauing ioyned to his other estates, the kingdom of *Portugall*, in the year of our Lord, 1580. and so (consequently) at that which the *Portugals* held in the East *Indies*, and elsewhere; as in *Affrica* and *Brafile*, which came vnto him by the death of *Henry* the Cardinall. He died, aged seuentie yeares, the thirteenth day of September, 1598. No long time before his death, hee had made peace with the mighty and most christian King of France, *Henry* the fourth. *Philip* the third, his Sonne, succeeded him, and reigneth as yet to this day. He married *Margret*, daughter to the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, by whom he had a Sonne, in the Month of April, 1606. Now let vs returne where we left before, concerning the king of *Spaine*, who being a good king, and liuing orderly; therefore on him doe depend the following councillors, who are speciall members of gouernement, both in the Court and elsewhere.

Councillors of Estate Royall.

THE supream assembly of *Spaine*, which is the very same, that (in effect) hath the gouernment of most important affaires in their power; is the Royall or Kingly Council, so termed of the vocable king; because they are (among all other councillors) as the King himselfe among his greatest Lords. These councillors doe prouide for the peoples liuing, in all things that appertaine to a well ordered state: because from them do proceed all meanes and deliberations, concerning matters of Graine, taxations, customes, prouisions, and other substantiall occasions for safe being; but euermore assisted by the Princes authority. These councillors are in number twelue, all principall men of the kingdom, & noble by blood, hauing a President as their cheefe. And from these Noble-men, being assembled together, do come all orders, whereby the whole Realme of *Spaine* is gouerned: and the appellation of three Audiencies, called the Chanceries of three kingdomes, do all resort to this councill.

The Council of Inquisition.

In regard of the conquests which the Moors (in former times) made of this kingdom, reformation of the people was thought most conuenient, by bringing them to holy Baptisme, and procuring by all carefull meanes, that Religion might endure no danger throughout the country: this councill was first created, and called, *The sacred Council of Inquisition*. Whereof there is a President, and hee is alwayes an Ecclesiasticall person, as the Arch-Bishop of *Tolledo*, or the Arch-Bishop of *Siull*. He is assisted by twelue others councillors, who doe altogether deale in matters appertaining to religion. They giue chastisement to heretiques; haue care of catholique affaires; and peruse all Bookes before they be imprinted, to auoyd them of offence or corruptions. Other like busineses are referred to their charge, for the better preseruatiō of holy faith.

The Council of the Orders.

In *Spaine* there are three feuerall degrees of Knights, all honourable gentlemen, containing euery one by themselves, one proper & peculiar Order of knighthood, introduced in former times by diuers Kings of the Land. The first and principall among all the other, is that of the knights

Hh3 of

The reason of the Kings Councillers name.

The care and prouidence of the Counsell.

The President of the Council.

The reason of first instituting the council of Inquisition.

The Council of Inquisition onely for Religious occasions.

Three feuerall Orders of Knighthood in *Spaine*. Or 3. Iames. 1. Calatrava. 2. Alcántara.

The loue and beneuolence of the subjects much encreased by the line of the Prince according to his lawes.

Spaine subiect to the Moors for many yeares.

Spaine in the government of petty Kings & Tetrarches.

1 Tarragon.
2 Carthage.
3 Lusitania.
4 Gallicia.
5 Baetica.
6 Tingiana.

The Vandals got the rule of *Spaine*.

No Kings of *Spaine*, but Kings of the *Goths*.

The reason
for this coun-
cils first ordi-
nation.

The great
Master of
these Orders.

Their Office
& authority.

Columbus the
first discoverer
of the Indies.

Twelve coun-
cellers of the
Indies, and
one President

The reason of
this Councils
negotiation.

of *S. James*: the second, the Knights of *Calatrana*: and the third, the Knights of *Alcantara*. These three Orders haue (each one to it selfe) many Citties and Castles vnder their government, gotten and obtained in diuers times: and because their managing is great, and as if it were a kingdome within it selfe, therefore this Council of these Orders was ordained. Whereof there is a President, with foure Counsellors, and these meeting all together, do provide Magistrates of the Orders, of Lawes, and of all other things that appertaine to the foresaid Orders. The King is the great Master of these Orders, & when any expedition is to be performed by the Order of *S. James*, the King in his Letter, next vnto the ordinary stile or title that is vsually giuen him, writeth; *And perpetual Administrator of S. James, &c.* Next vnto the King, followeth the great Commendator of *Leon*, as being Commendator of the Order of *S. James*; and after him, the Commendator of *Castile*. These altogether with the King, do dispense the commendums of spiritual liuings: but for that, looke in our Booke of the originall of Knights.

The Council of the Indies.

When it pleased God, by the means of *Don Christophero Colombo*, to open (in our time) that part of the world, which formerly was shut vp from all of vs now here dwelling, and whereof the kings of *Spaine* haue (in part) bin Patrones: for government of that part (as necessity required) a Council of the *Indies* was created, consisting of twelue Councillers, with one President. These then do attend vpon all such matters, as appertaine to the gouerning of *India*. And therefore they haue their full power, sending thether Governours, Officers, and all kinde of proouision, as is fit for those kingdomes, which are vnder the Crowne of *Castile*.

The Council of Warre.

When it so fallth out, that any matter of action is to be vnderaken, eyther for defence of themselves, or any new acquisition, the Council of Warre do meete together: among whom are the Lords of the Council Royall, the great Commendator of *Leon*, the Commendator of *Castile*, with other cheefe

Rulers.

The secret Councill.

All of all is the Councill for matters of secrecy, wherein the King is present, the great Chancellor, the great Commendator of *Leon*, and the third part of the Council Royall, with the President. Being set together, they giue dispatch to matters of greatest secrecy, and which do most import the King, as appertaining properly to the State.

Three Judges, and the Restor.

For causes incident to ciuill and criminall iudgement, three Iudges are ordained in criminall occasions, who, as being Tribunes of the common people, do dispatch all criminall occurrences. And when the ordinary *Pouletta*, or cheefe Officers are there present; the they attend on ciuill affaires: but if it fall out, that hee cannot be there in person, the three Iudges doe then take order in ciuill matters. These are alwayes in those Citties, where the appointed Courts are kept.

The three Chanceries.

Over and beside the fore-named Councils and Offices, the King hath three Courts of audience, called three Chanceries, placed in three kingdomes, diuided the one from the other. One is in *Valadolid*, consisting of twelue Councillers, and with one President. These do sit euery morning separately in foure Halles, three in each Hall. The second is in *Granada*, the principall city of the kingdome of *Granada*, as being the first and cheefe. The third and last is in *Galizia*, being neyther more or lesse in power, then the two former. To this Court of audience go all the causes of *Spaine*, and they may each of them (by themselves) expedite their causes, without any intervention one of another. The appeales and chalenges of the *Restor* of *Granada*, doe passe to the audience of *Granada*; and those of *Castile*, to *Valadolid*, and so from hand to hand. But in regard that they haue superiours, and for better satisfaction of the people, such as finde themselves grieved in the fore-named Audiences or Chanceries, may appeale from them to the Council Royall. Moreover, each of these fore-named Chanceries haue Restors or Commend-

They haue
the charge of
prisons and
secreti
ons.

After the
close maner
of the Court
Prisoners.

Three secret
Councils
in each
Valadolid,
Granada,
Galizia.

The Appell
and Chal-
enges of each
Court.

Appellato
the Royall
Council.

ders, with criminall iurisdiction.

Vice-Royes, or Kings Deputies.

Aragon the
principall
Kingdome of
Spaine.

The manner
and order of
the Vice-
Royes gou-
erning in their
seuerall char-
ges.

Hispinia Ci-
uilitior.

* Castar aug-
ment of Tarta-
con in Spaine

Pampalona
conquered by
King Ferdi-
nando.

Four Audi-
tours of col-
lections and
accounts.

Because *Spaine* (as formerly hath bene said) is diuided into diuers kingdomes, the cheefe or principall whereof is *Aragon*: the King hath and doth vsually send into those kingdomes, Deputies, or Vice-Royes, to gouern there in his name. They are elected and made choise of by him, being first affirmed by the council Royall, to be Princes of the country, men of vertue and valor, and deserving aduancement to so high degree. *Valencia* hath her Vice-Roy, who gouerneth the kingdome of *Valencia*, by the same authority as was received from the former Kings of *Aragon*, and by the ancient lawes and orders of the kingdome. In *Barcellona* likewise, the principall city of *Catalogna*, ruleth another Vice-Roy, making vse of the lawes, customes, and ordinances of the kingdome of *Barcellona*. In *Aragon* also is another Vice-Roy, who maketh his residence in *Sarragossa*. This Vice-Roy gouerneth by the ancient lawes of *Aragon* (as other Vice-Royes do by the *Castilian* lawes) because it is the head of the other kingdomes. The kingdome of *Nassarre* hath also her Vice-Roy, abiding in *Pampalona*, who ruleth this kingdome according to the lawes thereof, and those of the crowne of *Castile*, because it was last of all conquered by *Don Ferdinando*, the catholike King. All the fore-named Vice-Royes, doe acknowledge the King of *Spaine*, and his council Royall, in all their causes.

The Treasurer of Castile.

All of all, there liueth in Court the Treasurer, a most honourable degree, and of great importance, who receiue the monies of all the kingdomes reuenues. Hee hath foure Contadores or Auditors vnder his command, who doe gather and collect the monies from the people, and bringing them vnto the Treasurer, payments are continually made forth, as command is giuen by the King to the Treasurer.

CHAP. II.

Of the Kingdome of Portugall; the beginning, continuance, and present estate thereof, with the Customes, Lawes, and administration of Iustice therein obserued.



HE kingdome of *Portugall* began in the ycare of Christ, one thousand, five hundred and ten, and after this manner. *Henry* Earle of *Lorraine* coming thither, performed many valiant deeds against the *Sarrazins*, and his high defersings moued *Alphonso* the sixt king of *Castile*, to giue him a Bastard daughter of his in marriage, named *Tiresta*. And in way of dowry, he assigned also vnto him that part of *Galicia*, which was then contained in *Lusitania*.

Of this marriage was *Alphonso* borne, who was the first that ever stiled himselfe king of *Portugall*: and hee was the first also, that tooke the city of *Lisbone* from the *Sarrazins*. For he hauing conquered five of their Kings in seuerall battailes; caused his Armes to bee adorned with five seuerall Crownes & Coat-Armors, which euer after continued the Ensigne of the kings of *Portugall*, in perpetual memory of his valour. But he quickly stayned this faire fame, with cruelty vsed by him to his owne Mother. For after her second marriage, he caused her to be imprisoned, and albeit the Pope labored the matter greatly, by the meanes of his Legate; yet could he neuer compass his grace and fauour for her deliuerance. Which sinne was seuerely punished on him afterward by his enemies, who tooke him in battaile. And then his Sonne *Santo* succeeded him, and after *Santo*, diuers other, to *John*, who was the tenth king in direct and naturall line.

This *John* was (at the first) expelled from his kingdome, and made a Knight of *S. John of Ierusalem*: but at length hee was recalled to his kingdome, where hee made very honourable proofe of his valour, and (among diuers famous deeds) he tooke from the *Sarrazins* the city of *Septia*. Hee had seuen Sonnes, among which, *Ferdinand* (for integrity of life)

How the king
came had in
it began.

* The child
patric Spaine
new called
Portugall,
passed in the
North from
Tartacon by
the River Du-
racion to the
South, from
Beteab to the
River Anas.

The successi-
on in the king-
dome after
Alphonso the
first.

The King of
Portugall a
knight of S.
John of Ieru-
salem.

was

was termed a Saint.

Henry another of his sonnes, was the first that found *Nova Insula*, in the *Atlanticke* Sea. Hee being very skilfull in the Mathematickes, lived continually with-out a wife, and made his dayly abiding in a Promontorie, which was called the Cape of Saint *Vincent*, and there he died, in the yeare, 1460. But *Edward*, who was the eldest Brother, was made King; and he added to the kingdome of *Portugall*, by meanes of his warres, *Zelia*, *Tegaz*, and *Alcazar* in *Africa*. Hee had two daughters, or sisters (as some say) named *Joane* and *Leonora*; the first was married to the King of *Castile*, and the other vnto *Frederick* the third, Emperor, of whome was borne *Maximilian* the first, who was afterward Emperor, and Grandfather to *Charles* the first. He had also a son, named *Alphonfus*, who succeeded him in the kingdome, and begate *Iohn* and *Emanuel*, that was the fourteenth King of *Portugall*. *Emanuel* had *Iohn*, who tooke to wife the sister of the fore-named *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, called *Katherine*, and begate *Lodowicke*, that dyed an infant, and *Isabell* who was wife to the said *Charles*, and had another daughter also, which was married to *Charles* Duke of *Sauoy*. After these succeeded *Sebastian*, who (in our time) fighting against the Moores, was slain, & the King of *Morocco* with him, besides diuers other great Lords of the Moores.

Henrie, Vncle to the deceased King, followed him in succession, he being then a Cardinall, and very aged, holding the kingdome some few months. But he dying, *Phillip* King of *Spaine*, entred on the kingdome; withstanding the claime and title of *Don Antonio*, beeing a Brothers sonne to the dead King *Henrie*, & so outwearing him with troubles, that he could neuer attaine thereto in full possession, and so it remaineth still in the Spaniards power.

Concerning the gouernement of this kingdome, it hath the very same forme & obseruation as all the rest of *Spaine* hath, as being a part of that Prouince. For, there is a high Constable, and a Lorde Great Steward, with all other dignities else where related. By the Title and name of great Lords, there is the Duke of *Braccanza*, the Duke of *Colimbria*, the Duke of *Visco*, the Duke of *Trascoffa*, the Duke

of *Barcella* and the Duke of *Anuria*. There is also the Marquesse of *Villa Reale*, the Marquesse of *Torra Nuova*, the Marques of *Monte Maggiore*, and the Marquesse of *Ferrira*, with an infinite number of Earles. There is likewise the Order of Knight-hood, called the *Knights of Christ*, honoured and esteemed much aboue all other, and whereof the King is the Great Maister.

Among these honourable persons in this Order, as an approued man of valour, most signale for many vertues, liberal minde and courtesie, beside speediest intelligence in matters of Military discipline; is the Lorde *Flaminio Zambecoro*, Lord of *Castella* in *Campagna*, who liueth at this day in *Florence*, and highly affected of the Duke.

CHAP. III.

Of the Antiquity, Originall Customs, Lawes and administration of Iustice, obserued in the kingdome of Naples.

THE Citie of *Naples*, beeing most ancient and Noble in all respects, giueth the Title of kingdome vnto all the Prouinces which it holdeth and possesseth, even by his owne proper name. Therefore wee may thence frame our argument, what the greatnesse of that Citie hath formerly beene, in regard that all the parts by it possessed, deriued from thence the Title of a Kingdome; which I do not holde to be of any great antiquitie, because the *Normanes* tooke it from the *Grecians*, who possessed the Prouince in diuers partes thereof, and then it was termed the County or Earldome of *Puglia*, or *Apulia*, as some do yet call it.

Robert Guiscard, a verie valiant and worthy man, hauing expelled (in a manner) all the *Grecians* thence, & taken *Sicily* also from the *Sarrazins*; would needs style himselfe Duke of *Apulia* and of *Calabria*, and Earle of *Sicily*. In no long time after this, his Nephew *Ruggero* or *Roger*, hauing conquered the Citie

Marquess.

Earles.

Order of Knight-hood.

How the kingdome diuidenth that rule by the Citie name.

A part of Italy, bordering vpon the Adriaticke Sea.

Robert Guiscard the valiant Norman.

Chap. 3.

Of Naples.

of *Naples*, which till that time had beene in the *Grecians* gouernment) obtayned the title of King of both the *Sicillies*, by *Anacletus* the Anti-Pope, in the yeare 1130. which afterward was confirmed to him in good and lawfull manner. And from that time, it was called the kingdome of *Sicily*, on this side *Pharos*; vntill the reigne of *Charles* the first, when it became diuided from *Sicily*, by occasion of that famous accident, called *Vespro Siciliano*, the *Sicilian* Euening, wherein so manie of the French were slaine. I finde moreover in many good Historians, that this kingdome hath had 3. seuerall Names, to wit; the kingdome of *Naples*, the Kingdome of *Apulia*, and the kingdome of *Sicily*, on this side *Pharos*, the bounds or circumference whereof, at this day is thus described.

First of all, by Land-way, measure of the Line, and the Confines of the whole Kingdome, with the Sea-shores & stronds; as also *Campagna di Roma*, sometimes called *Latium*, which (at this day) terminateth the river of *Ofento*, on this side *Terracina*, and from the mouth of the sayde Riuer, where it entereth into the *Terrene* Sea, proceeding on still towards the *Apennines*, with *Latium*, and part of *Sabina*: then passing the *Apennines*, with part of *Vmbria* and of *Picenum*, now called *Marche d'Ancona*, vnto the Confines thereof, is the Riuer *Truentus* or *Tronto*, where it entereth into the bosom of the *Adriaticke* maine. Which Scale or Line, because it doth not directly extend it selfe forth, but passeth on by turnings and windings, euermore from one of the forenamed Riuers to another, by the terminations of those Regions, it containeth about an hundred and fifty miles in length. Passing on thence from *Terracina*, by the confines of the kingdome, to *Ponte Corneo*, and *Ceperano*, and by the confines of *Acti*, thorow the country of *Taylacozzo*, to *Interdoco*, and *Ciuita Reale*, then to *Maritima*, and thence (by the river) to *Ascoli*, till we come to the mouth of *Tronto*, the Line heere being directly extended, will containe about an hundred thirty miles in length, or little lesse. By the sea-coasts along the banke and shore, the whole kingdome windeth about, like vnto an Island almost round engirt with water, as towards the middest of the *Terrene* Sea,

and so on to the *Sicilian* sea. On the East side, from the *Adriaticke* sea, and so vnto the North, part of the *Ionian* sea, so farre as *Monte Gargano*, or *Santo Angelo*, and part of the *Adriaticke* bosome, from *Gargano* to *Tronto*, the Kingdome extendeth it selfe, and imparteth her boundes with the said sea: all which circumference, from *Ofento* to *Tronto*, and in length by the sea-shores, containeth in all 1418. miles, in this manner.

From *Terracina* to *Naples*, are eighty two miles. From *Naples*, to the head of the gulf of *Policastro*, an hundred fortie seven miles. From the head of *Policastro* to *Rhegium* in *Calabria*, an hundred eighty three miles. From *Rhegium* to the head of *Spartimento*, so to *Capo delle Colonne*, now called *Lacinium*, an hundred and ninety miles. From *Capo delle Colonne*, to *Taranto*, two hundred miles. From *Taranto*, to *Capo di Leuca*, now called *Silento*, thirtie miles. From *Capo di Leuca*, to *Capo d'Otranto*, fixe and twenty miles. From *Capo d'Otranto*, to *Capo S. Angelo*, now called *Gargano*, two hundred two and twentie miles. From *Capo S. Angelo*, to the vttermost confines, which is the river of *Tronto*, two hundred miles. All which sums in this roundure (by the sea boundes) do make one thousand, foure hundred, and eightene miles. Whereunto adioyning the foresaid hundred & fiftie miles, which is the space of the Land by measured line, wherewith if wee ioyne to the other part of *Italy*, from *Ofento* to *Tronto*, it summeth vp, one thousand fixe hundred sixty eight miles. And this is now (at this day) the dimension or measure of the kingdomes circuit.

These following Regions and Prouinces, are contained and embraced within the whole bodie. *Latium Nuouo*, that is one part, so much as is from the Riuer of *Terracina*, reaching to *Garigliano*. For, one part of the true *Latium*, which anciently extended it selfe so farre as the Riuer *Liris*, that now adays is called *Garigliano*, beginneth from *Ofento* vpon the *Terrene* sea. And although in these times, there are three partitions made of all the Regions which lye betwene *Tenere*, *Sabina*, the *Apennines*, and *Terracina*, and termed by three seuerall names, to wit: *Latium*, *Campagna di Roma*, and *Maremma*; yet notwithstanding, in elder dayes (so farre

d A hill in Apulia, now called Mons S. Angeli.

The just account or numbering of the miles, is much place to another thorough the longdome.

A Promontorie in the thirteenth part of Italy, adjoining the Ionian and Adriaticke Seas, where the eucles built a Temple to Juno, and call it Lacinia.

Regions and Prouinces contained in this kingdome.

A Riuer in Campania, running by the town Minerva.

The sea betwene Tuscany and Heretia, called also Mare inferum.

A high mountain in Portugal, called S. Vincent.

The succession of the Kings of Portugal, in their right line and order.

Sebastian K. of Portugal, slaine in the battle of Alcazar.

Philip the first King of Spain.

Of the orders and gouernment of the kingdome.

Dukes.

farre as *Garigliano* was called all by one name, to wit, *Latio Nuovo*, or new *Latium*. And in this Region the chiefe landes and Cities, are *Formello*, *Fondi*, and *Castelli*.

Olde *Campania*, which stretcheth from *Garigliano*, so farre as the river *Sarnus*: therein is *Naples* and *Capua*, a most noble City, as well in auncient as moderne times.

Picenum, or where the *Picentines* inhabit, holdeth on from *Sarnus*, to the River *Silarus*, and the most famous Cities therein, are *Sorrento*, *Nocera de Pagani*, & *Salernum*.

Lucania, called sometimes *Sao*, contains it self between the river *Silarus*, and that called *Sappio*. And therein the Cities of most note are *Pontecastro* & *Salerno* elder times also there were *Pesum* and *Buxentum*, and among the mountaines are many Castles.

Where the *Bruttii* do live, it confineth with *Lucania*, and runneth along the river *Sappio* vpon the *Terrhene* sea, so farre as the Promontory of *Lencopetra*, at this day called *Capo dell'arme* in the *Sicilian* Sea, where the *Apennine* Mountaines do end, which beginning at the *Alpes*, run all along through the midst of *Italy*, and the verie toppe over the saide *Cape*, is now adayes called by Mariners, *Punta di Tarlo*, the point of *Tarlo*. In this part, the most principall places are *Cosenza*, and *Rhegium* on the Sea, otherwise tearmed *Iunio*, as a difference and distinction from that *Rhegium* which is in *Lombardy*, so named by *Lepidus*.

Magna Grecia, or *Great Grecia*, runneth along from *Capo dell'arme*, turning Northerly towards the Promontorie of *Capo di Spartimento*, now called *Herculanum*, by the Seacoast so farre as *Taranto*, where it entrench into the *Adriaticke* sea. In it, are *Squillace*, *Taranto*, and *Cotrone*.

The countrey of the *Salentines*, is on the breast of *Taranto*, so farre as *Capo di Leuca*, now called the *Salentine* Promontorie. In it are situated *Callipolis* and *Argento*.

Calabria it selfe, which hath so continued, turneth vnto *Capo di Leuca* Northward, so farre as *Brundisium* in the *Ionian* sea. The famous Cities therein, are *Lecce*, *Brundisium*, or *Brundisium*, and

Hydruntum, now called *Otranto*. These two Regions (I meane *Salentium* & *Calabria*, which is that part of Land which extendeth towards the East between the Gulfe of *Taranto* and the *Ionian* seas) being ioyned together with one name, now adayes termed *Terra d'Otranto*, was called by our forefathers *Lupigia* and *Mesopopea*. And it is an Island round engirt with waters; for from *Taranto* to *Brundisium*, which are vpon the two seas, there is not in firme land above 35 miles.

Apulia, *Pucetia*, betweene *Brundisium* & *Ostia*, vpon the *Ionian* Gulfe, is now adayes (along the sea-coast) called *Terra di Bari*, and *Louenza*, & lyeth betweene the sandy countreies.

Capitanato, of plain *Apulia*, with his extendure betweene *Ostia* and the River called *Fortore*, passeth on, on the *Ionian* Gulfe, so far as *Capo S. Angelo*, & thence vpon the *Adriaticke* bosome to *Fortore*. The places of most note, are *Salapis*, *Siponto*, and *Manfredonia*, a new city builde by King *Masfred*. It is also between *Terra Luceria*, or *Nocera de Saracini*, and *Canoja*.

Freuntani are a people living from *Fortore* to the River *Sagrus*, or *Sagra*, now called the bloody river, on the *Adriaticke* Gulfe. Chiefe cities therein, are *Elipsoni*, sometime cald *Istionum*, *Larino*, & *Lacinio*.

The *Peligni* dwell betweene the River *Sagra*, and that called *Pescara*, sometime *Aternus*. The fairest city, betweene *Terra Sulmona*, and *Pentina* on the seacoast, is *Ortano*.

The *Marucini* do inhabit from the river of *Pescara*, so farre as *Tronto*, the verie most ending of the kingdom, along the sea-shore on the *Adriaticke* gulfe. There is a Sea-Cittie, which is called *Francavilla*, or *Freuntani*, and a Land-city called *Chieti*.

About the *Marucini*, between the land of the *Apennines*, and where they do take best rooting, beginning at the confines of the *Peligni*, so now called, and turning towards *Marca d'Ancona*, are three other people in order, to witte, the *Pesimi*, whose City was named *Penna*, and now called the city of *Penna*; the *Antimerni* and *Furran*, of whose ruines the citie of *Aquila* was builde, some final distance off.

The *Vesimi*, neighbor with the *Preutii*, of whom

It is the land of the Salentines.

Where the people was worshipped in the countie.

An Ille of the narrow unit-lancie, as the whole, is called.

Called also Sepulchrum among the Samnites in Italy.

A river in Italy, parting the Peligni from the Freuntani.

A river passing by Ferenum in Italy. Where Ovid was borne.

A people in Italy.

Next to the Daunians and Freuntans.

People off-shore, next to the Marit.

A City in Campania.

whom it is verily credited, that the name of the *Bruttii*, now tearmed *Abruzzesi*, was first derived.

The *Marfi* dwell more inward to the Mountaines, whose most famous place is *Celano*, with her Lake *Lucina*, now tearmed of the *Marfi* and *Albi*. These fixe forenamed people, are all called by one name, *Abruzzesi*; but oftentimes by writers they are vnderstood vnder the nomination of the *Samnites*.

Samnio, from the point of Land, and almost to the middest of the Kingdom, hath *Latium* and *Campania* in length, both on this side, and beyond the *Apennines*. At this day it is called *Valle Beneuentana*, the valley of *Beneuentum*, which extendeth it selfe in length, so farre as the River *Silarus*, eighty miles. Places of greatest name heretofore, were *Esernia*, *Sepino*, *Tellese*, *Beneuentum* and *Boniano*.

The *Hirpini*, otherwise called *Samnites*, do confine with the *Picentines*, *Lucanes* and *Apulians*, partaking at this day with *Principato* and *Basilicata*. The most noted Cities, are now *Avellino* and *Agnone*.

I finde that all these Regions haue (by our Moderne writers) bene diuided into foue severall principall partes or Provinces, if we may so tearme them, to wit, *Terra di Lavoro*, *Principato*, *Basilicata*, *Calabria*, *Terra d'Otranto*, *Apulia* & *Abruzzo*. Which Prouinces haue (since then) according to order of later diuision, bene parted into twelue Regions, as I finde them in the Registers of *Naples*, in this manner.

Terra di Lavoro, which hath in Land, Cities, and Castles, to the number of 198.

Contado di Montifio, hath 108.
Abruzzo the neereft, hath 155.
Abruzzo the furthest, hath 288.
Capitanata, hath 96.
Terra di Bari, hath 50.
Basilicata, hath 103.
Terra d'Otranto, hath 172.
Principato the neereft, hath 129.
Principato the furthest, hath 164.
Calabria the neereft, hath 162.
Calabria the furthest, hath 147.

All which beeing fully summed toge-

ther, in Cities, Lands, and Castles, as hath formerly bene layde, and all inhabited with plenty of people, and furnished with all things commodious for the life of man, do amount to one thousand seven hundred, seventy foure.

There are certaine Islands also in the bodie of this kingdom, which circle, neighbour, or are opposite: as on the *Terrhene* sea, directly facing *Terracina* & *Gacta*, are the Illes of *Ponza*, and of *Palmara*. And ouer-against *Nola*, is the Ile of *Desente*. At the encountering of *Pozzuolo*, is that of *Istria*; neere to which is *Procida*, or *Prochita*, made famous by those young Gallants that deuided & performed the *Sicilian* Euening beside *Nisari* and *Caprea*, so highly beloued of the Emperor *Tiberius*, opposite to *Capo della Minerva*.

The three *Sirenni* do front *Pastinaca*; one of them being called *Gile*, another *Monti*, and the third *S. Pietro*. There is likewise the Ile of *Lipara*, which circeth about ten miles, wherein are some Cities. On the *Adriaticke* maine, right against *Varano*, are those of *Kasuta* & *Caraganos*; and the foure other called *Diomedea*, now adayes called *Tremeto*, but they are very litle; and the two greater thereof are called, the one *S. Maria*, the other *S. Doimo*, and the two lesser are, the one *Galizzo*, and the other *Caprara*. These are Islands of some note and name, omitting other places, which bee comprehended wth in the confines of the kingdom of *Naples*.

With these might bee ranked that of *Sicily*, an Italian Island, great & wealthy; but that it is an Ile of it selfe, & at this day deuided from the kingdom. Notwithstanding, it did sometime partake in name with the kingdom of *Naples*. For some Kings, as *Fredericke* the eleventh, *Alfonso* his sonne, *Charles* the first of *Anion*, and *Alphonso* the first of *Arragon*, possessing both the one and other, wrote their titles both on this side, and beyond *Pharos*. Whereupon, when we find it written simply the kingdom of *Sicily*: it is meant of this Ile, & not of *Sicily* on this side *Pharos* in *Italy*.

In this Kingdom are twenty Arch-bishoppricks, to wit, of *Naples*: which hath fve Bishopps vnder it: Of *Capua*, which hath ten, Of *Salernum*, which hath ten.

The general man collected together

Islands in the Kingdom.

The Circe Neleus in Campania, 3 miles from Naples

Beyond Statium in Campania.

Three Illes betw. a Lucania.

Containing Illes betw. Italy and Sicily.

Illes opposite to Calabria.

A famous Ille in the Terrenes, 6 or 8 miles about, sometime partaking in the Kingdom of Naples.

A Gulfe of the sea by Sicily, cald also Charybdis, dangerous to passe.

How monie Archbishops are in the kingdom and Bishopps vnder them.

A River of Campania, rising out of Sarnus, in Lucania.

A River of Lucania, rising out of Picenum.

Taking name of Leda a City in Italy.

People dwelling about the Lucani.

A Promontory of Rhegium in Italy, against Sicily.

That part of Italy, from Laurentum to Cumae.

A Towne in Campania.

People almost environed with the sea were to Apulia.

A City of Calabria by the Adriaticke sea, in hath a good Bay.

ten. Of *Amalfi* foure. Of *Sorrento* three. Of *Conza* six. Of *Civertà* six. Of *Taranto* two. Of *Brundisium* one, and hath conioyned with it the Arch-bishoppricke of *Oria*. Of *Otranto* six. Of *Bari* twelue. Of *Trani* six. Of *Hiponte* one, and hath vnitid with it the Arch-bishoppricke of *Monte de S. Angelo*. Of *Beneuentum* twenty three. Of *Civita di Chieti* three. Of *Sanciano* four. Of *Rhegium* eleuen. Of *Cosenza* one. Of *Rossano*, which hath no Byshops See vnder it. Of *Saint Severina* ten. And there is the Archbithoppricke of *Matera* beside.

101. By Topp vnder the tow Archbithoppricke.

Of the Principallities in the kingdome

Of the feuerall diuisions bringing in number.

Of the Marquesates, the number of 29

Of Earles, Lords, and Barons in their feuerall numbers.

The Emperour Charles the 5

There are also an hundred twenty four Byshops, which are vnder the aboue named Archbithoppricks; only the byshop of *Byzignano* excepted, who is not subiect to any one.

It is also to bee noted, that the Title of Pri ce is greater in this kingdome, then that of Duke. And the Principallities there are ten in number, to wit, of *Acoli*, of *Erignano*, of *Fuoli*, of *Melfi*, of *Molfetta*, of *Moncherole*, of *Squillati*, of *Stigliano*, of *Sulmona*, and of *Venosa*.

There are likewise three and twentie Dukedomes. As of *Antri*, of *Amalfi*, of *Ariano*, of *Asu*, of *Aviano*, of *Castellum*, of *Noceri*, of *Popola*, of *Rocca di Mondragone*, of *S. Pietro in Galatina*, of *Seminara*, of *Sessa*, of *Somma*, of *Sora*, of *Tagliacozzo*, of *Ternoli*, of *Terra noua*, and of *Traieto*, together with those of *Granma di Martina*, of *Montalto*, of *Montelione*, and of *Nardo*.

The Marquesates are 29. of *Anna*, of *Arienza*, of *Bedate*, of *Buccinico*, of *Campagna*, of *Capo Triso*, of *Castel Vetere*, of *Chierchiano*, of *Civita S. Angelo*, of *Corigliano*, of *Lauri*, of *Lauro*, of *Sicito*, of *Milurica*, of *Orta*, of *Oriolo*, of *Padula*, of *Beneuentum*, of *Pulignano*, of *Quarata*, of *Santo Lucito*, of *Terza*, of *Torre di Frankelise*, of *Torre Maggiore*, of *Trivico*, of *Turfo*, of *Valle Sicilliana*, of *Vasto*, and of *Vico*.

There are in like manner, 54 Earles of State, 15 Lords, and 443, entituled Barons. And it is verily supposed, that in any kingdome of the world, there are not so many great Princes and Lordes, as in this, because they are (by nature) of high and lofty courage. And nowe I call to minde, in this matter, that I haue read in some Registers, bearing date of the yeare 1521. that the Emperour Charles the fift,

fold many Titles and Lordships in the kingdome, & that many Gentlemen sold their goodes at ten in the hundred, and bought these Lordships at three in the hundred.

This kingdome so highly ennobled, full of worthy Princes, most rich and fertile, as more cannot bee wished; was for long time governed by diuers kings. For beside the Normans, who helde it manie yeares, and (as hath bene sayde) wonne it the title of a Realme; it fell at length to *Fredericke* the second, Emperour, who had it of *Henry* the sixt his Father: after whom succeeded *Corrado* Emperour, son to *Fredericke*; and after him it came (by reason) to *Corradino*, Nephew to *Corrado*. But *Manfredo* the bastard son to *Fredericke*, feigning that *Corradino* was dead vntured the State, and made himself king. But Pope *Vrbane* the fourth (beeing enemy to *Manfredo*) excommunicated him, and deprived him of the kingdome: inuelling therein in Anno 1266. *Charles* the 1. of *Anjou*, Brother to *Lewes* the eight, K. of France, who (first of all) slewe *Manfredo*, and afterwarde causing *Corradino* to be beheaded, tooke it in full possession.

Charles the second, Sonne to *Charles* Prince of *Salerno* had it next; and then succeeded him, *Robert* the excellent Philosopher; who was a very louing friend to *Peirach*. After him, the succession fel to *Ioane*, the Neece of *Robert* by *Charles*, and next succeeded *Charles* the third, K. of *Durazzo*.

After his death there happened contention for the kingdome, betwene *Ladislaus* sonne to *Charles* the third, and *Lewes* of *Anjou*: but *Ladislaus* remaining full Patron, held it till the yeare one thousand foure hundred and fouretee: and then succeeded *Ioane* the second, his sister; in whose place (making himselfe King by force of armes) rose *Alphonso* of *Arragon* the sonne to *Ferdinando*, who left it vnto *Ferdinando* his bastard son. Next to him succeeded *Alphonso* the second, who trobled himselfe not long in the Kingdome, by the coming of *Charles* the eight, K. of France into Italy, for recouerie of the kingdome, and then renounced it to *Ferdinando* the second, his son; from whom it came to *Frederigo*, Vnckle to the sayde *Ferdinando*.

Afterward it fell to *Charles* the fift, Em-

The Normans governed Naples many yeares

The success of the king of Naples vnto the Normans.

Epistammon called also Durace, in that part of Macedonia lying on the Adriaticke Sea

A constitution concerning the kingdome of Naples

Seven feuerall places of authority appertaining to the kingdome.

The Office of the high Constable or Marshall

The manner of the Constables creation.

The chief Justice of the kingdome, and his authority.

Emperor, who had the inuestiture from Pope *Leo* the tenth. For there was such a constitution betwene the Popes, Emperors, and Kings of *Naples*, that whofoeuer was Emperor, he could not bee King of *Naples*: and therefore he gaue it ouer to *Philip* the first, King of *Spain*, whose sonne *Philip* the second, now holdeth it, keeping there a Vice-roy, with most ample authority, and representeth there the Kings owne person. Whereby he is very much honoured and reuerenced of all his subordinate Gouernors, according as he causeth himselfe to be esteemed, both by his valour and authority.

The High Constable.

The Officers or Magistrates of the Kingdome, are seauen in theyr feuerall degrees; but he whom they terme *Sindico*, that representeth the whole City, and speaketh for all as chiefe Aduocate, is the Constable, or rather high Marshall. He is the first man of the kingdome, and Captain generall for all ordinances of warre. He (as Lieutenant to the king) ordaineth and provideth all such things, as appertaine to the preparation for warre: hauing charge of the Sentinelles, encamping men, providing tents and lodgings, appointing the Ensignes Royall, and (in breefe) hee hath the care for all matters that concerne Armes. In which place, he hath authority to chastise, and to put to death such persons as commit Theft, Rapine, Homicides, and other misdemeanors in the Campe. And this Office continueth so long as warres lasteth. When the King createth him in this dignity, deliuering a Truncheon to him, he sayeth these words: *Take this holy Weapon, wherewith thou shalt expell the aduersaries of my people.*

The Great Iusticer.

The second Office, is that of Great Iusticer, or Lord chiefe Iustice, who hath iurisdiction as well in ciuil causes, as those that be criminal; and vnder his authority are all the Princes, Dukes, Marqueses, Lords, and Barons of the Kingdome; for to him belongeth care of offences against the Maiesty Royall. His Vicar or Lieutenant, is called Regent of the *Vicaria*: who hath his Iudges both ciuill and cri-

minall, and his Tribunalis in the Court of the *Vicaria*, hauing allowed him for his yearely prouision, fixe hundred Ducates.

The High Admirall.

The thirde Office, is that of Great or High Admirall, who hath the charge of Sea causes, and such things as appertaine to Nauall Art and profession. Hee looketh to the making, repairing, building, and appointing of all Shippes for Royall seruice, and keeping of all such vessels as come into the kingdome, from what parts soeuer. VVhen occasion so requieth, and that it is imposed on him by the King, he setteth forth the Nauall Army in order. He appointeth both reall & corporeall punishments for delinquents, and hath ciuill and criminall iurisdiction ouer the Officers and others, that attend on Sea affayres.

The Great Chamberlaine.

The fourth Office, is, that of Great Chamberlaine, or the Chamberlaine of State, choofe yee whether: whose Deputie or Lieutenant hath his iudgement Seate, in the Chamber called *sommara*. His charge is to haue care of the Kinges person, to prepare and adorne his bedde; as also his Garments, and to take order for all his vnder Chamberlaines, Guardians, and Treasurers. Hee keepeth all the customes of the kingdome, and taketh cognition of the matters belonging vnto the Royall Exchequer, the tenths, tolles, fines, reuenewes, and other things appertaining to the Kings person.

The Protonotary.

The fift Office is the Lieutenant, or rather Protonotarie. Hee standeth obliged to reade before the King, and to conferre the writings and registers. He hath authority to create Notaries, Iudges, and to Legitimate Bastards. But the Catholike King hath (since then) transferred the Office of writings, and of the Registers, to the Kings Chancery.

The Great Steward.

The sixte Office, is that of Great Senef-

The High Admirall, the chief Officer, & his authority.

The fourth officer, Lord Great Chamberlaine, and his authority.

The Protonotary or chiefe Secretarie, and his office.

Seneschall or Steward, teamed the *Maisordomo* or Master of the household. This man hath the government of the household Royal, and to provide all things necessary for life, as also garments for the Servants in the Kings Court; hauing likewise absolute power, to correct & punish all the familiars of the Kings house.

Great Chancellor.

Lord Chief Chancellor, the last Office, & his charge.

The seventh and last Office (of most importance in the kingdom) is that of Great Chancellor; who writeth the kings Letters of secrecy, and sealeth all the privileges (granted by the King) to any person. He hath also command over the walkers of Stations, the Beadles, the Studies, and such like things. It is also to be remembered, that the high Constable, the Admiral, and the Protonotary, do sit on the Kings right hand. And the Lord chief Justice, the Great Chamberlain, and the Great Chancellor, on the left hand. But the Great Steward, he sitteth on a stooke at the Kings feet.

CHAP. III.

Of a Law obserued amongst the Rhodians, which enioyned and commanded Fathers (setting aside all other businesse and affayres) to marry their daughters with all possible speed.

Greece the Mother of ancient Lawes.

Here are very fewe people, (in mine opinion) that are ignorant of the Romaine Lawes, which came first forth of Greece, and are continued to this day; surpassing all other nations whatsoever, in the actions of Iustice and Policy, and among them haue many Common-weales flourished, not onely in Military and warlike affaires, but also in good manners and policies. Among the rest, that of the *Rhodians* is to be esteemed; which not onely established great store of Lawes, to render euery man what belonged to him, & preserve the weaker sort from oppression; but also concerning the marriage of their daughters, because no inconuenience should

ensue to them, as to too many elsewhere happened. The Law then made for marriage of their daughters, was briefly fet downe in these words.

We command, that a Father doe not torment himselfe one onely day, for the marriage of ten sonnes, if he should haue so many: but rather to labour and trauaile tenne yeares, for the marriage of one onely daughter, being vertuous. That hee stand in water up to the mouth; That he sweat great drops of blood, and labor in the ground, drawing like a Horse; That he do rather disherit all his Male-children, leaue all his wealth and riches to utter abandoning, yea, and his owne proper life; onely to provide safetye for his daughters chastity.

This Law had bene worthy of obseruation in the countries heereabout, where if it had liued in the like force and vertue; so many famous Families had neuer been dishonoured, by the shamelesse immodesties of ouer-many maidens, as haue remained to very wofull example. For, it hath bin noted, that Fathers (oftentimes thorow greedy couetousnesse) would not allow Dowries to their daughters, answerable to their meanes and qualitie: in regard whereof, they haue caused them to be forsaken, and not sought vnto by any person. Sometimes also they haue giuen them greater estates then either was conuenient, or stood with their owne power, to the ruine and ouerthrow both of the one and other. Wee haue obserued likewise, some ill aduised fathers, who haue neglected their daughters marriages, being ouer-swayed with affection to their sonnes, and bearing no respect at all to their daughters; eyther suffering them to enter too farre into yeares, or else to be shut vp in Religious houses (by not affording them money meete for Marriage) where all their time they haue liued miserably, and (many times) as vnchastly, and with much lesse honour then they could haue done, if they had remained at liberty.

The common Proverb is, that there are three things, which if men do them not, they will be done of themselves: And the third of these is, that if men do not marry their daughters, then they will marry themselves, and oftentimes, to such as are of bad life, or poore, or not agreeing with their owne quality, to the great dishonor

The words of the Rhodians written Law, for the marriage of Maides.

Auerye great error and dishonour in Fathers in suffering their daughters.

Fathers that loue their sonnes more then their daughters.

A great fault committed by ouer many Maidens.

Their order fitting with the King.

The Rhodians establish manie good Lawes.

Agreeable to any Common-wealth.

Tell them how to feede their beautes ungarished.

Meete time for marriage in Maides.

The manie harmes that come by the suffering of marrying maidens.

The folly of fine daughters in differing the Election of their parents.

Adversity well vnto great men, as sheweth of meane degree.

of themselves and their parents. When this doth happen in any Commonwealt, alliances loose themselves, and there is nothing but reproch on the one side and other; whereby (too often) great quarrels do arise, suites in law, and other desperate inconueniences.

To auoyd all which dangers, Fathers ought to be aduertised, that it is not good to keep their daughters too long vnmarried; For as one saith very well; *It is a merchant life, which being kept, there is nothing gotten by it.* Prouision therefore (in this case) should be made, when their daughters begin to enter into their puberty, which is, at 13. yeares of age, or (at the vttermost) at 16. or 18. and to make no longer delaying, if possibly it may be done: for then they are ripe, and ready to yeeld fruit. If they be kept any longer time, for the most part they lose their beautes, and fairest graces. They afford (according to common naturall instinct, as well in beaues, as in men, throwing all reason and respect behinde them) their affection to some such, whom their Parents doe not thinke meete and conuenient, and (in the end) worke some taint or blemish vnto their owne modesty. Or if they doe not; by reason of their frequent familiaritie with men, they shall be sure talked of verie strangely, which now adies is grown so common and reproachfull, that euen the verie chastest that liue, haue worke enough to doe, to exempt and cleare themselves, from badde fame and ill reports.

Moreouer we daily behold, that when Parents doe provide for their daughters, such as are somewhat entred into yeares, they will refuse the men that are thought meete for them, and made offer of to them in good discretion. Alledging that they haue already giuen their liking vnto another, and (as many times it comes to passe) to such a one as is vtter enemy to their house; compelling their parents either to forsake them, without any choise at all, or else (with much sorrow) to consent thereto, onely to auoide the worst, whereby both Fathers and mothers remaine discontented so long as they liue. These warnings do speake themselves, as well vnto great persons, such as are not onely Emperours, Kings, Princes, and other illustrious bloodes, but also to Ple-

beians, and men of vntuall rank, who do stand no more exempt from ill husbanding their children, then the other do, but are euen as ready to faile therein, yea, and many times sooner. Which I will approue by some Histories, deriued from *Bandiello* the Italian, and the *Annales of France.*

Adelasia, daughter to one of the greatest and most vertuous Emperours, named *Otho*, third of that name, that reigned after *Charlemaigne*, vntill his time, hauing listened vnto many Kings and Princes, who sought his Daughter *Adelasia* in Marriage, as well for her extraordinarie beautes, as her other excellent Graces, and Royall extraction: yet here alipsing (as it should seeme) at some greater and more nobler match, or a party of more worth (in his opinion) for his daughter, by means of these delays, brought incomparable misfortune to his Imperial house, which else had flourished in no meane happinesse. *Adelasia* grew enamored of a young youth, a Sonne to the house of *Saxony*, and both of them being secretly married, furnished with some small store of money, beside a few Jewels and precious stones; betooke themselves to trauaile, attired and disguised like Pilgrims, *Adelasia* in the habite of a youth, with full deliberation, to make their abiding in some strange countrey, far enough from *Allemagne*.

This wandering as fugitiues, to satisfie their owne voluptuous desires: at the length, they were robbed on the Highway, and so by that meanes, were constrained (after long and importunate begging, trauesing manie Countreys) to retire into a great Forrest, situated betwene *Att* and *Sauona*, in *Italy*; where (through great necessity) they began to exercise the labour of Colliers, enduring many stormes and hard afflictions, for the space of eighteen yeares together. In the end, it pleased God to be satisfied with their humility & repentance, and to make them better knowne, by the meanes of one of their sons, named *William*, who following the nature of his extraction, betooke himselfe to make one in the Imperiall Armies in *Italy*, & greatly resembling in fauour the Emperour *Otho*, whereby he was imagined to be issued of *Adelasia*; which being found to fall

The History of Adelasia, daughter to the Emperour Otho the 3.

Alerane, one of the young-est kin to the Duke of Saxony.

* Called also Sabatia in Liguria, a hilly country, reaching from Apennines to the Ta-cane Sea, one way, and from the Riner Macra, to Vetus, another way.

Naturall Nobility can neuer be concealed from mankind, as apperance.

The desperate
death of Da-
moclides Ge-
neritie.

The death of
her Father.

The history of
Paulo and Lu-
cretia, two
Roman Iouers.

Another mar-
riage pur-
posed for Paulo
by his Father.

Affection is
too full of too
light credulity

Lucretia, a
daughter of
Rome, slew
both her hus-
band and her
selfe.

done by her to her seruants, desiring (very heartily) pardon both of God and the. So, feigning as if she intended to goe to bed with her young infant, which was about six weekes old; shee went and hanged her selfe that night, on a beame end of a poore Cottage, which they had taken vpon hire, of which mishap, the people of the Towne soon aduertised her parents. For mine owne part, in the same manner as I haue set it downe, it was reported to me by the forenamed *Monsieur Megrelin*, who made no small account of my friendship, and dyed with verie great griefe, often saying vnto many, that this misfortune thus fell vnto him, by refusing his daughters marriage with a yong Advocate, one of sufficient wealth, and that had requested her many times to bee his wife, which still hee denied, intending to bestow her on a Gentleman.

In the City of *Rome*, no long while since, there was a young maiden (named *Lucretia*, daughter to a rich Marchant) secretly espoused to a yong man, called *Paulo*, sonne also to another Merchant, the two fathers being vowed enemies, and both alike enuious of each others Fortune. The father of *Paulo* perceiving how fast aged yeares came stealing on him, determined a marriage for his son, acquainting him therewith, that he hadde made choise of one meete for him, commanding him also to fashion himself to good liking thereof, because hee would haue it accomplished within very few dayes. The sonne deferred it off so long as well hee could; yet to declare some obedience to his father, hee craued respite to consider thereof; but in the mean while, it was generally noised thorow the City of *Rome*, that *Paulo* must be married vnto another. These newes comming vnto the eares of *Lucretia*, shee dissembled her inward conceyued displeasure, verily imagining the matter to bee already done. *Paulo* comming, as oftentimes hee did when fit time fauoured him, to visit his *Lucretia* in the night time, so iocund and merry as at no time more; after accustomed kindnesse passed betweene them, *Paulo* fell into a very sound sleep. *Lucretia* beholding him in that fearlesse estate, with a great Knife she gaue him so many stabbes and deepe wounds, both in the brest and belly, that he fell downe stark dead, and afterward

committed the like violence on her selfe. This act, so full of sorrow and sadde mischance, came to the eare of Pope *Paulus* the fourth, who would not allow them to haue Christian burial. But a learned diuine, a *Jacobine* by Religion, made so excellent an Oration to the Pope, agaynst the vnkinde parents of the deceased Louers; that Obsequies were granted, & buriall giuen them. And an aged woman, a seruant to *Lucretia*, who had bene the meane of their priuate marriage, was (by authority of Iustice) burned alieue, because she had not aduertised the parents thereof.

If these Emperors, Kings, Gentlemen and those of meane condition, haue obserued the Law of the Rhodians, which I haue alledged in the beginning of this chapter; they neuer had falne into those dreadfull mischances, which theye owne wilfull folly brought vpon them. They may also serue as a good warning to Fathers at this instant, and such as shall bee hereafter, how to auoyde so enorme an error. I will giue aduice likewise to such Maidens, as hauing past the age of five and twenty yeares, if either auarice, or any other bad humor in their parents doe make them negligent of their marriages, when men of meet match and quality are offered to them, to be bold of their owne liking and choise in marriage; provided, that they first make it knowne vnto their parents. And then if they will not yeeld consent, they may proceed on further: alwayes provided, that they are equall in quality, and no way infamous. And least their Fathers should disinherit them, the Emperor ordained thus in the authentical rule; *Sed si post .C. de inofficio testu*.

The like ordinance is to be found in the French Code, in the chapter of claudefine Marriages, made by king *Henry* the second. And there may bee noted another inconuenience, which vnadvised fathers do incurte themselves, that in due time, and vpon iust reason, will not yeelde to theyr daughters marriages.

CHAP.

How all these
dangers might
haue been pre-
vented in all
the alledged
histories.

Aduice giuen
to maidens of
these times.

A low spiri-
t dissembling
maiden, that
make they
owe choise
when their
parents will
not.

CHAP.V.

That Tyrants doe liue continually in feares:
and that their ends are most miserable.



HE life of a Tyrant is full of hatred; every man detesteth him; all are offended at him, and he is subiect to infinite perils. What was the life of *Aristippus*, to whom the wales were dreafull? VVhat that of *Alexander Phareus*, who liued in an hourly suspicion of his owne wife? What that of *Dyonisius* the *Syracusane*, who neuer durst trust his Barber, for feare least in trimming his beard, hee should cutte his throat. Hee had the carnall knowledge but of two women onely, *Aristomada* and *Dorida*, and yet he would neuer let them come neere him, vntill they had put off all their garments. The Chamber where in hee liued to sleepe, was round engirt with a wide deepe ditch, and there was no entrance to it, but onely by a draw-bridge.

All things whatsoever, are continually suspected so much by Tyrants, that it was not spoken without good aduice; That Tyranny is the Nurffe of feare. For it commonly cometh so to passe, that such as liue till men feare them, doe also feare them by whom they are feared. This kinde of life, so full of care and dread, *Dyonisius* the Tyrant discovered to his Orator *Damocles*, of whom the History followeth in this manner.

Damocles defending in an Oration, which hee deliuered in the presence of king *Dyonisius*; that neuer was any man more happy then he, for his innumerable wealth & treasures, beside the abundance of all things in his kingdome. O *Damocles* (instantly said the Tyrant) seeing my life is so well liked by thee, I desire that thou wouldest presently but taste and experiment my fortune. VVhereto *Damocles* consenting, the *Syracusane* king caused him to sitte vpon a stately & sumptuous bed, richly embroydered with gold: and before him good Tables and Stooles in magnificent manner, all couered with vessels of Gold and Siluer. He was serued by many young children, endued with singular beauty, &

the seruice was extraordinarily magnificent, with all kindes of delicious and exquisite viands. The golden Hall, which quistred round about him, was perfumed with vnguent of excellent odors, beside Flowers, Chapelets, and curious Noisegayes. To be short, in this so triumphant and royall furnishment, *Damocles* helde such a proud, enflated, and swolne vp countenance, euen as if in Maiesty Royall: King *Dyonisius* called to him, and bad him lift vp his head, to behold what was instantly ouer it. There he shewed him a fayre bright Sword, which hee had caused to be fastened to the plancher, directly ouer the head of *Damocles*. Hee seeing the naked Sword, which hung but by one haire of a horses mane, ready to fall on the least occasion; considering thereon with deliberation, and perceiving that death was his present companion; he began to dispraise the royalty and riches of the King, desiring to bee deliuered from that kinde of felicity.

Hee teupon *Dyonisius* said vnto him, Doeft thou not see, O *Damocles*, how greatly thou art deceiued in thine owne opinion? Such is our life, which (not long since) thou heldest to be so happy: but now thou plainly perceiuest, that eminent death is alwayes attending. By which example we may easily iudge, that he can neuer be happy, that is daily afflicted with feare. To this purpose *Horace* writt these verses.

Not the fine fare of Sicily,
Will saunour sweet and daintily,
Nor the rare sound of the Lyre,
Nor the sweet Birdes in their quire:
All these affoord no pleasure can,
To that wofull wretched man,
That beholds aboue his head,
A naked Sword to strike him dead.

And as *Iob* saith, The sound of feare and dreadful affrights is alwaies in his eares: and although peace be certaine, yet is hee daily doubtfull of close ambushes. Tyrants loue not any body, and therefore (vpon iust occasion) leamed men rearmed them to be cruell beasts, and plagues to mankind. In the human figure of who is so much sauage cruelty, that *Salomon* saide directly; A wicked Prince is a roaring Lyon, and an hunger-starued Beare ouer poure people.

And

Damocles in
all his pompe
and pride w.
diminued with
a Iudic. figu.

Dyonisius h.
words to L'a
mol. 5.

Verses trans-
lated out of
Horace.

Iob 19, 14.

Prouer. 17, 12

Tyrants at all
times and in
all places are
full of feares.

Tyranny is
the Nurffe of
feares.
Cicero in *Tu-
cul* lib. 5.

The History
of *Dyonisius*
the Tyrant, &
his flatterer
Damocles.

Malach. 2. 9.
Job 23. 8.
Hofes 6. 10.
Esay 59. 7.

Miserable &
violent deaths
of Tyrants.

And yet God hath and sometimes doth permit, that Tyrants shall reigne, for the chastisement of wicked men, saying; *I will take vengeance on mine enemies by mine enemies.* God (saith Job) *maketh the hypocritical man to reigne in regard of the peoples finnes.* And in Hofes God speaketh thus; *I will give thee a king in my fury.* And in Esay; *Assur is the rod and staffe of my fury, I will send thee to a deceitfull people.* Neuertheless, they are not acceptable to God, who throws them at length into the fire, as a father doth the rod, when he hath therewith beaten his childe. And it hath alwaies so fallne out, that all these Tyrants, or the most part of the, haue ended their liues miserably, & oftentimes by violent death, caused by their owne friends; and approued by consent of all the people. But because the examples of tragically endes in such Tyrants, are handled in a number of other Treatises, & experience hath made it daily manifest vnto vs; I may the sooner conclude this Chapter.

CHAP. VI.

A most horrible cruelty vsed by the Numantines against the Romanes; and in the end vpon themselves.

Scipio having continued sidge before the City of Numantia in Spaine, the space of a yeare and seuen Moneths, and neuer ceasing: munition and victuals began to fayle among the besiedged, so that very many died with famine. Whereupon they made a vow to the Gods, that the first morfell they would eate every day, should be the flesh of some Roman: and that they would drinke neyther wine nor water, till they had swallowed the blood of such as they slew.

Extremities
are the occasion
of desperate
vowes &
promises.

Extremity
still watch
vpon extre-
mity, and be-
getteth daily
worse and
worse courses.

The Numantines hauing all sworne to this vow, they issued forth of the City, and like men, more then desperate, chased the Romanes, even as if they had bene brute beasts: and such as they slew or surprized, immediately they killed and broyled inhumanely, or being sliced in peeces, they fold the by weight in the Shambles or Butchery. So that a Roman taken by

them, or slaine, was of farre greater price and estimation, then to liue and pay his ranfome. Finally, the Numantines perceiving, that they had no more meanes of suppartation, being opprested with famine, and enclosed on euery side: they consulted among themselves, to kill all their aged people; yea, all the women & children in the City; which (without any feare or respect at all) they put in execution.

When they had done thus, all the wealth and moouables of the City, the Jewels & Treasures of the Temples, were brought together in spacious places, & there consumed with fire, yea, and all parts & quarters of the City, without leaving a house standing, suffered the very same consummation; and euery man tooke a sudden & speedy dispatching poyson, whereby they might the soonest dye. Thus the Temples, houses, goods, and persons of the Numantines, which had continued in prosperity foure hundred, sixty & fixe yeares, had finally conclusion all in one day. A sight most horrible it was to behold, that the Numantines did those things liuing, so full of gastly terror, and not be remooued from them at their hour of death. For they left not to Scipio, any goods as booty or pillage, nor so much as a man liuing, for a Trophee or Triumph.

The propriety
of 466
yeares con-
tinued all in
one day.

Scipio seeing Numantia flaming, and afterward, entering thereinto, beheld all the buildings demolished, and turned one vpon another, all the Inhabitants burned; he grieued very greatly, and being vnable to containe himselfe from teares, cryed out thus: *O most happy Numantia, to whom the Gods appointed, that thou shouldst rather remaine destroyed, then conquered! Numa Pompilius king of the Romanes, caused this City of Numantia to be builded, & Scipio the Roman, being aged then but two and twenty yeares, saw the ruine of it.*

The words of
Scipio on
ruined Nu-
mantia.

CHAP. VII.

That a valiant Generall or Captaine, ought first to embrace wisdom & providence, before he do make experiment of his fortune: and also that after victory he should be milde and pittifull.

To be a Captain or Generall, is an Office very honorable, but yet attended

by

The danger-
ous Office of
a Captaine or
Generall.

by many dangers. For notwithstanding he shall performe but what hee may and ought, yet if misfortune be present in giuing the battaile, and returne him off with out victory; hee shall neuer satisfie the vulgar, but the people will hold him in bad reputation, although it value his life in the aduenture. Let euery man bee of what quality and wisedome hee may, or would wish to be, & vse the best carriage he can possibly deuise; yet we shall neuer heare a conquered Captaine called wise, or him temerarious, that gets the victory. It is a good thing that Captaines should be wise, but yet much better to be fortunate.

The saying of
Scipio Affri-
canus.

Cicero Attic.

A great differ-
ence in me-
nures.

Scipio Affricanus vsed to say; *That all things ought to bee essayed in warre, before they lay any hand to weapons.* And (in truth) he saide well, because there is no greater victory in the world, then that which is wonne without effusion of blood. Cicero writing to Attica, saith; *That the Captaine which conquers his enemies by counsell, ought to be no lesse esteemed, then hee that did it by the sword.* Silla, Tiberius, Caligula, and Nero, they neuer knew any other course, but to command, and kill: whereas contrariwise, Augustus, Titus, and Traiane knew no better way, then to entreate fairly and pardon, so that by pardoning, they conquered more, then the other could do by bloody fighting. If Captaines would but consider these things, perhaps they would not be so ready in opposing their Armies to such multiplicity of dangers: whence oftentimes ensueth, that in thinking to be reuenged on their enemies, they (in the end) become vanquished themselves.

A noble mind
in the Empe-
rour Theodo-
sius.

Theodosius the Emperour, when hee besiedged any City, he would not suffer his Souldiers to erect any scaling Engines, or make any battery, yntill ten daies were fully past: during which time, hee offered no offence to the Cittizens, but daily admonished them, saying, *I grant ye the tearme of ten daies, wherein yee may preuaile with mee by fauour and mildnesse, rather then hazard the trial of my power.* When great Alexander saw the dead body of Darius: Iulius Cesar the head of Pompey; when Marcellus burned Siracusas, and Scipio beheld Numantia flaming; and in our later times, when that heroycall Emmanuell Philibert, Duke of Sauoye, & Prince

of Piedmont, beheld the illustrious & magnanimous Prince Frances of Bourbon, Duke of Anguien, lying dead vpon the ground at the taking of S. Quintin: All these great persons could not refrain from teares, although the other were their deadly enemies. For albeit their generous soules were well satisfied with obtaining victory, yet notwithstanding, such great and weighty losses did much discontent them, considering their causes might haue bene the like.

Pitty and clemency neuer lost the victory in warre; but on the contrary, the Captaine bloodily minded, cruell, and reuendgefull, hath eyther bene slaine by the enemy, or betrayed by his owne followers. Therefore it was not without great reason, that Iulius Cesar carried immortal renoune among all Princes and Captaines of the world, not for being more faire, more strong, more courageous, and fortunate; but onely because far greater was the number of enemies, to whom he frankly afforded pardon, then those that hee had vanquished and slew with the sword. The famous Captaine Narses, who subdued the Gothes, vanquished the Balthians, and domineered ouer the Allemagnes, neuer vnderooke a daies fight against an enemy, but the night before, hee kneeled and wept to himselfe in the Temple. Trogus Pompeius recordeth, that the most signale victories of the Romanes, were not wonne in regard that their Armies were mighty and strong; but because their Captaines were dexteros, active, and gallant, in all seruices they vnderooke.

It is expedient also, that the Generall or Captaine (about all other things) should be vigilant, & procure, that among the Captaines of his Army, affaires (concerning warre) should be kept secret: because the highest enterprizes neuer can haue good successe, when they are discovered before they can be effected. Suetonius declareth, that it was neuer heard said to Iulius Cesar; *Must wee do this to day, or shall we do that to morrow?* Only he would answer; *Doe this instantly, & to morrow wee shall see what is then to be done.* Plutarch writeth in his Moralles, that Lucius Metellus being requested by one of his Captaines, to know on what day he would giue the battaile; made him this

A signe of a
most honora-
ble dispositi-
on in such Ge-
neralls.

The reason
why Iulius
Cesar was so
highly re-
nowned.

He was Gen-
rall to the
Emperour
Iulianian.

Secrecy is
most necessa-
ry in martiall
affaires.

Sueton in vit.
I. I. C. Cesar.

Plut. in Mor.

Few council-
lers in occa-
sions of warre
are strict, and
what men are
to be thinned

A worthe
faying of Al-
cibiades, and
not vnto mee
to be obser-
ued.

How to ma-
ke a victo-
rie.

this answer. *If I wist that my shirt knew the least thought of the things my hart intendeth, I would immediately burne it.* It is well done to consult on matters of war with many: but the resolution of them is not, neither ought to bee imparted but to very few; otherwise, they may bee published before they are fully concluded. And especially care is to be taken, that no consultation be had with such men, as are eyther obstinate in their counsels, or rash and headstrong in their actions: for in cases which happen sometime in war, it is lesse harme to retire, then run wilfully on losse.

Alcibiades, a valiant Capitaine among the Grecians, yeld to say: *Men of magnanimity and courage, should sometimes rather flye than tarry; because honour commands attendance, and wisdom wils flight.* For in great perils, it is better that men should submit themselves to reason; then that they should be commanded by fortune. A Capitaine ought to be counselled in all things, except when he meetes with a danger not foreseene. For many Capitaines at diuers times in warre, haue lost themselves by no other occasion: but because at such time as they should haue brought to effect some notable deed, which admitted not the least minutes trifling; they stood then musing, & idly called a counsell to no purpose. It is necessary also, that a wife Capitaine, after he hath obtained a victory, should vnderstand how to vse and enjoy it. For if *Hanniball*, on the day at *Cannas*, could haue told how to haue vsed his fortune, *Scipio the Affricane* had neuer conquered him.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Salique Law the originall thereof, and who were the first Authors and Inuentors of it.

See a Treat
written by
John Perard,
and I.C. ther-
on.

IN the time of Pope *Boniface*, the first of that name, and of the Emperor *Honorius*, in An. 420. the *Franconians* hauing forsaken their Country, came to inhabit along the River of *Rheine*, which hauing passed, they remained for some time at *Treues*. Now as these people were of bar-

barous manners, liuing vnciuilly & without law; *Pharamond* their first king, Sent vnto their Duke *Marcomir*, chofe foure cheefe and principal men of the *Saxons*, who by their counsel and determination, might giue a law to the people. The names of those foure men, were *Frucaist*, *Lozocast*, *Salgaist*, and *Visogast*, who by authority of the king and people, set downe a Law in writing, which *Pharamond* approoued and published, causing it to bee called *Salique*; eyther by the name of the place *Saliehani*, wher it was made, as some say, or else by the name of the said *Salgaist*, who was Chancellor to *Pharamond*, and cheefe of the foure.

This Law contained the forme of succeeding in the kingdome of *France*, & the manner of reigning; and it hath euer since bin obserued by the kings of *France*, and their people vntill this present. Among other articles therein contained, women are declared vnable to rule the kingdome, and deprived of succession to the crowne, although they are the sole & only daughters to the King: nor can they haue any portion of inheritance in the *Gallician* Lands, but onely vse and profite by the owners consent, implying necessarily, that after their deaths, those allowances returne to the Crowne againe. And this Law is conformable to the Roman Law, called *Voconia*, which was made at the time betweene the second & last war of the *Romans* with the *Carthaginians*, and which was pronounced by *Voconius*, Tribune of the people. And *Aulus Gellius* saith, that there is nothing more profitable to the common-wealth, then the said law, which deboueth women from successions; which *Tit. Luuius* saith, *Marcus Cato* (a graue man) perfwaded in an Oration made by him.

And although it may be said concerning this Law, that it containeth no equity, because it toucheth the succession of priuate persons: yet on the behalfe of the kingdome, for which it was ordayned, it is iust and reasonable, and by disposition of womens right, they ought not there to succeed in the kingdome, nor rights of the crowne, except there be some priuledge or custome to the contrary. So noeth *John de Imola*, on the Chapter *Granda, tit. de simpliciter neglegen. prela.* so the fixt. And for this was made the tenth chapter, *Qui feoda poss. ff. hoc autem. C. dilecti, de arb.*

Baldus

How the Law
came to be
called Sa-
lique.

The name
and condi-
tion of this Sa-
lique Law.

The Law Vo-
conia among
the Romans.

Aulus Gellius
lib. 13. cap. 10.

Tit. Luuius
lib. 3. cap. 10.

This Law
containeth
no equitie
for women.

John de Imola
cap. 10.

Chap. 9. Of Letters containing Secrecy.

Baldus in *Leg.*
de Sena.

The successi-
on in the
Crown of
France, after
the death of
Lewes Hutin,
in a continu-
ed descent.

Baldus is of the same opinion, speaking expressly concerning the kingdome of *France*, and saying, that the king of *England*, Sonne to one of the daughters of *France*, in regard of this law, might not pretend any right to the Crowne, and saith, it is cleare and certaine, as hee quoteth on the first law *ff. de Sena.* And as I haue formerly saide, it hath euermore bin so obserued and held in *France*.

For example, when *Lewes Hutin* deceased, he left one daughter, wife to the Count d'Eureux: *Philip le long*, his Brother, succeeded him, (neuertheless) as well in the Crowne, as in all the Landes thereto belonging. And after the death of *Philip le long*, although hee left foure daughters; yet *Charles le Bel* (his brother) succeeded him, as well in the Crowne, as other inheritances. And after the decease of *Charles le Bel*, notwithstanding hee left one daughter, named *Blanche*, wife to *Philip*, Duke of *Orleanse*, his cousin: yet *Philip de Valois* succeeded him. In like manner, after the death of king *Charles* the eight, *Lewes* Duke of *Orleanse*, his cousin succeeded him, before Madame *Anne* of *France*, his Sister, wife vnto the Duke of *Bourbon*, and this was king *Lewes* the 12. who although (by his decease) he left two daughters, *Claude* and *Rece*: yet neuertheless, *Frances* Duke of *Valois* and of *Angoulême*, the very neereft in the line collateral and masculine, succeeded him as well in the Crowne, as also in the Duke-dome of *Orleanse*, albeit the saide *Lewes* the twelfth, *Charles* his Father, and *Lewes* Duke of *Orleanse* his Grandfather, had held the Dukedome of *Orleanse*, by the gift and inheritance which *Charles* the 5. had made to the said *Lewes*, Duke of *Orleanse* his Sonne.

For right and iustice requireth, that all Lands which are once vnted and incorporated to the Crowne of *France*, shall be of the proper nature, quality and condition as the same Crowne is; as well in regard of successions and acquisitions, as other causes. For at all times, and as often as a Land is vnted to the Crowne, it taketh the nature of the kingdome, and must be governed in all things, according to the conditions thereof. For the kingdome is an vniuersall thing, which comprehendeth many other in particular: as it is said in the Law *Peculium ff. de Leg. ij.*

And not onely the Salique Law is kept in *France*, but also it is found in many statutes in *Italy*, and elsewhere, prohibiting women to succeed, which is done, saith the Text of the Law, *Facile agnitionis conseruanda, ut dignitas familiarum salua sit.* And *Baldus* saith, that a woman is not the head or Prince of the Family, but the ende thereof.

Lib. 1. ff. de public. ff. de iur. iur. ff. de iur. iur.

Paulus de Castro, on the Law *Muritus. C. de procur. saith*, that the linage and family beginneth in the males, and is conferred by the males. And so it seemeth, that the Etimologie of the word *Soror* declareth, which *Labeo Antistius* giueth in *Aulus Gellius. Soror appellata est quod quasi soror nam nascitur separaturque ab ea domo in qua nata est, & in aliam familiam transgreditur.* That is to say, *A sister is so called, as shee that is borne almost apart by herselfe, and is separated from the house wherein shee was borne, and changing the place, goeth to dwell in another family.*

Paul. de Cast. in lib. 9.

Aulus Gellius
lib. 13. cap. 10.

CHAP. IX.

Examples of some Letters containyng Secrecie, and sent in such manner, as they might not be knowne, but onely to such whom they especially concerned.



Arpagus writing to *Cyrus*, concerning the treason of King *Astages*, hauing cunningly vnbowelled a Hare, put his Letter therein, and after hee had ingeniously sowed it vp againe, deliuered it (with the Hayes or Nets) to one of his Huntmen, the faithfullest of all his household, and hee carried it to king *Cyrus*.

Hyfityas, desirous to write to *Aristagoras*, did shau the head of one that was his trustiest seruant, and wrote vpon the skull-skinne which hee would, containing three or foure Characters, and afterward kept him in his house, vntill the haire was growne ouer as thicke as before, and then he sent him to *Aristagoras*, willing that he should cause him to be shauen againe, so soone as he was come vnto him, and so he vnderstood the others minde.

A Letter sent
in the belly of
a hare.

Writing on
the skull-skin
of the head.

Aulus Gellius reporteth, that *Iulius Caesar*

How Julius
Cæsar wrote
his Letters of
speciall in-
telligence.

Cæsar sometimes sent him Missives, when he had any vrgent occasion, and to some peculiar places: and in them were letters formed onely, without any sillables annexed to them. So that when they were lookt on and questioned, no word could be collected to any purpose, but by himselfe, and him to whom they were intended, being a mute and secret inuention, yet familiar to such as vnderstood them.

Frontinus
likewiſe.

Many (saith Frontinus) being desirous in actions of warre, to send their letters mis- siue secretly to haue their inuentions known, and yet to auoid all meanes of discovery, haue written within the Scabbards of their Swords, and sent them as acceptable presents whereby they haue cleaſely eſcaped.

Small Tablets
of wood co-
uered with
Waxe.

Demetrius desiring to make knowne to the Lacedemonians, how king Xerxes was armed and prepared for his Iourney againſt Greece; did write the counsell of the king in small Tablets of wood, which he couered ouer with waxe, and in that manner sent them to the Lacedemonians, who taking off the waxe, read all the contents there written.

The cunning
of Hirtius in
concealing
his Letters.

Hirtius the Consul sent letters written vpon Lead (but not knowne how to be read, being intercepted) to Marke Anthony, besieged at Modena; they were carried by an honest Soldiour, who wore them as bracelets about his wrists, & with them swom ouer the Riuer Scutena. The same Hirtius likewise tyed letters about the necks of certaine Doves, which hee kept close lockt vp in a conuenient place, where no light was to bee seene, neyther did he giue them any food; that when he should let them loose neere to the walles of the City (as easily he could doe) they being greedy of light and food, might mount aloft vpon the houses, where beeing taken by Brutus, and by the meanes of food, purposely appointed therefor the, he vnderstood what he desired.

A Letter sent
into the ene-
mies Campe
by an arrow.

Paradise, in his history of our times, writeth, that when as Rhodes was besieged by the Turke, a traytour named Friar Andrew de Merail, a knight of Portugal, making a shew of carefull looking to the Watch; shot a letter (bound about an Arrow) into the enemies Campe, whereby he gaue them aduertisement, in what estate the City stood.

Frontinus
likewiſe.

Frontinus hath many other examples of secret Letters, in matters of loue, of

which I will relate two onely, remembered by Aeneas Sylvius Piccolini Pope Pius the second. Pachorus a young man (saith he) sent a loue-letter in a Nolegay of Violets to Lucretia, whom hee dearly affected. And finding no successe, wrapt another in a peller of waxe, which he couered as a snow-ball, and so threw it in at his Mistresses Window.

CHAP. X.

A Discourse concerning the originall of the Normanes, what valiant aſtes haue bin performed by them: and of Robert Guiscard.



THE Normanes are anciently descended of the Gothes, and vnrped that great half-Iland, sometimes called Dacia, and since Dacia: where by the kings of that Province, were named kings of the Danes, and of the Gothes. They had a custome, that the kingdome came to the eldest Sonne, and therefore sent the other Sonnes to seeke their fortune. It came so to passe, that Lutrecus their king (who was not a Christian) hauing two Sonnes, according to the precedent custome, sent the youngest named Biernghus, out of the kingdome, albeir he loued him very dearly, and therefore committed the care of him to a Gentleman of his Court, named Allengus, to whom he gaue in charge, that he should furnish him with a troope of valiant men.

An indifferent Army beeing giuen him, they came vpon the confines of France, and entring Picardy, possessed themselves of most of the Townes and Bourroughs, burnt Saint Quintins and Noyon, and for the space of forty yeares, did infinite harmes to the Realme of France. For after that Biernghus was dead, they elected (as their cheefe Commander & Capitaine) a very valiant and gallant Knight, called Rollo, who made three Campes, which entered France on three severall sides: the one mounted vp the Riuer of Seyne; the other along the Riuer of Loyre; and the third by the Riuer of Gironde, sometime called Garona at Bourdeaux, and

Vide Sabel-
corum Emend.
cap. 2.

Biernghus
sent to seeke
his fortunes
abroad.

The death
of Biernghus
the eldest
of Rollo.

A peace
made be-
tweene Rollo
and Charles
the Simple.

so scattered themselves throughout France, raaging and burning wherefoeuer they came. Which being perceived by Charles the third of that name, and called the simple king of France, and knowing also, that he had no meanes to resist them; he treated a peace betweene Rollo and him; by the Arch-Bishop of Roane, named Franquum, which was concluded neere to the Riuer of Epta, the King being on the one side of the Riuer, and Rollo on the other. Therein was an appointment made, that Charles should giue his Daughter, named Giletta, in marriage to Rollo, to whom he assigned as her Dowry, and an inheritance for the children borne in this marriage, and not otherwise, the Province of Neustria, which Rollo caused afterward to be called Nortemanie, which signifieth a Northern people. For Nort (in the Dacian tongue) is as much to say as North, and man implieth Homo, so interpreted of it selfe, from whence, by a corrupt kinde of speech afterward, it was called Nortmandie.

* That which
is now called
Nortmandie.

The king created that Country to be a Dukedome, and gaue his Daughter in marriage to the said Rollo, as formerly it was concluded, yet with this condition, that Rollo should become a Christian: whereto hee condescending, he was baptized in the yeare 900 and 12. & by Franquum, Arch-Bishop of Roane, beeing then named Robert, by Robert, Count of Poitiers, who was Godfather to him at the Font. And by the example of Rollo, all the Normans that were Pagans, caused themselves to be baptized; which caused Duke Robert to do homage to king Charles, for the Country of Neustria, then conuerted to be Normandy.

Rollo is bapti-
zed and na-
med Robert;
marrying with
the daughter
of King
Charles.

Duke Robert
performed
his homage in
homely man-
ner.

Historians doe report a pleasant and ridiculous acte, which Rollo did on the day when hee came to performe his homage to the king, for some aduised him to kisse the feete of his Maiesty, according to a custome in that case obserued. But hee disdayning to fall on his knees, tooke the kings foot, lifting it vp to reach his mouth, and so ouer-high, that the king fell backward from off his seate. VVherat the Normanes fell into a great laughter; but the French were offended and vexed, taking this behauiour in very ill manner. Neuerthelesse, this deed was imputed to simplicitie, because Rollo, in making his ex-

cuse, auouched, that such kinde of kissing the foote, had beene an ancient custome in his Country. About a yeare after, Rollo seeing himselfe peaceably possessed of all Normandy, repudiated his wife Giletta, & put her to a pittifull kinde of death, not hauing any child by her in which respect as well by right of forfeiture, as by other conditions contracted in the marriage, without all question, the Country and Dukedome should haue returned to the Crowne of France againe, as at the first.

The Duke
disuorced his
Wife, and
put her to
death.

Long time before Rollo became a Christian, hee had carnall knowledge of the Daughter to Berengarius, Earle of Beuennais, the beeing named Pompetta, by whom he had a Sonne called William, that afterward was rearned Long-Sword. Hee being borne in vnlawfull and sinfull copulation, out of marriage, and the acte committed by a Christian with a Pagan, was consequently disabled from succeeding in the Dukedome. But howsoeuer it came to passe, the Normanes finding themselves so strong and dreadfull; possessed this William of the Dukedome; and the kings of France were enforced (by reason of hauing so slender meanes in those times) to endure and suffer all. So that the Successors of Rollo or Robert, enioyed still that Country, though by corruption of faith, and no true tytle thereunto.

William
Long-word
the battard
sonne to Rol-
lo, became
his successour
in his Duke-
dome.

Of this William came Richard, surnamed Long-shankes; and of that Richard a second Richard; and of this second Richard a third Richard; who was Father to Robert, that was Father to William the Baltard, which conquered England. VV hereby it very plainly appeareth, that of the fore-named Rollo or Robert, the Dukes of Normandy, and three Kings of England received originall.

The line and
succession
from William
Long-sword.

Now concerning Richard, the Sonne to William, Sonne to Rollo or Robert, hee had two Sonnes, the one named Robert, and the other Richard also, who beeing desirous of glory and fame, went into Sicily with great troopes of men, and there they made war successfully many yeares together. These two brethren beeing dead, the Normanes beeing then in pay to the Duke of Salerne; made choise of a new cheefe Commander or Capitaine named Tristram Castello, who hauing slaine a Serpent, and beeing in-

Three Eng-
lish Kings of
the Normans
race.

Tristram Ci-
stello Cap-
taine of the
Normans.

K k

Tancred and his 12 sonnes all worthy Warriors.

lected with her poyson, dyed thereof. After him succeeded *Raymond*, and some other (afterward) elected for their Capitaine, *William Ferrabach*, Sonne to *Tancred*, Come de haute ville, who had twelve Sonnes, to wit, *Sarno*, *Gadfrey*, *Dregon*, *Tancred*, *William*, called *Ferrabach*, that is to say, *Armesstrong*, *Haufray*, *Robert*, surnamed *Guiscard*, *Roger*, *Pickard*, *Gadfrey* the second, or younger, *Fruemensino*, and *Muloger*.

Tancred with his twelve Sonnes, continued among the *Normanes* in the exercise of *Armes*, and *Michael Catalaicus*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, held then by usurpation *Ponilla* and *Calabria*, vnder the government of *Malocco*, one of his Captaines, and Lieutenant for him in those Countries. Some other places also were invaded by the *Sarrasins*, who possessed *Sicily*, continually molesting the said kingdom. The valiant and generous *William*, being created Capitaine of the *Normanes*, made a league with the Princes of *Capua* and *Salerne*, and also with *Malocco*, Lieutenant to the Emperour. All these passed together (with their Armies) into *Sicily* against the *Sarrasins*, and having vanquished and expelled them thence, diuided the prize equally among them. But *Malocco* surrendered the lands of that Isle to those Governours which the Emperour had sent thither before the warre. Whereat *William* being offended, yet dissembling his anger and intentions, marched with his Army towards *Ponilla*, where hee possessed himselfe of many places, and entring *Melphes*, there strongly fortified himselfe.

Melphes farprized by William.

When *Malocco* heard these newes, he departed from *Sicily*, and suddenly went with his Army to *Melphes*; but *William* being come forth of the Towne, gaue such a valiant assault vpon *Malocco*, that killing the better part of his followers, & chasing him from the greatest iurisdiction of *Ponilla*; hee fully enjoyed it, and made himselfe Earle thereof. After the death of *William*, *Dregon* his Brother obtained the Seignury of *Panilla*, and being a man of great valiancy, as also very well experienced in Arms, fought three times in one day against the *Grecians*, and overcame them, encreasing his Countries daily more and more.

About seven years after, *Dregon* died,

and *Haufray* or *Huifroy* his Brother succeeded; and after him, *Gadfrey*, who left *Balegard* his Sonne successor in the Earldome. But *Robert* being a most valiant young man, displeased that his Brother *Gadfrey* had not left the place to him after his death; expelled his Nephew by force of Armes, and so held the Counties of *Panilla* and *Calabria*; annexing also *Troy* thereto, which (till that time) had continued subiect to the *Romanes*. This is that *Robert*, who for his excellent spirit & witty providence, was surnamed *Guiscard*, which in the *Norman* Language, signifieth ingenious and cunning: although some others say, that such a surname signifieth errant and wandering, because the *Normanes* went wandering thorough many Countries. Afterward in the time of Pope *Nicholas*, second of that name, hee was created the first Duke of *Calabria*, & of *Ponilla*, in the yeare one thousand and sixty.

In the ende, *Robert* having by his prowess, and with his Brethrens helpe, wonne (in eightene years) the whole Isle of *Sicily*, and many other Regions in *Italy*; fought moreover to make himselfe Emperour of *Constantinople*, for which he leuied a mighty Army, and fought with the *Venetian* and Imperiall Armies twice, and vanquished them. But being retired to *Cassipolis*, a Promontory in the Isle of *Corfu*, and there surprized with a most violent Peauer, hee finished his dayes in that place, in the Moneth of Iuly, in the yeare one thousand, eighty two, having liued gloriously (and won many victories) for the space of threescore yeares.

This most noble Family of the *Normane Guiscardes*, had a lamentable ending, in the yeare one thousand, one hundred, ninety five, in *William*, whom the Emperour *Henry* the sixt caused to be guilded, to the ende hee should haue no ability of producing any more issue by him. And moreover, he made him to lose the sight of his eyes, by Basons extremely heated, which hee constrained him to looke vpon so long, untill the reuerberation of the heat, had vtterly deprived him of sight. This impiety, and more then barbarous cruelty, did the Emperour vnto him; because none of that race (afterward) should hinder his enjoying the kingdom of *Sicily*.

CHAP.

Robert expelled his Nephew by force of Armes.

The valiant Robert, first and Guiscard Duke of Ponilla and Calabria.

Robert fought to make himselfe Emperour of Constantinople.

The final conclusion of the Norman Guiscardes.

CHAP. XI.

Of two young Iouthes of Paris, that translated to the Indians, to cure themselves of the Neapolitane disease, or French Pox.



Nithony du Verdier, Lord of *Vauprinaz*, in his Booke of diuers Readings, hath well described the original of the Neapolitane

disease, otherwise called the great pox, & how it was brought from the Countries of the new found world, discovered first by *Columbus*, in those Islands which the Indians call *Haity*, and *Quisqueia*. And as this disease is very familiar in those lands; so is the remedy thereof also found there, by the meanes of a wood, called *Guyacum*, whoso of there are diuers Forests, and by the vse thereof it is easily healed. Many people in these parts, who haue read the fore-named Chapter, haue highly contrariet it: especially such as haue had, and yet at this present, do finde no ease thereby, albeit they haue drunk euery morning and euening of that decoction, hauing afterward soundly sweated twice a yeare, in those two temperate seasons, the Spring time, and fall of the lease, nay moreover, haue drunke no other drinke (with their meate, and without) for a whole yeare together.

The authors illustration of Verdier.

For mine owne part, I dare maintaine, that the said Lord of *Vauprinaz*, hath said nothing but the truth, and if the greater part of sicke persons, infected with that disease, haue found no remedy by the woods; the fault is in such as sell it, & haue not well ordered it, nor hauing knowledge what kinde of *Guyacum* should be vsed, nor the place, nor the climate, nor by whom it is brought thence, being ignorantly perfwaded, that there is but one kinde thereof onely, against the opinion of some that will meddle with prescriptions, not hauing bin in the country where this wood naturally groweth. Wherefore I purpose to make good what I write, by a history of two *Parisian* youths,

who were healed by the vse of *Guyacum*; not such as is brought hither to vs, and how it hapned, I will set downe the whole discourse.

I being at *Paris* in the yeare 1553. I had great familiarity with the two youths, being both borne in the City, of good and worthy houses; but I conceal their names, by reason of their infection with that venereal contagion, it being most commonly taken by disloneit dealing with leud women, and so by consequence, carrieth shame with it. This sickness they concealed so long as they could, but in the end, it made it selfe to be knowne, by losse of their haire, by red pulses appearing in the fore-head, by aches in the bones, both of their armes, legs, thighes, and shoulders, as also in the former part of their heads, from the beginning of night, till break of day the next morning, with other such like signes; as paine in the throat, being scarcely able to swallow any food. Now, albeit that all these euidentnes are not fene, in all such persons as are touched with that disease; yet it plainly appeared, that in both these young bodies, all the fore-named testimonies, and many more beside (which I let sleepe in silence) were apparently noted.

In regard of these rehearsed accidents, which were so manifest, the Parents to them both had intelligence, that they were touched with this disease; and yet for more certaine assurance therein, they caused them to bee visited by very skillfull Physicians and Chyrurgions, who performed all that which arte could permit, and yet they were not able, neither could they cure them. A second time, other Physicians were called to this businesse, who applied likewise the vttermost of their knowledge; but all in vaine, and the disease it selfe grew worse and worse, rising into knots and topies in the foremost part of the head, and in the bones of the armes, thighes, and legs, they procured insupportable nightly paines. For when night drew neere, and all the time while it continued, they cried and complained incessantly, so that the neighbors (on all sides) heard their pittifull lamentations, by meanes whereof, their bodies became wholly dried vp.

The Physicians alledged that there was some great extraordinary matter in

The Author speaketh this history of his own kindred.

Outward appearances of this wicked disease, whereby bell note of the sickness is obliuiscd.

Helpe sought for to skillfull Physicians & Chyrurgions.

A second attempt by physicians, but prevailing like the first.

Night time a great enemy to the disease.

K k 2 the

Parties of diuers complexions may haue all one disease.

The iudgement of the Physicians concerning their disease.

The young men grow ouer, as no way to be cured.

When the hope of man is at the weakest, Gods helpe is then strongest.

The Lord of Chantonay heareth one of the young mens hourly complainings.

the disease. For these two young men came nothing neere to one another in consanguinity, but were of diuers temperatures and complexions. For the one was delicate, soft, merry, whitish, and of tender disposition: but the other was of blackish color, strong, hardy, and many times addicted to penitence. Neuertheless, contrary to the common order of nature, and all the Apomes in the arte of Physicke; their diseases seemed conformable, which neuer hapneth to other persons, offended with the same contagion, because some haue accidents farre different and contrary to other. Hereupon the Physicians referred the cause of this disease (sympathizing so directly, yet in such different bodies) to the venom of some paillardizing women, that had infected them.

But to make short, after these youthes had endured much extremity of paines & anguish, as well by Physicians and Chirurgions, as Empericks that had charge of them: the harme had extended so farre in expences, and no meane heart-greuing of the Parents, al which notwithstanding, they were given ouer as incurable, & because there was no likely-hood of their healths recovery, they daily desired the seizure of death. Matters standing in this lamentable estate, God tooke compassion on them and their Parents, because they were deuout persons, & gaue almes very liberally to the poore daily, presenting them remedy in this manner. The Lord of Chantonay, a Gentleman of *Burgundy*, and of the *Franche Comte*, was sent (by the King of *Spain*) Ambassadour to *Charles* the ninth, King of *France*, who ordinarily made his residing at *Paris*. This Ambassadour was lodged directly ouer against the house, to one of the Fathers of the sicke young men, and both their chambers being outward on the streetes side; it caused the said Lord Ambassadour (who was none of the sleepest men) to heare the greuous moanings, which the poore sickly *Neapolitan* continually made, whereupon he entreated his Hoste to informe him, whence proceeded those wofull lamentations, thus nightly made by the sick young man. His Hoste hauing tolde him nothing but the truth, the Ambassadour wrought so by his Hoste, that he might come to see the sickly youth; which accordingly he did, in the company of his Mother.

cordingly he did, in the company of his Mother.

The Lord of Chantonay, well vnderstanding whence the disease proceeded, & those nocturnall heauy greouings, said, that he had seen many in diuers Provinces, as in *Burgundy*, *Germany*, *Flanders*, *Italy*, & *Spain*, afflicted with the selfsame sicknesse; and notwithstanding all curious and carefull attending, yet they could not any way be cured, but onely by going to the *Indies*. For instance hereof, he called for his Secretary, who presently came thither, and had (as well as his Lord) passed the voyage, therefore hee was the better able to confirme his speeches, and related at large, how euery thing happened.

The Mother to the sicke youth, after she had thanked the Lord Ambassadour for his aduice, withdrew herselfe, and acquainted her husband (who was Master of the Chamber of Accounts) with all that the Lord of Chantonay had said vnto her. He being a very learned and wise Gentleman, conferred further (concerning this matter) with the Secretary to the said Lord Ambassadour, whom hee found to be a man of good iudgement, & one that had past through the Pikes, as we vnto rearme it.

The Sonne to the Master of the Accounts, imparted this matter vnto his sickly Companion, who aduertised his Mother also thereof, and she her husband, who was a Merchant trading in silkes, and furnished the house of the Queene, *Catherine de Medicis*, then Regent in *France*, and hereupon both the Fathers conferred together. In breefe, they concluded to hazard their Sons in the performance of this voyage, perswading themselves, that seeing they reputed to bee incurable might fall out, that changing the ayre of the climate, and by their passage vnder the Equator, ynder which, such as sayle, doe oftentimes become sicke, and dye in the voyage, making the Sea their graue, as the most part doe, of them that aduenture to the *Indies*, to which fortune they freely committed their Sons. But if it came to passe, that they might there be cured, as diuers others formerly had bene; they stood bound in the greater thankfulness to God. For they being daily in their sight so diseased, to their

The Ambassadour goeth to visite the sicke young man.

Cure obtained by going to the Indies.

* The Erie Queer or Clarke Chamber.

The manner truly related and acquired to both sides.

* Or equinoctial Circle, equally distant from the Pole.

A strange resolution in one Fathers.

No passage to the Indies, without the Kings of Spain permission.

The arrival of the young men in Spain.

All the French in Breffle done by the Spaniards.

Good fortune in great necessity.

The arrival of the two sicke young men in India, and their courtesie entertainment there.

no little discontentment and shame, beside the charges attending thereon; they could not determine on any estate for them, neyther make mention for their marriage, the reason of their sicknesse being so noyed quite through the City of *Paris*. Thus these two Fathers resolved to lend their Sonnes to the *Indies*, eyther for their viter losse, or healthfull recovery.

Now because it was not lawfull for any to passe thither, without permission from the King of *Spain*; Queene Mother, vnderstanding by her Metcer (Father to one of the sicke youthes) the purposed voyage of his Sonne; wrote vnto her Daughter, then Queene of *Spain*, for her assistance to the poore passengers, to fauour them with Passe-ports, and recommendations vnto the Kings Lieutenants in the *Indian* Countries, to such as were Captaines of the Seas, and other. Being assisted by two men, who had formerly voyaged both by Land and Sea, and peace being accorded with the Protestants and Catholiques, they trauielled to *Spain*, and there presented their Letters.

The Queene immediately solicited their licence and dispatch: but first they were visited, to know whether they were Spyes or no. For it was no long time before, that the *Spaniards* had slaine all the *French*, which were to be found in that part of *Breffe*, called by the *Tononians*, *Nambouts*, saying, that all the *Indians* appertained to them, by due right granted to them by the Pope. When they were found to bee diseased persons, they were discharged, and going on to the Port of *Stidly*, fortune was so fauourable to them, that there they found a Fleet of Shippes, ready charged with men of warre & Merchandizes, bound also for that part of the *Indies*, whereto these sicke men intended to go; which was the Islands of *Haity* and of *Quiqueia*, named by *Columbus*, *Hippaniola*, and afterward the Isle of *Saint Dominico*.

They went aboard a Merchants Ship, hauing agreed for threecore Ducates, both for their passage thither, and their returne backe againe. The voyage succeeded so well, that although it contained aboute eightene hundred leagues by land; yet within two Moneths, they arrived

there, landing in the Isle of *S. Dominico*, where the Vice-Roy lay. To him they presented their Letters of fauour and recommendations, who gaue charge to a Gentleman of his Court, to see that the young men and their company should be kindly entreated, sending them vnto Physicians, that remained there in the Country at the Kings pay. But they thought it more convenient for them to passe thence to another Island, which was called *Saint Iohn de Portorico*; where the women there dwelling, were very skillfull in curing that malady, and when they were come thither, thus it succeeded to them.

First, the Governour of the Island; by commandement giued him from the Vice-Roy of the *Indies*, lodged the young men so well as hee could in that sauage Country: which was in a Lodging made with palisadoes, or wall of Pales, which being bute backe ioyned together, was filled vp with bundles of leaues.

The Roofe consisted of leaues of Trees, so were their Beds also, and in stead of Feathers, they were filled with Cotton: their Shertes being of plaine Fullian, and all their vtenisles of wood, or of earth.

Their ordinary feeding was on Cow-flesh somewhat tender, of great Serpents roasted, which serued highly to their healing, and also on strong Tortuises, as great as an indifferent Porker.

Their bread was Biscuit, and is much better in that Country, then elsewhere; for within the space of foure and twenty houres, it will grow mouldy, and if it be eaten hot, it is indigestible. But howsoeuer it were, the *Spaniards* gaue them courage, nor to greue themselves, and brought a Muslin vnto them to delight them, whose Instrument was made of the bone of a mans thigh. They likewise sent a woman to attend them, that made little or no account of them; but tolde them, so soone as they were cured, she did assure herselfe, that they would very well content her.

This Woman so affrighted our young *Parisians*, that they could very willingly there haue dyed, as neuer hoping of any helpe by her means. For she went stark naked, her skin being of an

Their remembrance to the 'N. of S. Iohn de Portorico.'

The manner of their lodging in S. Iohn de Portorico.

Their ordinary vnto: in the title of S. Iohn.

The kindness of the Spaniards to them.

The description
of the
beauty of a
sauage woman.

Such a sight
could be, first
pleasing to
sight, and
in a place so
desert and vn-
couth.

A drinke made
of Guyaicum,
or Pockwood,
by the sauage
woman.

* The Parisi-
anahle pinte
almost as big
as our whole
pinte.

Their manner
of giuing Phi-
sicians in the
Indies.

Custom
brought them
to the Coun-
tries dyet.

Oliue-coulour; flat nosed, like to a little dog: her breasts hung dangling downe, like to the dugs of an olde Sow. Her head was shorne close before, but behinde, the hayre hanged so low as her heeles, all frised, and like to the tayle of some ill-fauoured Cow. The nayles of her fingers and feete, exceeded halfe a fingers length, and were bowing crooked. She had no haire where nature commonly affordeth, neyther in her arme-pits; and her teeth looked of a hew betweene red & yellow, long, cleare, and wide enough asunder. At each of her eares hung a Stone of violet color, the least of them weighing a-boue two ounces: her vpper lip was slit in the middle, in the top whereof stood another stone of grayish color, and thence passed her spittle continually. All the other parts of her body were round & fat, and in indifferent fashion, faire, & affable enough for a sauage creature.

This woman prepared a drinke, which she made of the little loppings of a yong Guyaicum tree, hauing first bruiued them betweene her goodly teeth, the afterward she boyled the in an earthen vessel, without any thing to couer it, and contrary to all courses obserued in our Countries. This drinke she caused them euery morning to take, each of them to the quantity of a *Parisi Chopine*, at two or three draughts. Then they must walke a while, exercise Fencing, or some other cheerefull stirring of their bodies; or else traueil to a Mine of gold, which was not far off fro the Village, so to weare out the space of two houres. Then returning backe againe to the house, all sweaty, they would change onely their shirts; and going to dinner, they must drinke of no other water, but of a much-troubled standing Poole, wherein was nothing but raine-water. The *Spaniards* would offer them *Gallspands* or Cocks of *India*, which they did eate foddren for the most part. But after they had bene vfed to it eight or ten dayes; they could eate Toads, Serpents, and Lizards euen as well as other, and found them very sauiory meate; beside diuers kindes of fruites, the like whereof hath neuer bene seene in these parts. About three houres in the euening, they must drinke as much of the Guyaicum, as they did in the morning, and vfe the same exercises. And without any other cere-

mony, remedy, or deuises vfed to them, they found themselves to bee thoroughly healed, iust within the space of six weeks: onely their gums excepted, which were become swolne and enflamed. But they were made sound, with a sharpe-pointed bone of a Fifth, by pricking and piercing them therewith in many places, and they thus healed, were perfectly recovered. The knots and bumps on their bones, vanished away, all their nightly afflictions ceased wholly within fiftene daies: appetite came afresh to them both, and their haire being lost, was restored againe in more firmer manner then before. And now there remained, not so much as the print of any push or blaine, cyther in their fore-heads, or on their breasts, likewise all vlcers which they had in their secret parts, dried vp and were gone.

They perceiuing themselves to be thoroughly cured, were willing to content the woman with golden coyne, as hoping they did well therein: and this they did, by the aduice of a cunning crafty *Spaniard*, relegated to that place, and to worke in the Mines. He very well knew, that the *Indians*, making no account of Gold or Monie; purposed to begge it of her, not doubting but easily the world giue it him. But it fell out farre otherwise, for these refused the Gold, and would by no means touch it, but ran into the house, and took a Bow and Arrows, intending to kill them, but that they fledde away from her. Perceiuing this, they called another *Spaniard*, who had alwayes made signes of amity towards them, and caused him to speake to the woman, because they vnderstood not her language. Conference by signes hauing past betweene them, the *Spaniard* learned of her, that shee would be payed in some small wares or trifes. They not knowing where they should fo provide themselves, the *Spaniard* tolde them, that there dwelt a man in the Village, who made profession of selling such things; and of him, for the value of two Ducates (which amount heere but to twenty Solz) they bought these following trinkets. Six very bigge Combes, six little knives, sold for a Sol a peece in *Paris*, with their sheathes, six small looking-glasse, a dozen of points, fixe needles, a glasse spoone, & a dozen of Ballads. Wherewith she was extraordinarily pleased, & tooke her-

The young
men were
reced in the
space of six
weeks, and
their former
strength per-
fectly recou-
red.

The great
full intenc-
tion toward
the sauage
woman.

The danger
of the cruel
young men,
by the user-
they of a
Spaniard.

Trifes and
matters of
small value,
yet pleasing
to the eye,
best welcome
to the Indians.

CHAP. XII.

Why there is not found so much vertue in the Guyaicum that is brought hither, as in that whereof the Indians themselves do make use, against the Neapolitane disease, and the description thereof.



S God hath bene, is, and euer more declareth himselfe to bee good & mercifull, knowing the inhabitants of the whole Countrey of *India* fore-named, to be naturally subiect to this infection of the Pox; so hath he giuen them the Tree of *Guyaicum*, by the means whereof they can cure themselves, which they attained vnto, onely by experience; for they haue not anie knowledge of Letters. The *Spaniards* which had conquered those countreyes, hauing co-habited carnally with the naturall Women there abiding; receyued from them this disease. For at certaine seasons, this malady possesseth the *Indians*; as Fellons or VVhitlawes, and Feauers do seize on vs. And hauing perceyued that they recovered themselves by *Guyaicum*, our Merchants brought some of it hither; which in the beginning, rotted of it selfe, by reason they brought thence the very youngest: which to prevent, they brought then of the oldest that in regard of his soliditie could not rotte or perishe. And our Physitians (by their own report) appointed the receipt of that, to such as (in these parts) were so infected; but to little effect; for beside the breuage or drinke made thereof, they sayled in anointing (oftentimes) the diseased body, with hotte Oynments, compounded with Quick-silver, whereby some of good habitude, perceiued themselves to be cured, and others not.

Now, by that which I could gather, from the discourse of these two yong *Parisiens*, the olde *Guyaicum*, which is brought hither to vs, is of the grosse trunk and strong bodie of the Tree, that hath no vertue against the disease, neyther doe the *Indians* any way vfe it. And our de-
ceiued Physitians, appoint the receipt of this

The great
mercy of God
to the natu-
rally infected
Indian people

Spaniards
were the first
that tooke the
pox of the In-
dian women.

The want of
knowledge in
some Physitians

The Authors
obseruation
by report of
the two *Parisi-
ans*.

The sauage
women take
salutie to the
two yong
men.

Their return-
ing vnto the
Vice-roy at St.
Domingo, &
their sayling
homeward.

Their coming
to Paris, and
welcoming
by their pa-
rents.

Their condit-
ion at this day
in their owne
Country.

her selfe highly beholding to them. She presently sung a Song, after her countrey manner, made them a Feast, wherein were serued foure small *Ginny* hennes boyled, two Toads very fat, vnbowelled and roasted. They dranke a Beuerage, made of Turky wheate, passable enough. And afterward, she gaue them halfe a dozen of Bowes, and some store of Arrows, to beare away with them homeward; beside she gaue to each of them, siue Hand-kerchers of Cotton, properly made.

They returned thence to the Island of *Saint Domingo*, where they presented themselves vnto the Vice-roy, who was most ioyfull to see them recovered; and there they remained one moneth more, not feeling any sickness by the change of ayre, or of the climate, whereat each one greatly meruailed. In this time, the Merchants made them ready for their return, and some bands of soldiers, who went to refresh themselves in *Spain*. Being entred their ship, within two other months they arriued happily in the Port of *Siwill*. Thence they went to *Madrielle*, humble to thank the Queene, who gaue them Letters and Passe-portes, for their more secure arriuing in *France*. Being come to *Paris*, they were most louingly entertained by their parents and friends, who did conceale their voyage and sickness, so much as in them lay.

It was my hap to finde them there, and to me they reuealed the whol adventure, euen in such maner as I haue set it down; to the end, that such as fall into the like inconuenience, & being forsaken of Physitians heere, may trauaile for their recovery, as these two yong men did. At this day they are provided of great and honorable Offices, the one being officer for the Finances, and the other a wortheie Commander in Armes, hauing performed many signal seruices, in the last wars of the vnion to his Maiesty. And because this Chapter should not seeme ouerlong; I will heereunto adde another Discourse, concerning the Tree of *Guyaicum*, which healed these two yong *Parisiens*.

There is but
one kinde of
Guyaicum
uncly.

Trial of Guya-
icum by the
Parisians: ex-
perience both
heere, and in
India.

Some vertue
in the olde
Guyaicum, &
how it is to be
applied in
this disease.

Some for-
baney found
by cutt day
the olde Guya-
icum.

this blacke *Guyaicum*, which is of thofe great trunks, and call it, the heart of *Guyaicum*. They alfo perfwade thefelues that there are two kinds of *Guyaicum*, to wit, one that is wholly blacke, and the other nothing blacke at all. Neuertheleffe, they are both of one tree, in fomuch as that which hath no blackeffe, is of the branches, and enmore the oldeft, albeit they take it for the yongeft. Thefe young *Parisians*, beeing of good and apprehen- fufpifits, did well perceyue, that that which men brought hither to vs, had ver- ry little power or efficacy: for they had made many diets, without receyuing the leaft eafe thereby.

But the other of *India*, which was yong, fomewhat tender, hauing hardly attained to two yeares growing, and no higher the the stature of a man, did heale very eafily. For in the making thereof, there would beefele and perceiued, a very delicate and Grape-like gumme, pleafing vnto the heart, which is not to bee found in that made heere among vs. And they conclu- ded, that the drineffe and coldneffe of the trunks of the trees, then which there is no other brought to vs, is the only caufe, why fuch an inkefome difeafe cannot bee cured.

Yet do I not inferre heereby, but that the aged *Guyaicum* brought hither to vs, hath fome power and vertue: as in prepa- ring the bodie (to receiue the vnguentis for the difeafe) that is of a cold or me- lancholly nature, and hauing made vfe thereof eight or ten dayes, then to take the Vnguentis. Or elfe, when one is fup- pofed to haue that fickneffe, and there re- maineth paines or aches in fome parts of the body, or fome Vicer is feared: fome haue beene obferued, that by the vfe of this old *Guyaicum*, within three weekes they haue appeared to be found. Some alfo haue beene fore afficted, yea, diuers times left in deploable condition; yet hauing made vfe hereof for a year or two, as in their ordinary drink, and their bread commixed with a decoction of *Guyaicum*, and their meate boyled in like manner, they haue bene cured, and (among other) an Atturney of the Parliament at *Rome*: but this is very rare and extremely pain- full.

The voyage to the *Indies* feemeth not fo dolorous, nor yet fo greatly chargea-

ble: for thefe two young *Parisians*, of whom wee made mention in our prece- dent Chapter, it coft but three hundred Crownes betwene them, yet each had a man of honor with him, and a groomer or feruant to attend them both.

The decoction of the *Guyaicum* which is heere among vs, doth not ferue onely for the Pox, or thofe offended therewith, but likewile for all perfons ouer-abound- ing in moyfture, or that haue difeafes caufed by fome cold humors. Altho' fuch as haue opilations in the Luer, Spleene, and other of the bowels, caufing them to twate after the receite. Many haue found great comfort and eafe alfo thereby; as fome touched with palfies; others that haue had fwolne legs; others with vlcers fubieft to certaine times; and defluxions, deafnes, catarrhes, rheumes, and other imbecillities, they haue found themfelues thereby to be releafed. But people offended with heftique feauers, muft keepe themfelues from any way vi- fing it. I will now defcribe the forme of this Tree.

The Tree of *Guyaicum* is great and groffe, as are the Oakes in thefe our coun- tries, hauing the Bark or Rinde of black- ifh coullor, thicke, gummy, and fat. The wood thereof is much harder then Ibo- ny, and the rinde feperateh it felfe very eafily from the trunk, when it is dry. The Leaues doe appeare like thofe of Plan- taine, but they are much leffe, and more hard. It beareth a yellow flower, and the fruite is as big as a Nut, hauing with- in it ftones, like to thofe of a Medlar: no vfe hath beene made of the fruite, fo farre as I can learne, and yet there muft needs be fome vertue in them. Thus you per- ceiue what I know, and haue vnderftood, concerning the Wood called *Guyaicum*, in the vertue whereof, many heere among vs haue found themfelues to be cured; by thinking that it had the felfe-fame fa- culties, as that which is young and tender, and found in the *Indies*.

CHAP.

The Parisians
charges in
their voyage.

Concerning
the decoction
of *Guyaicum*,
and how it
may be used
in diuers
other difeafes
beside the pox

A Defcription
of the tree cal-
led *Guyaicum*
according to
the diligent
paines of the
Author

CHAP. XIII.

From whence it proceedeth, that Graine or Corne is not fo long time preferued in our Countries, as it hath bene, and still is, in Egypt. Also in what manner our Lands and Vines should be corrected and quali- fied, without dunging. With many reme- dies, for the preferuing of our Corne from corruption, and being eaten with diuers kinds of Vermines.

Some haue fupposed, that fuch feuerall kinds of corn as were kept for the space of fiftene daies, or there- about (safe and foundly) in the royall Granaries of Egypt, by the aduice of *Ioseph*, to provide agaynst the dearth of Graine, which should for feuen yeares after follow, according as he Pro- phetically foretold; came to paffe as by matter of miracle, and extraordinarily. I muft needs confeffe, that there was there both great abundance, and as great ster- ility of Corne, in the feuen consecutine yeares, and all thorow the extraordinary power of God. But for the conseruation of them, it is a matter ordinary to Egypt, that Corne should be kept there five and twenty yeares in pure goodnes, yea much longer time. Alwayes provided, that it bee not transported from place to place, and be not made fubieft to any heating: neither that it should bee eaten by anie Vermines, as many times our Corne is heere in our Countreyes, and the caufe thereof I will declare vnto ye.

The reason for it, is, that the Egyp- tians neuer vfed to fatten their groundes, but contented themfelues with fuch ma- nurance, as the foyle it felfe, and *Nylus* o- uerflowing them, onely affoorded: neuer vifing any dung, as heere we do, neyther Vines, Leyftals, and other excrements of beafts, which is the onely caufe, why our Graine cannot be preferued; but is fubieft to Wormes, VVecuelles, Mites, and other fmall creatures, that doe great harme thereto, whereby it yeeldeth no fauourie tafte, neither can bee kept in

goodneffe for any long time. *Hippocrates* feemeth to be of the fame opinion; affir- ming; that fuch as vfe breade made of Corne, which any dunged ground hath yeilded, they cannot liue fo healthfully, neither fo long a time, as others, feeding on the contrary.

Some one may fay vnto me, the what shall we do in thefe countreyes, where if our fieldes be not manured and dunged, the Land will yeelde nothing, or (at the beft) very little? Is it not apparant euery where among vs? That there are verie good meanes whereby to franke and fat- ten ground, with other things then dung and filth, *Hefiodus* plainly enliructeth vs; for in his Booke of Husbandry, he fayth: There is nothing better, to cherifh & fatten a leane and meager Land, then the strong straw of * Lapines, the chaffe of Chiches, of Beanes, of Tares, Lentilles, and other fuch like, vnterly reiecting all vfe of dung, which many haue charged with blamefull imputa- tions.

Of this opinion alfo, *Lieband* appea- reth to bee, in his Booke called *Majon Kuitique*, or the Countrey Farne, where he fayth: Infed of dung, they may rife the straw of Lupines, backs or cut small: Or elfe to fowe the ground with Lupines, and other Pulfes, and afterward when they beginne to grow, to labour then the land ouer and ouer, and this will ferue for dung, much better then that of any beaft.

There is mention alfo made, of ano- ther kind of manuring the ground, which is not fo good as the precedent, alledged by *Hefiodus*; but approaching fomewhat neere it, as thus. To cut fome ftore of Heath, Broome, Briars, and Thorns, and all other kinds of shrubbes that haue bufhy ftalkes, or vnder-woods, and then to couer all thofe Lands therewith, which are intended to be fowen: there let thefe feuerall matters by drying about the fpace of ten or twelue dayes, or longer time if neede require it. Then in the night time, let them bee fet on fire, and fo carefully tended, that they may bee altogether re- duced into afhes, by kindling the fire ftill where it would not tafte. Afterward, let thofe groundes be Tilled after one manner onely, and then fowed and couered. This kinde of Husbandry wil caufe great quan- tity of Corne, which the poore make vfe of in many places, where they haue no

Cattle:

Hip in L. 6. c. 7.

Lands that
are dunged,
doe not yeeld
much plenty of
Corne, not fo
fauourie, as o-
thers.

Hefiod. in lib. de
Agricul. cap. 5.

* A kinde of
Pullicke, fo called

Lieband in a
lib. de Man-
Rustique, cap. 30

Another man-
ner of manur-
ing ground,
by Heath,
Broome, Bry-
ars, &c.

Conieures
concerning
the long keep-
ing of Corn
in Egypt.



The Grain or
Corne of E-
gypt may bee
kept found 15
yeares and
more.

The reason
why our Corne
cannot be pre-
ferued for any
long time.

Cattle: and it causeth the earth to yeeld a great moylt graine, which is not subiect to corruption.

Here it is to be remembered, that where I say in Egypt, the grounds are not manured: I meane none but those that lye along the current of *Nylus*, on eyther side three or foure Leagues in largenesse, or little lesse on either side. But in other parts, as in the mountaine countreyes, they manure their Lands, though they be greatly fruitfull: yet not with dung, but with straw of diuers Pulles, according as I haue formerly sayd. Howbeit they haue great Heards of Oxen, and Flockes of Sheepe, also their fields are almost couered with flights of Pigeons, which after their owne manner manure the grounds, and it is verie excellent good in that Nature.

As for the dungs heere in our Countreyes, they are very laborious to bee made: for some dung must lye rotting a whole yeare together, before it can bee well employed. And then it is (oftentimes) full of feedes of wilde or sauage Hearbes, which fall into the Hay, that beasts of labour eat, and so passe thorow in their excrements vndigested, or else are found among the strawe, whereof they make their litter. Whereby ensueth, that the earth (oftentimes) produceth more store of bad Hearbes and VVeeds, then of good Corne, because they take away his true vertue of nouriture, and do meere ly smother it.

Beside all these things fore-named, especiall care is to be hadde, in knowing what dungs are good or bad; and for certaine groundes, and for some peculiar feedes. For Horffle-dung will serue well in one place; that of Oxen and Kine in another; and likewise those of other Cattle, Sheepe, Goates, Swine, Pigeons, and others beside. It may not be forgotten also that some groundes are to bee fattened in certaine quarters of the Moone, and others in other seasons: which is not any way to be obserued, in those other kindes of manuring, whereof I haue formerly written.

Here I must not ouer-passe, to write somewhat concerning the husbanding of Vines, which some vse to dung, albeit to much lesse purpose, then grounds bearing Corne. As about *Paris*, in the lower *Ly-*

moine; about *Lymoges*, and else-where. The doing heereof is a great deale lesse tollerable, because it is a matter very difficult, that a ground nourished and made fat with dung; should not still retaine in it, the fauour of the sayde Dung, and so (in the end) impart it to the wine. For, our people are verie ill aduised, to charge their Vines euery yeare: by reason it is the cause, that their wines (for the most part) haue an vnpleasing tast, and becoming fat and Oily, are easie to turne of themselves. Moreover, dung maketh our Vines to waxe aged immediately, and soone to grow barren; because they are too liberal of their goodnesse in the first yeares.

Seruius hath lesse written vnto vs, in those Commentaries which he made on the ninth Booke of the *Ennetes*, that the man was named *Pitunius*, who inuented this manner of manuring groundes by dung. And therefore he was called *Sterquilinus*, that is to say, a dung-hill carrier. It is to be presumed, that he was bred in the Latines countrey, in some place that was neuer fertile. These fewe notes I haue selected out of verie good Authors that did well vnderstand themselves in Husbandry, concerning the manuring of groundes & Vines, but they neuer approued the vse of dung.

Now, because I know verie well, that whatsoeuer *Hesiodus*, those other authors and my selfe also haue written, that our groundes and Vines should no longer bee manured in such stinking, foule, and grosse manner, but to follow those other instructions, most sweete and wholesome: in excuse of their neglecting so good aduice I will say with them, that that which hath taken roote for so many thousandes of yeares, can hardly be taken away vpon the sodaine.

Therefore, I will now set downe vnto you some certaine receipts and aduices, for the long conseruation of our Cornes safe and soundly, and that they may not bee any wayes bitten or eaten with Vermin, because it will bring exceeding great healthfulnesse vnto the people. For, without all doubt, when Corne and other nourishments of life haue any corruption whatsoeuer, they doe daily encrease and augment diseases amongst the people.

First

Of bringing Corne in sheaves into the Barne.

Of places where no Barne are vied.

What care is to be vied for providing a good Garne, or Corne-loft.

For the roote.

For the floor and walles.

Corne-heapes.

Scituation of the Garne.

How to auoyd vermine that do great harm to Corne.

First of all then, men ought to be very circumspect, that before they bring their Corne in sheaves into the Barne, the said sheaves be very dry, and free from all moisture. Next, not to lay them on the earthen floor, without there bee some dry boards betweene the Corne and it, Then that there bee no much-hill, or lakes, eyther in the Barne, or neere it, for all fauour will soone communicate it selfe to the Corne; and aboue all, let the Barne bee very well ayred. If it be in such a place, where they haue no vse of Baines, as in the most part of *Langueadocks*, then order must be taken, that the Stacks of Corne be (at least) so well couered and enclosed, that no raige may get power of entrance, for otherwile, the Corne will sproute it selfe, and afterward rot, corrupt, and putrifie.

After that the Corne is threshed, and meete to be laid vp in the Garne or Corne-loft, chiefe must be made of one that receiueth the bright splendour of the East, breathed also moderately with the North and West windes: but the South-erne blasts, and those leauing that way, by no means to enter it. The Couerture ouer head, need no great costlinesse, because of the ayres eather entrance thorow the Tyles, or other the like; that the Corne may not be heated, or chafed. The floore may bee of earth, or paving tyles; and the walles of whited mossier. You must bee respectiue, that your Corne-heapes bee not great or thicke, to auoyde ouer-heating; remoouing and changing them from place to place, at two Months and two Moneths. The Garne must be farre enough from moist places; especially from houses of office, which yeeld a noysome fauour, or any such vnst being; from Stables of Oxen, Horses, Swine, & such like.

The planchers and walles of the Garne, wherein you purpose to house your Corne, must be washed with vinegar, or such water, wherein hearbes, or some bitter drugs haue bene boiled: as Wormewood, Southernwood, the leaues of wilde Cowcumbers, the pithe or graine of Coliquintida, or of Lupines, or Oxegauls; without all question to the contrary, these haue bene truly tried, that no VVeuels, Mites, or Wormes can bite or touch the Corne, where they haue bene vied. And

they that Corne to take this paines, may lay some wormwood vnderneath, aloft, and about their Corne-heapes, or Southernwood, or dried wilde Marierome. Or else annoint the walles and planchers of the Garne, with Lye made of the oyle of Oliues; or if it may not be had, with Sheeps yring To salt powder the ground vnderneath the Corne, with ashes made of Oaken wood, it is the present killing of all Mites and VVeuels.

Now to keepe the Corne from heating or warming, ouer, and beside our forenamed remoouing, let there bee layde vnder euery Stack of Corne, one of Miller, or if it be mingled therewith, it is easily separated afterward with a running Sine. Sale-Niter and the scum thereof, is very good for Corne-heapes, and preferueth them wonderfully, as also fro sprouting: many Sea-Merchants haue made vse thereof, to their no meane profite. In breefe, a good and charitable man shall neuer stand in need of so many remedies, if he keepe his Corne with intention, to helpe and lend to the poore, and without interest. For God saith by his Prophet *Ezechiel*, That hee will preserue the goods of them that keepe them to helpe the poore. And contrariwise, That he will suffer them to rot, and their Corne shall bee eaten with yermine, that hoorde them vp, to get great gaine by them, and hurt the people vexed with famine.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the great difference, which both *Ancient* and *Moderne Writers*, haue obserued to be betwixt the Royall title of a King, and the disagreefull name of a Tyrant.



Before I begin to describe the difference, that is betwixt a King and a Tyrant; I hold it to bee a matter most convenient, to set downe a definition both of the one and other, to the ende, that the deportments of them both, may the better be knowne.

A King is such a man, that yeeldeth himselfe as obedient to the lawes of Nature,

An easier way for such as can take no paine.

How to preferue the Corne from heating and chafing.

Ezek. 37, 10.

A necessary obseruation in the Author.

How the Egyptians doe manure their grounds that are not neere to *Nylus*.

Dungs doe engender many w. e. and v. whol. some hearbes by smothering the earth, rather then nourishing it.

Knowledge in the diuersitie of dungs, for their goodnesse or badnesse.

Concerning the husbandrie fit for Vines.

The definition of a King or of him that holdeth the estate and dignity Royall.

The note or marke of Royalty.

What things are possible in a King.

The definition of a Tyrant, & what the signification of the word Tyrant implyeth.

Who were called tyrants in elder times.

ture, as he desireth his Subjects to bee towards him: forsaking naturall liberty, & a propriety in the goods of any man. I observe in this definition, that Subjects ought to bee obedient to the Royall Monarch, to declare thereby, that in him consisteth Soueraigne Maiesty. The King also ought to bee obedient to the Lawes of nature, that is to say; to gouerne his Subjects, and to guide his owne actions by naturall iustice, which maketh it selfe to bee seene as cleare and brightly, as the splendour of the Sunne. It is likewise a Royall marke or note, when the Prince sheweth himselfe as milde and playable to the lawes of nature; as hee wisheth his Subjects to be obeyfiant to him. Which he may easily do, if he feare God about all things, be pittifull to the afflicted, proud in his enterprizes, hardy in exploits, modest in prosperity, constant in adversity, firme in his word, wise in his counsell, careful of his Subjects, succourous to friends, terrible to enemies, courteous to good men, dreadfull to wicked persons, and iust to all.

A Tyrant is such a man, as defileth the lawes of nature with his feete, abuseth the liberties of free-borne Subjects, even as if they were his slaues, and maketh the goods of other men to be his owne. The name or word Tyrant, is Greeke in his owne propriety, and was honourable, signifying nothing else in times of antiquity, but a Prince that had possessed himselfe of the State, without the consent of his Citizens and Subjects, and of a companion, had made him his Master. Such a man was called a Tyrant, although he were a most wise and iust Prince. In like manner, *Plato* writing to *Dionysius* the Tyrant, gaue him this quality as his honour: *Plato* to *Dionysius* the tyrant, health. The returne and answer was: *Dionysius* the tyrant, to *Plato* greeting. And to declare that the word tyrant, was as well attributed to iust & good Princes, as them that were wicked; it evidently appeareth herein: because *Pittacus* and *Periander*, two of the seuen Sages of Greece, were called tyrants, for having seized the Estates of their Countries.

But such, as eyther by power, or else by cunning had invaded and obtained the Soueraignty, perceiving that their liues were exposed to the mercy of their ene-

mies; were constrained (for the better security of their liues and goods) to haue Guards of strangers about their persons, & strong Garrisons in Castles, for whose payement of wages and maintenance, great tributes & impositions were leuied. And when they saw, that their liues could not be secured, hauing but poore friends, and potent enemies; they did eyther put to death, or banished some, to please and enrich others: and they that stood in desperate condition, they made rape both of their goods and wiues. And this was the reason, that tyrants were extremely hated and malliced. For we read, that *Dionysius* the elder tyrant, of one part of *Sicily*, had daily ten thousand Soldiers for his Guard, and ten thousand horsemen, and foure hundred Gallies, readily hyred and armed. And when he could not make vp this account among so few Subjects as were vnder his seruice; he wrang & griped his people in so small an Island, whereof hee gouerned but in part onely, and contained no more then six hundred and fixteene Italian miles in all.

Now because euery one hath not the iudgement to distinguish a good King from a Tyrant, calling him a Tyrant, that (for great store of good reasons) maketh himselfe formidable, and stood in awe of, beside that which I haue already sette downe, I will make him some what more easily to be knowne.

The most notable difference betweene a King and a Tyrant, is; that the King conformeth himselfe to the lawes of nature, and a tyrant trampleth on them with his feete, that one maintaineth piety, iustice, and faith, the other hath neither God, Law, nor Faith. The one maketh what he doth, serue for the weale publique, & tuition of his Subjects: the other doth not any thing, but for his owne particular profite, reuenge, or pleasure. The one enforceth himselfe to enrich his Subjects by all the best meanes he can deuise: the other will not build his owne house, but with the ruines of theirs. The one reuengeth the iniuries of the publique Estate, and pardoneth his owne: but the other reuengeth cruelly his owne iniuries, and pardoneth them that are done to others. The one spareth the honour of modest women: & the other triumpheth in their shame. The one taketh pleasure

Crying and insulting Tyrants were compelled to entertaine Guards for their owne safety.

The cause why Tyrants were mortally hated.

We observe in some iudgements betweene a good King & a Tyrant.

The apparent and best noted difference betweene a Royall King & a Tyrant, in very small obseruations.

Of publique benefit.

Pardonning iniuries.

Of women's honour.

Of general vint.

Of affability.

Of Loue.

Of Feare.

Of Taxation.

Of honourific seruice.

Of free-giving Offices.

Of Law.

Of peoples loue.

Of Warre.

Of Guards.

Of Peace.

Of happy life.

Of a happy death.

to be aduised in all freedome and liberty, and will be wisely reprehended when hee faileth; but nothing is more irkefome to the other, then the counsell of a graue and vertuous man.

The one striueth to maintaine his Subjects in peace and vniue; but the other moueth dayly diuisions, to make the one part ruinate the other, and then to fatten himselfe with their Confiscations. The one, delighteth to bee sometimes seene, and heard of his Subjects; but the other euer more hydeeth himselfe from them, as from his enemies. The one, maketh reckoning of his Subjects Loue, but the other of their Feare. The one, neuer feareth, but for the wel-fare of his people: but the other dreadeth nothing more then them.

The one, will not charge his Subjects more then needes must, remembring alwayes the publique necessity; but the other drinketh their blood, gnaweth their bones, and sucketh the verie Marrowe of his people, onely to weaken them. The one searcheth out men of best condition, to employ in publique Offices; but the other employeth none but Theeues, and most wicked persons in his seruice, like to Spunges. The one maketh free gifts of estates and offices, to auoide concussions, and crowdes of people; but the other selleth them at as deare rates as hee can, for their better meanes of enfeebling the people by Thefts; and then (afterward) cuttes the Theeues throates for theyr vvealth, because he would be reputed a good Iusticer.

A King measureth his actions and manners, by the foote of the Law: but the tyrant maketh the Law to serue his manners. The one is beloued and reuerenced of his people: and the other generally hated of them all. The one hath no other recourse in war, but to his Subjects: but the other, will make no warre but with them. The one, hath no Guards or Garrisons but of his owne people: but the others defence is onely in strangers. The one delighteth in an assured repose and tranquility; but the other languisheth in perpetuall feare. The hope & expectation of the one, is euermourning life in blessednes: but the other cannot auoid eternall punishment. The one is honored in this life, & desired again after death: the other is infamous in this

life, and cometh in peeces with shame after death. But because the continuation of this chapter might seeme ouer-redious to the Reader, if I should verify all these relations by historickall examples, I will referre such as are willing to take the paynes, to read the histories themselves, both in Greeke, Latine, & other languages, where they shall find that to be most true, which hath bin spoken of Kings and Tyrants.

CHAP. XV.

In what high account and esteeme, Philosophers, & other men of knowledge (in what Sciences soeuer) were held in elder times, by Emperors and Kings.



E need not now complaine, that in these dayes of ours, there is such want of excellent spirits, in all kindes of Arts and Sciences: but if we survey with more wary iudgment, we shall plainly perceiue, that there are learned men enow, who may iustly find fault, that neither they are in such esteeme, or any way so well recompensed of Princes in these times, as many worthy men were heretofore, by Emperors, Kings, Princes, and great Lords, in those famous daies of reuerend antiquity. Instead of concluding, and acquainting yee with the iustice of their reason, I will lightly passe ouer; & instead of long speaking, onely remember yee with some histories and examples of Famous Potentates in former ages, who were Friends, and Nurfing fathers to Philosophers and Schollers; to the end that their actions being compared with those of these dayes, it may be knowne, whether they haue cause to complaine, or no, in a case so highly importing.

And first of all, I will beginne with the excellent and renowned Captain *Pompey*, who (as we read) after he had vanquished the puissant king *Mithridates*, & obtained many other victories and adventures in war, coming to *Athens* with all his warlike furnishment, such as the *Roman* Consuls and Captaines vsed to haue borne before the he was aduertised that *Pollidamus* the

The Conclusion.

A great cause of discouragement to learned men.

Potentates & Princes of elder times.

Pompey, his victory against *Mithridates*.

Philosopher lay sicke in his bed. Being desirous to go and see him, he would not onely honor him with his personall Visitation; but when he came neere the door of the house, he caused his Standards and Imperial Ensigns to march in before him. For it was euermore his saying; *That Kingdomes and Empires ought to obey vertue and Learning.* Thus he behaued himselfe to this poore learned man, which hee would not haue done to the greatest Potentate then liuing.

Dionysius the Tyrant, king of *Syracusa*, hauing obtained of *Plato* the excellent diuine Philosopher, that he would come & see him in *Sicily*; when hee heard of his neere appreching, he went to meete him on the way, causing him to sit with him in his owne Chariot, drawne with white Horses. Such was the reputation which wife and learned men had in those times. When *Alexander* the Great, had determined the vtter ruine & subuersion of the *Thebans*, he gaue especial charge first of all, that no man should touch the house of the Poet *Pindarus*, but to leaue it wholly standing. If I should tell yee, how highly *Virgill* was honored and esteemed by *Octauianus*, is a matter so perfectly known, that it needeth no report of mine. According to *Pliny* in his sequenth Booke, whensoever he entred into the Theater, there to deliuer some of his Verses, all the people would stand vp on their feet, and offer as great reuerence to him, as if it had bin to the Emperor. And that which is much more, *Silius Italicus*, a Spanish Poet, did yearly solemnize the day of his Nativity, and with farre greater deuotion, then hee did his owne. The gifts and presents daily giuen him by *Octavian*, *Mecenas*, and many more, were so great, that *Seruius* (who writeth of him) saith, that his goods (in very short time) amounted to the value of fixe thousand *Sesterties*, which a rife vnto two hundred and fiftie thousand Crownes. He had in *Rome* a very honorable Palace; in regard whereof, *Iuuenal* in his 7. Satyre saith, *That he was one of the richest men in those dayes.*

Vpon a day, in the presence of *Octavian*, and *Livia* his wife, the mother vnto *Marcellus*, *Virgill* vntered certaine Verses of his bookes *Æneidos*, and comming to the end of the sixt Booke, where hee discourseth most elegantly of *Marcellus*, late-

ly dead before; the hart of the mother became so strangely and passionately moued thereat, that she fell into a swoond, not hauing any power to heare the rest. But being reuiued to her selfe againe, she commaunded, that for each of those whereof shee had lost the hearing, *Virgill* should haue ten *Sesterties* giuen him. The remainder (which she heard not) being one and twenty verses in number; the valewation of his reward, contained the summe of 5000. Ducates, of our instant money.

It is found faithfully recorded, that the *Syracusans* had some *Athenian* prisoners, that could rehearse (by heart) certayne verses of *Euripides* the Greeke Poet; and daily pronounced them; by which occasion only, and in honor of the Poet, they were deliuered, & permitted freely to go home to their owne country. *Scripi* the *African*, during his life time, had alwayes with him (in his wars, the Statue of *Æneas*; and when he died, he tooke especial order, that it might be buried in his owne Sepulcher with him. The Emperor *Domitian*, caused *Silius Italicus* (an excellent Poet, and borne in *Spain*) to bee made three times Consul of *Rome*, as *Marshall* witnesseth in one of his Epigrams, beginning, *Augusto Placitura.*

But I know not what to say, of our moderne and later times; or what our late liuing Princes haue done, either to *Poissin*, *Pontanus*, or *Sannazar*; and to speak of our Modern Frenchmen, as *Ronsard*, *Belloy*, and other excellent Poets. But perhaps you will answer me, their hopes may bee to come heereafter, because some of them are yet liuing, young in yeares, but old in wisdome and vnderstanding, and worthy to bee equalled with many of former times. But because I see so little respect, let vs goe backe againe to those renowned Ancients. King *Atthridates* held *Plato* and his learning in so high reputation, being desirous to haue his statue; sent to find out a *Syllian* to performe it, because he was a most excellent workeman. For in those dayes, the greatest honour that could be, was (in publike places) to erect Figures & Statues; yet none might be permitted, except it were of some worthy man, made famous, and knowne by some vertuous deeds, or for his dignity in learning. For this cause the men of *Athen* made one of *Demosthenes*, with a title of the

very greatest honor that euer had bin giuen vnto any other; and these were the words of the inscription. *If the power and strength of Demosthenes had bin equal to his spirit, wisdome, and learning: the King of Macedon could neuer haue surmounted the Greeces.*

The inscription on the Statue of Demosthenes

Iosephus was brought prisoner to Rome

A notable Philosopher, that tooke his vertues from the Athenians ten yeares

Athenian in Greece

Rewards giuen to Lucian

Plinius

Alexanders earnest desire of Aristotiles book of creatures

Homer the best of all the Grecian Poets

The loue of King Atthridates to Plato

A famous Cause

The words of Great Alexander, of Homers Hlaids

A famous Philosopher of Prusa

the very greatest honor that euer had bin giuen vnto any other; and these were the words of the inscription. *If the power and strength of Demosthenes had bin equal to his spirit, wisdome, and learning: the King of Macedon could neuer haue surmounted the Greeces.*

Iosephus the Jew, being one in number amongst the captiues of *Ierusalem*, was brought prisoner to *Rome*; & yet notwithstanding, in regard of the Bookes hee had made of the Jewes Antiquities, they repute him worthy to haue a Statue. The *Athenians* considering the wisdome of *Demetrius Phalerens*, scholler vnto *Theophrastus*, caused his Statue to be erected in thirty places of this City. Now if men of merit were so highly honoured, doubtles they were as well rewarded. For *Athenes* writeth in the 5. book of his *Gymnosophists* that *Aristotle* for his Booke de *Animalium* receiued of *Alexander* 800. talents; which of the currant money now in *France*, valleweth foure hundred & fourescore thousand Crownes, which is verified by *Pliny* in his eight booke. There hee declareth, that *Alexanders* desire was so great to haue this booke performed by *Aristotle*, that he sent many thousands of men thoroughout all *Greece* and *Asia*, with letters and expresse commandement, that they should be obedient to whatsoeuer hee required, touching the manner of hunting and flying of Fowles, Fishes, and all the like exercises, because they should know & vnderstand, the nature and properties of all kinde of Beasts, Birds, and Fishes, & then to aduertise *Aristotle* thereof. Vndoubtedly if *Homer*, the very best of Greek Poets, had liued in the time of *Alexander*, it is to bee presumed that hee would haue bin as bountifull and beneficiall to him, as hee was to *Aristotle*. Because when a chest or Casket was presented vnto him, wherein *K. Darius* kept his most precious Vnguent, the Chest being very pleasing to him, he said; *I will make this Chest the keeper of far richer treasure: and presently hee did put thereinto the Workes of Homer*, which he euermore tooke great delight to reade in continually.

The Emperor *Traiane*, in regard of his learning onely, did so especially honour the Philosopher *Dyon*, that when hee rode abroad in the fields to take the Ayre; hee would haue him to sit neere vnto him in

his owne Chariot, and so ride on along with him thorough some, making it as his triumphall entrance.

In the warre which the Emperor *Octavianus* made in *Egypt*, against *Mark Anthony*, hee sayde; *That hee did forbear to destroy Alexandria, for the respect hee bore to Alexander, that builded it; but much more for his loue to the Philosopher Arius.* The same Emperor also, made *Cornelius Gallus* Tribune of the people; onely because hee was a most elegant Poet.

Suetonius in the life of *Vespasian*, sheweth, what rewardes were anciently giuen to the Learned. For he saith, *Although Vespasian was taxed with counteneyling; yet notwithstanding, he greatly fauoured exercises and Arts, and gaue as pensions to each Master of them, such quantity of golden pieces, as being reduced to the summes of our monyes (according to *Berallius* and *Budens*) their stipends valleweth two thousand and five hundred Ducates, but as some say Crownes.*

By the Testimony of *Pliny*, in his sequenth Booke, and the ninth Chapter, writing of *Socrates* the Greeke Orator, a man may very easily perceyue, in what account and estimation the learned were then. For he saith, that this *Socrates*, hauing made an Oration for a certayne man; hee rewarded him with twelue Talents, which vallew (according vnto our present computation) twelue thousand Crownes.

Wee finde it likewise written, in the life of the Emperour *Antoninus*, Sonne vnto *Suerius*, that hee gaue to *Appian*, so many Ducates of Gold, as there were number of Verses in a great worke which hee had (at that time) made, concerning the Nature and property of all kinds of Fishes.

The Emperour *Gratian*, knowing that *Antoninus* composed well in Verse; gaue him (onely for his desert that way) the Consulshippe, which was the very greatest dignity, nay euen next to that of Emperour.

Domitian, albeit hee was a most wicked man, yet he gaue great honors & gifts to the Poet *Eustathius*. And in a solemn Feast, hee caused him to sit at his Table, Crowned with a Garland of Lawrell; where-with all our gaue Elders vnto Crowne theyr Poets. *Seleus Bassus*, a Ly-

a Whose birth place was Alexandria

Suetonius in his life of Vespasian

Plinius

a famous Orator of Greece, Secter to Plato

Suetonius in his life of Antoninus

e Not the son of Vespasian, but an Italian Poet borne

d Hee wrote the Historie from Enes to Anabasis the Emperour

CHAP. XVI.

*That Learning is not onely necessary in Kings
and Princes: but also for Generall, Cap-
taines, and Commanders, that follow the
Exercise and Art Military.*



Could alledge manifold
Histories, besides true,
good, and sufficient Rea-
sons, that Princes (in an-
cient times) found no
better forme, or direct

rule for their orderly government, then
Learning, and Knowledge. And because
the euident heereof remaineth so plaine
and pregnant vnto vs, I will obserue some
few examples, tending to this purpose.
When King *Phillip* vnderstood the birth
of his sonne *Alexander*, and knowing *A-
ristotle* to liue then in *Athens*, he sent a ve-
ry notable Letter vnto him (recorded by
Plutarke, and *Anulus Gellius*) wherein hee
thanked the Goddess, not so much for the
safe birth of his sonne, but because hee
was borne in the life time of *Aristotle*. By
which few words, may be apparently dis-
cerned, how much the King thought lea-
ning and knowledge fitte for his sonne, to
the end, he might proue to be such a King
and Captaine, as hee was indeede after-
ward. Whereupon, when hee grew vnto
yeares meete for the embracing of studie;
he made *Aristotle* his Mayster, sent him
great gifts, and (in meere loue to his son)
builded a Cittie, which he had formerly
destroyed, and erected also a Schoole
(admirable for cost and curious workema-
ship, such as no time before had afforded)
wherein his sonne might receiue instru-
ction.

Antigonus, King of *Macedon*, knowing
how needfull a thing Learning was, for
his owne good government: and being
mightily prouoked by the continuall re-
nowne of *Zeno*, a singular Philosopher,
and Prince of the Stoicks; desired ear-
nestly to enioy his company, which hee
further laboured by Letters, and manie
Embassies. Of which Letters, *Diogenes
Laertius* reciteth one, in this manner fol-
lowing.

The manner
of Princes
government
in old times.

Plutarke
and Gellius
in this cap.

Some doe re-
pute this
to be Alex-
ander, the
called
after the
name of
Alexander

A manifest
great account
in Athens, &
Author of the
Stoicicall

The

h He is said to
be very fami-
liar with Ci-
cero.

Honour not
onely during
life, but after
death also
done to lea-
ned men.

An obiecti-
on and answer
concerning
learned Seneca.

A true pro-
uerbe.

Learned men
liuing in an-
cient times.

Those of
more mo-
derne dayes.

The Letter of King An- tigonus, to Zeno the Philosopher.



A notable re-
sponsum, or
loue to lea-
ning, in
this ap-
tenuate.

*Antigonus a King, sendeth
greeting to Zeno the Philo-
sopher. I know very well, that
in worldly goodes, fauours of
Fortune, and the reputation of
such things, I doe farre exceede thee. Ne-
uertheless, I know wishall, that in true felici-
tie, knowledge, discipline, studies and libe-
rall Artes, thou reachest a higher pitch then
I can doe. In regard whereof I desire, that
thou wouldest come and liue with me, which
I pray thee to yeelde vnto; that I may enioy
thy company and conuersation. In the doing
whereof, be well assured, that thou not onely
shalt be master of me; but shalt also be a tea-
cher to all my Macedonians. For he that in-
structeth the King, maketh him to become
vertuous and good: teacheth those vertues
likewise to all his Subiects. To proue the
truth heereof, it is commonly scene, that
such as the King is, such are his Ruffians,
and such as the Captaine, such his Souldi-
ours.* Farewell.

What the phi-
losopher him-
selfe could not
doe, hee did by
his Schollers.

Alexander
was Scholler
to Aristotle
fifty yeares to-
gether, and
learned Learning
earnestly.

Plutarke, in vita
Alex.
and Gellius in
this cap 1
Thimo in Alex.

These Letters being receiued by the
venerable Philosopher; in regard of his
deepe stepe into age, it was not possible
for him to condiscend thereto, or (in per-
son) to satisfie the Kings earnest request.
But he sent him two of his Schollers, ex-
celling the rest in knowledge & learning,
by whom he was worthily taught and in-
structed.

The learning of *Aristotle*, vnder whom
Alexander was tutored full whole yeares
together, tooke such roote and efficacie
in the Scholler; that he became so excel-
lent a King, as no one in the world was a-
ble to compare with him. Being in the
midst of his Armies, he would not giue
ouer study, but euermore layd (with his
Sword) on the pillow of his bed, the *Ilia-
des* of *Homer*, and other bookes. And it
appeared, that such was his loue to Lea-
ning, that he could as easily apprehend it,
as he conquered kingdoms by force of
Armes. *Plutarke*, *Anulus Gellius*, and *The-
mistocles* doe affirme, that *Alexander* had
published certayne bookes of naturall
Philosophy, whereof he had been an Au-
ditor vnder *Aristotle*; in regard whereof,
he wrote a Letter vnto him.

The Letter of great Alex- ander, to his Maister *Aristotle.*



*Greatly Aristotle, thou hast done
ill, in publishing those Bookes of
speculative Philosophie, by thee
composed. For, in thine owne
iudgement, wherein can I pos-
sibly excell other men, when the Science
wherein thou hast instructed me, cometh
to be common to all men? I would haue thee
to know, that I more couet to preceed all men
in Learning and Knowledge, then in riches,
pompe, power and dominion.*

Farewell.

When this was vnderstoode by *Ari-
stotle*, to comfort and please so puissant a
Prince, he commanded that his Bookes
(formerly common) should be so obli-
cured, that it was not possible to vnderstand
them, but by his owne interpretation.
Pirrhys that excellent Captaine, and king
of the *Epirotes*, who maintained great
wartes against the *Romans*, and diuerse
times ouercame them; did exercise him
selfe, not onely in the reading of the Sci-
ences: but also composed sundry bookes,
among which was his precepts of warre.
As the like hath beene done lately in our
time, by that famous man, *Guillaume du
Bellay*, Lord of *Langcy*.

What shall we say of *Julius Caesar*, the
first Emperour, and (without all compari-
son) the very best Captaine of all them
that had the managing of war? We may
truly say of him, that he was no lesse in-
clined to Learning, then to Armes. For
he made himselfe a Scholler, before hee
was a Souldier: and afterward as often as
he had any leysure, he frequented the A-
cademies of the Poets, and in walking, he
would both reade and write. Vpon a
time, being at *Alexandria* in *Egypte*, to saue
himselfe from an imminent perill, he ad-
uentured swimming, bearing the bookes
which he had written in one of his hands;
declaring thereby, that he affected them
as dearely, as his owne life: hauing as
much care to saue the one, as the other;
and what his learning was, his Commen-
taries (yet remaining with vs) can suffi-
ciently witnesse.

A louing re-
proben in of
his Maister,
and declaring
his affection
to Learning.

Pirrhys king of
the *Epirotes*,
an excellent
iourner for lea-
ning, and a
publisher of
bookes.

Julius Caesar
the first Em-
perour, as fa-
mous for lea-
ring, as for
armes
Paul Marti,
in *Caesars* life.

Caesar loved
learning as
dearely as his
life.

The care of the Romanes for their childrens learning

Cato Censorius

Cato Plitoni

A Philosopher and Poet of Sicily, a City of Phoenicia, by the sea side, not farre from Tyre. Cicero in Lib. de Finib.

Examples of soldiers affecting learning. Scipio Africanus.

Hanniball.

Plato schoole master to Dionysius the Tyrant.

A notable answer.

Notonely *Cesar*, but all the *Romanes* also, do beare witness of that which wee say, who (in my poore opinion) were reputed and knowne to be good Captaines and Gouvernors. For, the first thing which they undertook for their children in their infancie, was to haue them well instructed, and therefore provided good schoolmasters for them, which they chargeably sent for out of Greece. Both the *Catoes* were knowne to be excellent scholars, & soldiers. The great *Censor* was wonderfully addicted to learning, as the Booke written by him do plainly testifie: hee was a worthy Orator, Historian, and endued with many vertues, and euen toward the ending of his dayes, hee learned the Greeke tongue. The other *Cato*, styled of *Utica*, though he was not of such a sharpe and ingenious spirit in apprehension of Sciences; yet notwithstanding, hee kept company with most excellent Schoolmasters; among whom was the Philosopher * *Antipater*. And he gaue his minde so much to studie, that *Cicero* sayth, in his Booke *De Finibus*, he did nothing else but reade; yea, whensoever he sate in the Senate house, hee alwayes had some Booke or other about him, to reade at all times when he pleased.

Scipio Africanus, the victorious triumpher ouer *Hanniball*, was extremely addicted to Learning, and euermore had the Poet *Ennius* with him. After all his Victories, he gaue himselfe againe afresh to Learning and reading. *Hanniball* his Competitor, although he was of *Africa*, had alwayes booke with him in his Tents and Pauillions: in the time of warre, hee would not giue ouer reading, but in one place or other (howsoever it were) hee would haue *Silanus* and *Saxilus* (two learned *Lacedemonians*) with him, by whom hee was well instructed in the Greeke Language. We haue formerly read, that *Dionysius* the Tyrant of *Sicily*, had *Plato* to be his Schoolemaster, and kept company alio with many other learned men. Afterward, when hee was expelled out of his kingdom, one (in mocking manner) demanded of him, whereto now serueth the Philosophy which he had learned of *Plato*, to whom hee returned this answer, *It serueth mee to support my present necessity with patience.* *Themistocles*, a most excellent Captaine, declared himselfe to be no

lesse diligent in learning, when hee was in Armes: his Master was * *Alexandros*, the *Milesius*. *Epaminondas*, and the other Captaines of Greece, were all studious and worthy Orators. *Atthidrides*, in the warres which he had against the *Romanes*, for the space of forty years together, notwithstanding all the furious assaults, desisted not from his studying, hauing euermore diuers Schoolemasters and Philosophers with him.

Octavius Augustus, limited to himselfe certaine houres in the day, onely for study; and when he was in warre, yet he kept his times of studying still: hauing therefore diuers worthy Masters with him, as *Apollodorus* of *Pergama*, the Philosopher *Asperavius*, *Asinius Pollio*, *Valerius Messala*, *Virgil*, *Ouid*, and many other. And before this Emperour, there was a famous Captaine, named * *Lucius Lucullus*, who during the wars, gaue himselfe to study; & when the wars ceased, hee applyed all his diligence, in cherishing and maintaining learned men. *Paulus Emilius*, victorious ouer the king of *Persia*, ouer & beside his beeing a very learned man, endeauoured also that his children might bee the like; so that at his instant request, the *Athenians* gaue him * *Metrodorus* to bee their Schoole-master. But wherfore do I take so much paines, in naming so many one after another? *Pompey*, *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, *Marcus Brutus*, *Trasianus*, *Adrian*, and *Marke Antonius*, were all learned men, and compiled Booke, Orations, and Letters of great learning, and memorable example.

In briefe, if I erre not greatly in my judgement, it may plainly appeare, that few Captaines are found of ancient times who were excellent in nothing so much as by their learning. There are two onely, of whom wee finde nothing remainyng written, expressing whether they were learned, or no: the one being named *Caius Marius*, and the other *Marcus Marcellus*. And yet I reade, that *Marcellus* highlie loued and favoured men of knowledge: whereby it is to bee credited, that surely himselfe was learned, though nothing (to that effect) bee written of him. And it may the more manifestly appeare, by the prohibition he made (as we haue formerly alledged) at the surprisall of *Syracusa*, that *Archimedes* should not bee slayne. And

a A Philosopher of noble birth, but more eminent for wisdom.

The laure of Octavius Augustus tolering.

b A Nobler of Rome famous for learning, manly, pious, and exceeding great studies.

c A Philosopher dedicated to Epichurus.

No Captaine in euery case but by duty; yet, for our Learning.

Caius Marius and Marcus Marcellus.

The Authors advertisement to the Captaine of the dayes.

And although he miscaied, notwithstanding his strict command to the contrary: yet it was not without great greefe of the said *Marcellus*.

Let then the Captaines of these our dayes, say what they list, that learning is not so expedient for them (I meane such as thrust the stile of Captaines on themselves) coueting with their owne opinion, or rather oblinacy, to cloud and couer their dulnesse and ignorance. It is sufficient for vs, that wee see how highly our grane Predecessors esteemed Booke and Learning, equall with the courage and manhood of infinite Captaines, worthily affected and addicted to learning; as we finde it vnparially set downe, in that iudicious Booke of warre, written by *Kobertus Valturinus*.

CHAP. XVII.

Of diuers secret naturall properties, being in the Viper: and how he may be sed on, and eaten, without any danger.



THE Viper is a kinde of Serpent, sufficiently knowne to many: and although it bee little, yet notwithstanding it is very venomous, for with a little pricking, it can kill a man. But as our Lord God made not any thing but to profitable vse: euen so this creature, with all his venom, serueth man for diuers medicines and maladies, especially for any paine in the throte. It is a thing very excellently good (by a secret property in nature) to beare the head of a Viper about a man: for luing, it killeth, and dead, it healeth. *Tiriacle*, or *Treacle*, as we vicerme it, is properly good against venom: but in the making thereof, and in the confection, there is necessarily required some part of this beaſt, to the end it may be the more perfect, and of the greater efficacy. And it was named *Tiriacle*, because that the worde *Thirion* in Greeke, signifieth a Viper or venomous Beaſt. Some (and not vnſightly) doe giue another etymologie, and reason for this name. But before we report the benefits ensuing by the Viper, me-thinks it were not amisse, to remember what is said by *Pliny*, *Isidorus*,

and *Aelianus*. They report, that when this Serpent conceiue, the Male putteth his head in at the mouth of the Female, whereby shee receiueh such immeasurable delectation; that with her ouer-sharp teeth, she byteth off the head of the Male, becoming thereby widowed, yet violent in assaulting. The matter conceiued by her, groweth to bee Egges, which forme themselves within her body, according as the spawn of fishes doth: and of those Egges do Vipers ensue, at such time as she is to deliuer her young ones, yeelding euery day, one, till they amount to twenty. Now because they are so many in number, they which remaine behinde, hauing no power to attend their fit time, do teare the belly of their Damme, so that by her death, they enter into the world, and lue. If it be so, surely it is a matter very maruailous: for it should seeme thereby, that (euen naturally) the children do reuenge the death of their father.

With this opinion of *Pliny*, do many other Authors consent; as *Plutarch* in his Treatise against Scorfes. Neuertheless, there are a great many other, who do contrary it, denying that the Viper dyeth in her teeming: with which opinion, I also rest resolved, because the other seemeth to me not naturall; neyther haue I seene the experience thereof, or know any person that hath seene it. In like manner, *Philostatus* is flay against it, in the life of *Apollo Thyanens*, introducing *Apollo* himselfe, who reporteth, that hee had seene a Viper, that after she had fully yeelded all her young ones; licked them very lovingly, and liued healthfully. As much may be gathered from the words of *Aristotle*, who setteth them downe thus. *The Viper onely (among all other Serpents) deliuereth her young ones, because she first formeth them in her body of Egges, as the ſpawne of Fishes is. Afterward, when they are formed, they remaine three daies wrapped up in a tender thinn skin; which breaketh at the limited time, and so affordeth the young ones liberty (in regard whereof, *Apuleius* in his Apologie, calleth them *Quiperes*, and not Vipers, as much to say, as engendered of Egges) and very often it happeneth, that that wrapper breaking (of it selfe) in the Dammes belly, they issue forth euery day one, so the number of twenty and more: these are the very words of *Aristotle*. In another*

Plut. in L. 9. c. 64. Isidor. in lib. 11. de Etimologia. Aelian. in lib. 1. de animal.

The conception of the Female Viper and deliuey of her young.

Plut. in Tra. de scorf.

Philostatus in vit. Apol. Thyd.

Arist. in lib. 1. de animal. c. 9.

His words concerning the Viper, deliuey of her young ones.

Apuleius in Apolog.

God made all things for the profitable vse of man.

Of the vertue of Tiriacle or Treacle, and how it is made.

Aul. in lib. 8.
de Animal. lib. 1.The Authors
conicature of
this controu-
erted point.Dioscor. in lib.
8. cap. 1.
How the flesh
of the viper
may be safely
eaten.A Salt or pou-
der made of
the viper to
procure a
goods appetitePaulus Aeginet.
in lib. 1. cap. 14

Plin. lib. 7. cap. 1.

Dioscor. in lib.
8. cap. 1.Theophrastus
in lib. 8. cap. 9.Galen in lib. de
Simp. cap. 4.

ther place, I meane in his third Booke of Beasts, speaking of the reeming of Serpents, he saith. *Before the Viper yeeldeth her young ones, she formeth them within her body of Egger.* And I am perswaded, that hence ensueth those speeches, of the young ones tearing the belly of their Damme. For it seemeth to them that stand in defence thereof, that when *Aristotle* speaketh of this first fawning or reeming: hee purposed to say, that they did then breake or teare the belly of their damme.

But leauing these circumstances, I say that the viper, how dangerous soeuer it be, yeeldeth great helpe and succour to man. *Dioscorides* saith, that the flesh of a viper, being boyled or sodden, may safely be eaten: being very medicinable for the nerues, and for the sight. But in preparation to the eating thereof, the head and taile must be taken away: then being fleaed and well dressed, it is to be tempered with strong Annise-seedes. He saith also, that there is made of this flesh, a certaine kinde of Salt, or salt-powder, excellently auailing to procure a good appetite, being prepared in this manner. You must take a new earthen pot, and put the viper thereinto, wled as formerly hath bene declared, then put Salt and flamed figges to it, with a competent quantity of hony, and the pot being well couered, let it boyle and bake a long while in an Ouen. Which being done, beate and reduce it into a powder: and whosoever afterward will make vse thereof with his other meate, shall finde it very pleasant and profitable for the stomacke.

Paulus Aeginetus saith also, that the flesh of a viper is singularly good against leprousie and meazeldnesse; making therefore great esteeme of the Salt-powder fore-mentioned, and affirming with *Plinius*, that a certaine nation in India, eateth the flesh of the viper. *Dioscorides* auoucheth, that whosoever will eat the flesh of the viper, shall liue long time, and very healthfully. Against the byting of this Serpent, there are store of remedies, whereof *Theophrastus* maintaineth one, saying, *Whosoever is bitten thereby, mellodious sounds and songs doe greatly benefite him*, because Musike is very medicinable, as we haue already, and shall prouoe hereafter. *Galen* saith, that this beast ca-

teth not any thing all the time of winter: but hideth her selfe (as dead) in the earth; and whosoever then findeth, toucheth, and handleth her, she cannot bite him: but when summer cometh, she then resumeth all her forces. The like affirmeth *Plinie*, of Lizards, Snakes, and all other kinde of creeping creatures.

Aristotle saith, that they containe themselves three or foure moneths, without feeding on any thing. *Aelianus* auoucheth, that those vipers which breed in the Provinces of *Arabia*, although they doe bite, yet their biting is not venomous, because they doe feede on the Baume tree, and sleepe vnder the shadow thereof. *Aristotle* further saith, that they are very desirous to drinke wine; and many people doe take them, by setting vessells of wine in the places where they resort: for they will become drunk by drinking, and alter they take them sleeping. There are many things more to be spoken, concerning the qualities and properties of the viper, which I doe purposely omit for breuities sake.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the admirable property of a little creature, the biting whereof is healed by the found of Musike: likewise of many other infirmities, which are onely holpen by the same Medicine.



at which we haue saydin our precedent chapter, vnder the authority of *Theophrastus*, concerning the biting of the viper, and that it may be cured by *Musique*; will make our present report to be the better credited, because it tendeth to the same purpose. *Alexander of Alexandria*, in his booke of Veniall dayes, and *Petrus Gellius*, a moderne Authour, doe affirme and say, that in *Apulia*, a Countrey of *Italie*, there is a kinde of Spider, which the Inhabitants doe tearme *Tarantula*. *P. C. Radianus* calleth it *Phalangium*, which at the beginning of summer is so venomous, that whosoever is bitten or stung thereby, except he be very suddenly succoured, hee looseth all

Plin. lib. 8. cap. 1.

Aul. in lib. 8. de Animal. lib. 1.

Aelianus in lib. 1. de Animal. lib. 1. cap. 4.

Arist. in lib. 8. de Animal. lib. 1. cap. 1.

The affirmati-
on of good
Authours as
to Musiques.Alexander A-
lexand. in lib. 1.
de Vir. Gen. cap. 17.A strange and
wonderfull
working in
nature, by the
power of Mu-
sique.* An excel-
lent Physicion
of Prusi in
Bithynia.* A Musitian
of Thebes.Theophrastus in
lib. 8. de Belg. 4. 7
A. Gellius in
lib. 8. cap. 9.

all sense and vnderstanding, and dyeth instantly. But if any one (being so bitten) chance to escape death: yet he remaineth insensible, and wholly voyd of any capacity; for which dangerous inconuenience, experience found out a remedy, and that is *Musique*.

The iudgement of Authours hereon, speaking as eye-witnesses, and hauing scene the prooue thereof, is thus. So soone (say they) as any one is bitten or enueomed, the best helpe is, to bring instantly before him, such as vse to play on Vialles, Flutes, and other Instruments, to play diuers Lessons, & sing many Songs: which Musike being heard by the party wounded, he will presently begin to daunce, deliuering variety of gestures and motions with his body, euen as if all his life time he had well inured himselfe to dancing, in which fury and power of dancing, he continueth, vntill such time as the venome be dissipated. *Alexander Alexandrinus* proceedeth farther, affirming, that he beheld one wounded by this Spider, to daunce & leape about incessantly, and the Musicians (binding themselves wearied) gaue ouer playing: whereupon, the poore offended dancier, hauing vterly lost all his forces, fell downe on the ground, as if he had bene dead. The Musicians no sooner began to play againe, but hee returned to himselfe, and mounting vp vpon his feet, danced againe as lustily as formerly hee had done, and so continued dancing still, till he found the harme asswaged, and himselfe entirely recovered. Heereunto he addeth, that when it hath happened, that a man hath not bene thorowly cured by Musike in this manner; within some short while after, hearing the found of Instruments, hee hath recovered footing againe, and bene enforced to hold on dancing, and neuer to cease, till his perfect & absolute healing, which (questionlesse) is admirable in nature.

* *Aclepiades* writeth, that the found of Instruments, and voyces sweetly singing to them, hath wrought extraordinary cures on Lunatics and mad men. We reade also, that * *Esmeas* the *Thebane*, healed many diseases and infirmities, only by his sweete and melodious playing on Flutes. *Theophrastus* and *Aulus Gellius* say that Musike appeaseth the paine of the Sciatica, and of the Gout. We like-

wife finde it recorded in the sacred Scripture, that *Danid* (by Musike) cald *Saul* of the passio, which the euill spirit wrought in him: so great is this property, proceeding from the entire amity, which the nature of man beareth to Musike. And if good consideration be made hereof, wee shall not account it strange, that infinite infirmities haue bene cured by the means of Musike. For it hath evidently bene scene, that there are diuers beasts and other creatures, that kill by laughing, others by weeping, and others in sleeping, according as *Plutarch* writeth of *Cleopatra*, and as diuers other good Historians haue faithfully affirmed.

CHAP. XIX.

Of a strange medicine, whereby Faustine of Rome, wife vnto the Emperour Marcus Aurelius, was cured of an infirmity of dishonest loue: and of many other remedies against that powerful passion.



Concerning that affection, or imprisonment of the will, as we may iustly terme it, which ordinarily is stiled by the name of *Loue*; whether it be a powerfull passion, working wonderfull effects in the soule or no: there need no further question to be made, but examination of such mens iudgements, as (by good experience) haue knowne it, and whose examples remaine notorious to vs. More especially, of very worthy and excellent persons, who haue suffered their wits to be so strangely transported thereby, that extremity of death hath ensued thereon. *Julius Capitolinus*, among diuers other examples, reporteth what happened to *Faustine*, Daughter to *Antonius*, and Wife to the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, who became so excessively enamored on a Fencer or Sword-player; that by ouer-abounding in desire to enioy his company, shee fell into such a consumption, as very greatly endangered her life.

This being vnderstood by *Marcus Aurelius*, immediately hee assembled a great number of Astrologers and Physitions, to finde some aduice and remedy for

1 Sam. 16. 23.

Many infirmities cured by the means of Musike.

Loue is the thralldom of the will.

Iul. in Capito-
linis in lib. 4. de
Anton. cap. 3.The Emperre
excrete in
affection to a
Fencer.

The child
dies most
unhappily.

The death of
the Dolphin.

Plinius lib. 12.
cap. 14.

Another Hi-
story of a
Dolphine
lost to a
childe.

Plinius lib. 9.
lib. de Epist.

to the Sea, and being not carefull in fea-ting himselfe on the Dolphines backe, or how to fit for his safest holding on; it chanced, that one of the sharp-pointed finnes, which riseth out of Dolphines wings (for so are they tearmed by *Pliny*, and others) ran so far into the childes belly, & wounded him in such sort, that instantly he fell downe dead in the water. Which when the Dolphin perceiued, and the blood of the dead childe trickling downe his sides; heooke vp his deare loue a childe so well as he could, and returning backe to land suddenly, even as if he intended to reuenge this offence vpon himselfe; hee swam furiously on land out of the water, and presently dyed by the childe.

This Historie is also recorded by *Pliny*, with many other examples of Dolphines, that haue declared great loue and kindnesse to men. Particularly hee reporteth one, in the time of the Emperour *Othavian*, that a Dolphin (in the very like manner) tooke delight in an infant, on the Sea-coast, neere to *Puteoli*, and whensoever this childe, being named *Simon* (for it is said, that Dolphines will suddenly runne to the very found of that name) came to the shoare; the childe would mount vpon his backe, and be carried into the Sea, passing and returning alwaies safely to land. He faith moreover, that the childe dying by sicknesse, & the Dolphin often comming to the visuall meeting place, & not finding the childe there, dyed with griefe and sorrow. The younger *Pliny*, Nephew to great *Pliny*, declareth many meruailes of a Dolphin, in the 9. Booke of his Epistles: especially in that Epistle which beginneth, *Indici in materi- am certam*.

CHAP. XXI.

Of a man, that by receiuing a wound at his enemies hand, was deliuered from a deadly danger, wherein he had long time liued: With sundry other examples to the same purpose.

Wee haue formerly related, that Musique hath bene the meanes

of curing some diseases, and no way to be reputed incredible: considering, that wee finde by other stranger meanes, very great infirmities haue likewise bene holpen. *Plutarch*, in a notable Treatise by him composed, declaring how men may deriue profit or benefite from their enemies, reporteth; that a man had a certaine enemy, named *Prometheus*, who hated him extremely, and fought all the meanes he could deuise to kill him. It fortuned, that meeting with him on a day, hee gaue him diuers hurts, and among the rest, hee chanced to wound an olde vicer, that had long lyen in the flesh, couered ouer with skinne, a matter of great danger to his life, and (for which) all helpe was viterly denied him. Neuerthelesse, this wound proued the onely meanes of his helpe, and safe deliuerance from the former danger: for in thinking to kill him, and so to quench his malice, hee gaue him life and soundnesse of health. *Valerius* reciteth the very same history (among other noteworthy matters) in his Booke of miracles: but he affirmeth the mans name that was healed by this wound, to bee *Iason Phereus*.

Pliny writeth of another man, named *Phalerus*, who had an incurable disease, in regard of a fluxe of blood, continually flowing out at his mouth, caused by breaking a veine within his body. And finding himselfe in desperate conclusion of any curing; he entred suddenly into an Army, without any Armes for his defence, that being there slaine among the enemies, his hope and helpe might both finish together. It came to passe, that receiving a dangerous wound vpon the breast, there issued forth such an abundance of blood from that hurt; that the fluxe (hauing formerly his vent at the mouth only) ceased, and Chyrurgions afterward, with the aduice of skillfull Physicians, consolidating the broken veine, hee remained soundly healed of all harmes.

I finde it also recorded of *Quintus Fabius*, that hee hauing had a Feauer quartane for many yeares together; giuing battaile one day to the *Allobroges*, now named *Sauoyans*, the extreme heate in desire which he had then to fight; quite expelled the Feauer, and it neuer toucht him afterward.

I my selfe can testifie, that I both law, and

Plinius lib. 12.
cap. 7.

An enemy
may become
good as well
as this will.

Plinius lib. 12.
cap. 14.

Plinius lib. 12.
cap. 14.

Where hope
is least expected,
it is often
found.

Montaigne
lib. 1.
cap. 1.

* Poet
Saucy and
Daulpny.

Amare re-
flectit on the
Authors know-
ledge.

A King of My-
thical Hercules
son by Auge.

and well knew the man, who had receiued a wound in his thigh, whereof he became starke lame, and voyde of all hope of any remedy, happening afterward into an vnexpected quarrell, he receiued an other wound vpon the same thigh, and linst in the place where the former chaunced. The Chirurgions in dressing this latter harme, did very well perceiue that the nerves which had bene cut before; beganne to stretch and restore themselves in such sort, that being cured of this second hurt, his thigh was soundly recouered, and hee went as vpright as euer hee did, and without the least limping. So did it happen to *Telephus*, one of the sonnes to *Hercules*, and King of *Mysia*, who being wounded in his owne Countrey by *Achilles*, could not any way be cured, till eight yeres after, he was wounded againe by the same *Achilles*, and in the selfe same part of his body, before *Troy*, then besieged, and the rest of the same Speare that formerly had hurt him, proued to be his onely help.

CHAP. XXII.

Who was the first that planted the Vine:
And vnto bezaune to put water into
wine. To vnto whom, and in what maner
the Romans did prohibite Wine: With
many other notable things tending to the
same purpose.

Wine the pro-
fitablest of all
other liquors.



* A notable
Philosopher
borne in Sey-
thia, who fed
the first Por-
ters wheele.

F all the fruites which the earth yeeldeth (I mean those whereof liquor is made) there is none (in my iudgement) more profitable then good wine; provided, that it be temperately taken. For this cause was it that *Anacharsis* sayd, *The Vine produceth three Grapes: The first of Pleasure: The second of Drunkennesse: And the third of Teares and Sadenesse*. So that hee which passeth the first Cuppe, that is to say, a little, and moderately receiued; proceedeth on to shame and danger.

Prophane Authours, that neuer had any vnderstanding of the sacred Scriptures, doe name vs diuerse inuentors of

wine. *Diadorus Siculus*, in his fourth booke attributeth the inuention of wine, and first planting of the Vine, to *Dionysius* the sonne of *Jupiter*, named *Bacchus*, and *Liber pater*, so styled, for the liberty of wine. For this inuention a Temple was erected to him, vnderneath the Capitoll at Rome: where they celebrated his Feastes, which were called *Dionysians*, or *Bacchanalsians*, very dishonest, and full of great lubricity. That the inuention came from these *Dionysians*, *Pirrol* giueth assurance, at the entrance into his second booke of *Georgicks*. Howbeit, *Marcianus Capellus* saith; that *Dionysius* only instructed the Greeks, in the manner of making wine. Others say, that *Icarus* father to *Erigone*, first taught the indultry of making wine to the Athenians: and becoming afterwards drunke thereby, the people slew him. In *Julie*, they say, that *Saturne* did first plant the Vine there, before the yong suckers and plants from the ile of *Candia* thither. And *Plutarch* writeth, that *Arurus Hetruscus* brought Vines first into France. But the truth of historie, is, that the first inuenter of wine, was *Noah*, and the first that made himselfe drunke therewith: whereof are Authours (besides that which is recorded in the ninth chapter of *Genesis*) *Lactantius*, *Firminus*, and *Iosephus*. *Noah*, at his comming forth of the Arke, planted the Vine with his owne proper hand, and drunke the iuyce of the raisin, whereby he became drunke: and discouering his nakednesse in sleeping, it happened to him by his sonnes, according as we reade in the same chapter of *Genesis*.

Afterwards, men attayning to know the fauour of wine, did drinke it, at the first, wholly pure of it selfe, and without the commixtion of any water: for, as *Pliny* auoucheth, one named *Stafius* was the first that did put water into wine, to temperate and qualifie it. By the meanes of which aduice, great good and healthfulness ensued to the world: because, wine being so made moderate, procured verie good and excellent effects. In like manner *Plato*, alleadged by *Macrobius*, in his second booke, sayth: *Wine moderately taken, strengtheneth the vnderstanding of a man, augmenteth his force and vigour, maketh the heart chearefull and deliberate, and taketh away irkesome thoughts, and all offen-*

*Diadorus Sic-
lus lib. 4. c. 1.
Of the first in-
uenter of wine.*

Pirrol Geor. 1.
Marian. Cap.
in lib. 1.
Translated by
the Gods in
the garden
in *Isaiah*, called
Vigne.

Plutarch in *De
lib. 1. c. 1.*

Genesis 21. 22
Lactantius Firm.
in 11. lib. 1.
Iosephus in 1.
lib. de *Antiq.*

Wine drunke
at the first
pure of it selfe.
Plinius lib. 14. c. 56
Who first mixt
gle water
with wine.

Macrobius in
lib. 2. c. 16.

Am
fue

Plutarch sayeth, *Plinie* sayeth, *The use of Wine*, receiuing it temperately, multiplieth our forces encreaseth blood and colour in the face: *The nerves are fortified by wine*, sight strengthened, the stomacke made vigorous, and appetite awakned: *It prouoketh urine*, impeacheth vomiting, expelleth melancholie, maketh the heart brightly, and serueth for many other good things. *Asclepiades* the Physician, wrote a booke by it selfe, wholly concerning the vertues of wine. And *Saint Paul* writing to *Tymothy* counsellereth him to drinke a little wine tempered, to strengthen his stomacke.

Physitions do make vse of wine in many medicines, because wine restoreth all the humours, re-enforceth blood where it faileth, gladdeth a melancholy disposition, dissipareth and dryeth vp flegme, humecteth and helpeth to purge chollier. *Plato*, introducing *Socrates*, sayth thus in commending wine, *Like as moderate rains doe encrease our heauens, and tempests and inundations of waters doe rent them up and destroy them: Even so, wine temperately taken, cleareth the spirites, and fortifieth the vertues of the body, whereas contrariwise, over much, and immoderately receiued, destroyeth all.* Not so much as the very odour and smell of wine, but it is highly commended (beyond all other odours) by our naturall Philosophers: because it is very comfortatiue, giueth great vigour to the spirites, and is exceeding liuely and piercing. But yet wee must consider withall, that the chiefe vertue of wine is euermore vnderstood, when it is qualified and made temperate.

The ancient *Romans* did wholly take away the vse of wine from women and children: as *Valerius* sayth, speaking of the customes and lawes of the *Romans*. So that, as *Plinie* affirmeth, at such time as *Romulus* reigned in *Rome*, a husband slew his wife, because shee had drunke wine; and in regard that the murder followed vpon this occasion, *Romulus* pardoned it. The vice of drinking wine, was held to be so odious in women, that *Fabius Pictor* reporteth, because a *Romane* woman had deceiued the Clarke of a celler, onely to drinke wine which was kept therein; her parents caused her to be starued to death. And heereupon grew the custome of fathers and mothers kissing their children on the mouthes; onely to

perceiue thereby, whether they had drunke wine or no. We finde it in good record, that *N. Domitius* being Iudge of *Rome*, hee deputed a woman of her Dowry, because shee had drunke more wine, then was allowed her for her health. *Salomon* in his Proverbs sayth, *It is not for Kings to drinke wine, or Princes strong drinke, lest he drinke and forget the Decree, and change the iudgement of all the children of affliction.* And yet we reade, that the Kings of *Egypt* were permitted to drinke wine, so it were moderately, and in a certayne measure.

Vpon a time, *Romulus* being then King of *Rome*, and invited to a bountifull banquet; he would drinke but very little wine, saying, *To morrow I am to determine a matter of great importance.* *Ancien* sayth, *In giuing children wine to drinke, it is an aduision of fire to fire.* *Aristotle* expressly forbod the giuing of wine to children, and likewise to the Nurseries that gaue them sucke. *Plato* by the laws which he made in his Booke, for the common-wealth, although he seemes in the first booke, to admit a tolleratiue of wines, yet in the second he sayth, *A man ought to drinke a little, and well qualified.* This allowance stretcheth not to any one, till he had attained to 18. yeares of age, and so to continue till hee were forty: but it must be alwayes doone in the presence of folde men, to the end that he might be reprooued, when in the least manner hee exceeded. From forty yeares vpward, hee permitted that a little more then hee had formerly demanded, should be giuen him; to make the colde and melancholy disposition (of that age) the more temperate; and yet it must be doone in a certayne measure too. It was his charge also, that seruants should drinke no wine, neither Iudges, Magistrates, or any that held any publike iurisdiction: and as for young men that studied, he aduised them, not to drinke any. *Ancien* alloweth *Plato*'s law, in this poynt, as a rule for Phisicke: And thereto likewise *Galen* consenteth. *Alexander Aphrodisiens* sayth in his Problemes, *Hee which drinkeeth nothing but water onely, hath his sight and other senses more liuely, then he that drinkeeth wine.*

Now, as concerning in what fashion and maner, wine should be tempered and qualified; there are many rules, and diuers

Concerning the mingling of water with wine. *Hesiodus* in l. 3. *Ancien* in l. 3.

Trou 31. 1. 1.

Theophrastus in l. 3. *Tract* 9. cap. 5.

The worst of *Rome*. *Ancien* in l. 3. *Ancien* in l. 3.

Ancien in l. 3. *Plato* in l. 3. *Legis* 40.

Apuleius in l. 3. *Plato* in l. 3.

Plato in l. 3. *Plato* in l. 3. *Plato* in l. 3.

Suetonius in l. 3. *Cato* in l. 3.

Temperance commended in Christian religion.

Plato in l. 3. *Plato* in l. 3.

Hieronymus in l. 3. *Hieronymus* in l. 3.

ities of opinions. *Hesiodus* the Greek Poet saith, That in one quart of wine there should be three quarts of water mingled. *Athenius* sayth, that the ancient *Greekes* vsed to put five partes of water into two partes of wine, and most times three partes of water, into one of wine, which is the rule of *Hesiodus*. Heere also is to be obserued, that the *Greekes* did not put water into their wine, but wine into water, and *Theophrastus* assureth vs, that by this way, both the one and the other are much the better mingled. *Morauer*, ancient men did not onely moderate wine in this manner, but albeit it was thus tempered, they would drinke very little thereof. *Eubulus* the *Greece* Poet doth affirme, introducing *Bacchus*, to speake thus vnto the Sages: *I will neuer make more then three gistes of wine: The first, for health: The second, for taste: And the third, for sleep; therewith saureth of disorder and drunkenness.* *Apuleius* *Panastus*, who wrote of meates, deliuereth the like Iudgement, attributing this manner to three feuerall daughters. The first, to the *Graces*: The second, to *Venus*: And the third, to shame and danger. *Julius Caesar* was very temperate in drinking wine: as *Suetonius* witnesseth by the testimony of *Cato*, who was vter enemy to *Caesar*. *Demosthenes*, the excellent Oratour, was the like. And *Apollonius Thyaneus* of whom so many famous things are written, did neuer drinke any Wine, or feede vpon flesh.

In our Christian Religion, temperance (in drinking) is much commended. *Saint Iames* the lesler, did neuer drinke wine, or strong drinke, nor did euer eate any flesh; imitating *Saint Iohn* the Baptist. Wee finde the like affirmed of *Saint Stephen*, King of *Portuzall*. *Iosephus* in his Antiquities commending the holiness of the *Essians*, (who helde one of the three Sects amongst the *Iewes*, whereof the other two were *Pharises* and *Saducees*) sayth: That the *Essians* did neuer drinke wine. In an Epistle *Saint Hierome* reprooued Priests, that addicted themselves to drinke wine, telling them, That *Saint Paul* the Apostle did forbid it, and that in the ancient Law, such as serued in the Temple, did not drinke wine, or any other drinke that might procure drunkenness.

Such as are reamed good drinkers, vse to say, that good wine ought to haue foure properties, to answere foure fences or vnderstandings of the body: To the taste, by sauiour: To the smell, by a perfect odour: To the sight, by a neat and cleare colour: And to the care, by a good report of the Countrey where it was made. Of this good wine men vse to make vineger, which hath many good properties and inconueniences likewise: wherein I will be silent, because they are matters too vulgar and common.

CHAP. XXII.

Of many dammages and daungers, which ensue by the immoderate drinking of wine. And how it hath bene held as a healthfull thing (by some Phisitions) to be drunke sometimes.



Although the liquor called Wine, be apt and whole some for diuers infirmities: yet notwithstanding, so many harmes and annoyances do arise, from the excessive immoderate taking thereof, that the euills doe superabound all the goods ensuing thereby. So that it appeareth, that it were better not to know it, but rather to content our selues with water, which God hath giuen vs for our drinke; because hee thought nothing meete for vs, and all other creatures doe well content themselves therewith. Heereto also may be added, that wine hath bene the onely occasion, by which many haue become distracted in their senses; some haue lost their liues, and others not meanely endangered the saluation of their soules.

Now, although the harmes ensuing to men (by Wine) are too apparently knowne: yet notwithstanding, they are so far from thinning & auoyding them, that they daily seeke after new occasions, and strange deuised appetites for drinking. And in our best *French* language, these new appetites are tyled by some;

Four feuerall properties necessarily required to be in good wine.

All creatures but man onely doe well content themselves with the drinking of water.

New deuises lately inuenced to procure appetite for drinking.

A spur or prouocation to a cup of wine; by others, A thooing horne, to draw on a quart or two of good wine, so that a llice of a Gambone of Bacon, is held (in this case) for a precious relique, and few hours in the day or night doth passe ouer them, but the cup is kist with found deuotion in drinking; sometimes taking five or sixe cups more then are necessary. Pliny saith, eth, there are some men, who will drinke before they be thirstie, and wine onely (among all other drinckes) hath this property, to cause it selfe to be drunke, before a man haue any need of it. He saith moreover, that some do drinke in such sort as they iustly deserue, for it giues them (immediately) the due punishment to such sinners: for the vapour mounting vp into the braine, bereaueth them of all vnderstanding, so that they remaine as men senselesse. And hauing plaid it off lustily (as they vse to tearme it) for some quantity of time: it plaith with them as the Cat doth with the Mouse, either kills them outright, or (at least) engendereth so many harmes and infirmities, as are much worse then death it selfe: as Gouts, Palles in the head, hands and feete, imbrodering the eyes with a scarlet coulor, burning vp the Liuer, and scuring the face, beside diuers other such vndecent and scarce-gracefull qualities, no way fit to be vsed among men indeed.

Cato said, Drunkenness is a voluntary folly. And Pliny saith, it confoundeth the memory, and procureth dreadfull dreames. Seneca, writing to Lucullus, saith Wine maketh the legges and armes impotent, and causeth men to become luxurious. Dyonisius Areopagita, alleading Plato to haue spoken the words, saith: Drunkenness is a luscious and merry Minstrill, and yet it makes our legges to faile vnder vs, giuing (as wee vse to say in France) a strip to our heeles, and lying vs along on the ground. Saint Paul writing vnto the Ephesians, aduised them to shunne wine, because therein is luxury. And Salomon in his Proverbs, among the imperfections of wine, saith; It is a deceiver, and whoeuer drinketh excessively thereof, cannot conceale a secret faithfully. Heereupon then arose the ancient Proverbe; That wine walketh without any shoes; that is to say, It treadeth secretly, softly, and without any noyse, because no one should perceiue the power thereof,

nor how it discovereth our secret and vicious qualities. To this purpose the Poet Aeschylus saide: A Glasse or Mirrow maketh knowne the gestures of the body, and wine serueth as a Glasse to the soule & heart of a man. Plato likewise said: Wine principally laith open the manner and conditions of euery man. We haue example thereof in Noah and Lot, for Noah being drunk with wine, discovered his parts of shame, whereby he became mocked and scorned. And against Lot, Sodom could haue no power; but wine ouercame him, & made him to lye with his owne Daughters: these are the benefits ensuing by wine.

Among the Lawes which Salomon one of the seven graue Sages of Greece gaue to the Athenians, it was especially ordained, that the Prince, when hee became drunke, should be slaine. Pittacus, another of those wise men, ordained, that a drunken man committing any delict or great offence, should bee doubly punished: once for the fault it selfe, and next for drunkenness, which caused him to do it.

Aristotle in his Problems, yeeldeth areason, why such men as are ouer-much addicted to wine, are greatly disable in the begetting of children: and likewise, why some drunkards are very pleasant in their drinke; and others terrible, some sad and weeping, others iocund and dancing.

Neuertheless, some Physitions (among who are Aesculap and Rasis) haue helde opinion, that it is a wholesome thing to be drunke sometimes: but the reasons which they giue in this case, doth not content me any way, neither doe I allow of their opinion. And yet I must needs confesse, that very great personages haue bene subiect to wine: whereas on the contrary, if they had stood cleare and free from it, their glory and renowne had bin farre greater.

Alexander the Great, was as greatly taxed with this vice, so that (as diuers good Historians doe affirme) being ouercome with this fury; he slew one of his most intimate friends; and comming (afterward) to acknowledgement of his fault, he would haue slaine himselfe. Beside, it is further alledged, that the cheefest cause of his murders and slaughters, was onely this poyson to all goodnesse.

The words of the Poet Aeschylus.

Plato in lib. 2. de Leg.

Gen. 9. 21.

Gen. 19. 33.

Salomon law to the Aduisers.

The law of Cleomedes King of Sparta.

Aristotle in Problems.

Alexander being overcome with wine, slew his dearest friend Cleus.

Marke Anthony one of the famous Ymaginaries.

Tiberius the great drinke called also Bibacius.

Dionysius the younger.

Cleomedes King of Sparta.

Aeschylus the Philosopher.

Anacreon the Poet.

The Emperor Bonifacius, a great drinke, yet neuer drunke.

King Antiochus the great drinke and sleep.

Marke Anthony, who was one of the three chiefe Commanders in Rome, and married with the Sister to Octavianus the Emperour: being addicted to wine, and (consequently) to lasciuiousnesse, with Cleopatra Queene of Egypt; lost at length both his state and life, and was vanquished by Octavianus, because hee suffered himselfe to be conquered by wine. The Emperour Tiberius was defectiue in many things; but in regard hee was a great drinke, it was the sole cause of all his other imperfections: and whereas his name was Tiberius, as a nick-name, they would often call him Biberius, and his ende was miserable.

Dionysius the younger, a Tyrant of Sicily, was so extremely affected to wine; that it did eate his eyes, and made him to become stark blinde. Cleomedes, King of the Spartans, would needs purifie and imitate the Scythians, in excessive drinking of wine: but in the end, he became a foole, quite insensate, and without iudgement. It is saide, that the Philosopher Aeschylus died in notorious drunkennesse.

The Poet Anacreon was a very great drinke, and as he was drinking, he strangled or choaked himselfe, with the stone of a Grape or Raisin, which entred into his throat vnaquiescibly.

Flaminius the Bishop, an Historian of worthy credite, writeth, that the Emperour Bonifacius was so addicted to wine, that Aurelianus said of him: Hee was not borne to lye, but to drinke. And heerein hee had an admirable quality, for notwithstanding the immeasurable quantity of wine, which he dranke daily, yet hee was neuer drunke. I guesse that this ensued, by his continuall auoydance of vrine, which went from him as fast, as hee tooke in his wine. Neuertheless, his ende was auersable to his deservings, for being vanquished by the Emperour Probus, he was hanged or strangled. It is recorded, that King Antiochus, who was conquered by the Romans, vsed to drinke so much wine, that he slept the most part of his time. In regard whereof, he gaue the cheefest authority of his kingdomes government, to two of his choyest fauourites, and because himselfe was addicted to banquets, and the amorous embracings of a young Gentlewoman: when he came to fight a-

gainst the Romanes, his Army became broken, and vterly vanquished. Athenius writeth, that Aeschylus the Greeke Poet, would diuers times be drunke, whereupon Sophocles said vnto him, Aeschylus, those things which thou doste or writest, are done by chance, or at aduenture: and not by any knowledge remaining in thee, or that thou dost rightly vnderstand them.

The prooue of Sophocles to Aeschylus the Greeke Poet.

CHAP. XXIII.

Certaine aduises and instructions, against such forward affection to Wine. And some reasons deliuered, why two things doe appeare to bee three, to such as bee drunke.



Some haue said (how certainly I know not) that there are diuers receipts, whereby Wine, in how great a quantity soeuer it be taken and drunke, shall not procure those yke some effects, which are related in the former Chapter.

Pliny and Solinus do both of them affirme, that there is a blacke Stone, hauing Vermillion couloured veynes in it, and named Dionise, which hath such a property, as if it bee layde in water, it yeeldeth the perfect saueur and relish of wine; and whoeuer drinketh of that water, euen so much as himselfe pleaseeth, shall neuer be drunke therewith. Physitions say, that if a man will preuent drunkenness, he must first eate Honye, or some other sweete things: And hee that is drunke, must be urged to vomite, and then giue him a morsell of bread steeped in Honye, which will immediately recouer him, because Honye hindereth all vapours from ascending vpe into the Head.

Drusus Sonne to the Emperour Tiberius, had a Physition, who gaue him very

The iudgement of Physitions for the preuention of drunkenness.

Plin in lib. 9. cap. 1. 1. Sol. in lib. 1. cap. 7.

Drinking his
Physioun,
whole phiside
scriptum in
drunkenness

Bitter Al-
monds are e-
spectall helpe
against drun-
kenness.

Pin in lib. 12.
cap. 10.
The Radish
route.

Saffron.

Pin in lib. 12.
cap. 10.

Art in Pro-
blems, part 2.
Aduice in lib.
12. cap. 10.

*The answer
which con-
duct the ver-
tue of seeing
to the eyes.

admirable physick, to preferue him from being drunke, albeit he daily drank more wine then any other one man of his time: for he could not drinke all commers, yet neuer be drunke, or bereft of his iudgement. But in the ende it was knowne, that (visually) before hee entred drinking, he would eate hie or fixe bitter almonds, whose power and naturall property was such, as it impeached the wine from alienating his spirits. And experience thereof was afterward made, for when they abridged him from the meanes of eating bitter Almonds, and he vsing to drinke as formerly he did, he became as soon drunke as any other man. That these Almonds haue this peculiar property, *Pliny* affirmeth it, adding further: that eating a Radish route before hard drinking, auoideth drunkenness. He saith also, that Colewortes eaten before hand, keepeth a man from being disordered with wine: and being eaten after drunkenness, they remove instantly the distemperature, as Saffron also hath the selfe-same power. There are many other remedies for this imperfection, wherein I will be silent, speaking onely of one, recited by *Pliny*. He saith, that taking a quantity of wine, mingled with the egges of a Chough, and being drunke two or three mornings together, he that drinketh it, will hate wine in such fort as he will neuer after drinke thereof. Heere to he addeth, that a Swallow being taken and burned to ashes, then beaten into powder and mingled with a little Myrrine in the wine; whosoever receyueeth a draught of this porion, shall neuer be drunke, for this was experimented by *Horus*, King of *Affryia*.

Aristotle, in the third part of his Problems, and *Auicenne*, in his sixt Booke of Beasts, do yeeld a reason, why in drunkenness, when a man locketh vpon any one thing, it appears to him as if it were two, and albeit they doe both produce diuers reasons, yet will I alledge but one from each of them. The first shall be *Aristoteles*, who saith, that thorow excessive heat of vapours in the wine, ascending vp into the brayne; the little nerues, called **Optici nerui*, which go on directly to the eyes, do worke and mooue with such power, that the visall vertue, and the spirits of sight (altering in their motion) do cause whatsoeuer drunken men gaze on, to stirre ve-

ry strongly and quicke; because the Organe of sight moueth it selfe in that manner, and maketh the common sense to receiue the Images of things, in a multiplyed quality to the eye. For such kinde of motion, maketh single things to seeme double, and because this motion is so sudden and insensible, it causeth two things to seeme as one to the sight. As any man may easily make tryall of; by laying his finger vpon his eye-lid, and then removing it thence, it will appeare to him, that it is the thing remoueth it selfe, which he beholdeth. *Auicenne* deliuereth another reason, saying: *The vapours of wine, which ascend vnto the head of him that is drunke, are moist, and because the little nerues and muscles which reach to the eyes, doe engrosse or swell themselves by this humidity, so much more the one (then the other) doe thereby mount themselves the one higher, and the other lower. From hence ensueth, that the visible rayes do not equally diuide themselves forth-right from both the eyes, neither by a direct or right line: which is the cause, that the Images of things visible, doe extend to either eye by themselves. In this respect only, things simple and single, appeare to be double, the common sense receyuing & apprehending two Images for one: and for the maintenance of this opinion, *Auicenne* yeeldeth the selfesame example, as *Aristotle* did.*

CHAP. XXV.

In what manner a man may know and measure the rotundity or round compasse of the whole earth: and how much it is reputed to containe, in the circumference or circling round about.



Well I know, that the subiect of this Chapter, will hardly seeme pleasing vnto all Readers; in regarde, that for the better vnderstanding thereof, some of the principles of the Mathematicks, are necessarily requi-

A proofes
to be made
by any out.

Auicenne
doth say
that the
vapours of
wine
engrosse
the head of
a drunken
man.

Principles of
the Mathema-
tical Sciences

The chief F-
undaments of
the Mathematicks

Genesis 19.

Aduice at-
tributed to
the earth.

Earth's
begin, and
breadth,
mountaines,
valleys,
woods, and
Forrests.

How the rot-
undity of Land
and sea is mea-
sured.

The Starre
heauen or firm-
ament.

Helps to
Quantitie or
Albitude re-
specting
the
ca.

required to be well apprehended. Neuertheless, I am the more willing to speake somewhat of the argument, onely for the delight and contentment of such mindes, as are inclined to the Science whereof it discourseth. Wherefore concerning our present purpose, it is needfull to presuppose, the first and chiefe Elements of such a Science: which because they are common, shall require the lesse labor to proue them. The first is that whereof wee are now treating, the greatnesse of the earth, carrying with it both Land and Sea: because God did dispose them in such manner, for when he said; *Let the dry Land appeare*, they both being united together, made one body perfectly round. So likewise it is to be vnderstoode in all those actions which are giuen to the earth, the Sea is also therein comprized: For, when a man saith, the earth hath so many degrees in roundnesse, or it containeth so many degrees from one place to another; the sea is therein as well vnderstood as the land. So in like manner are considered the Ecclypses, heights and breadths, to hold one and the same certitude: and yet notwithstanding, Mountaines, and Valleys are not comprehended in this roundure, nor Woodes or Forrests likewise, which the earth containeth in it selfe; because such things are not wortheie of any account, with the greatnesse of this wonderful bodie.

This rotundity of Land and Water, is seated in the midst of the circuite of Heauen, in such manner, as the point & center of that round body, composed of Sea and Land, is likewise the center and number of the whole world, as well of heauen, as of the Elements.ouer and beside this definition, there is another, true and absolute, to wit, that the land and water (in regard of the starry heauen, which we call the Firmament) are so little; that all these two Elements liewe thereto but for a center, and is cuted but as a small point, in respect of his circumference. So that in whatsoever part thereof a man best liketh to helpe himselfe, by meanes of a Quadrant or an Astrabe; his labour fortheth to the like effect, as if hee made the same for the center of the earth. For in whatsoever place of the earth we are (provided that it be not in any deepe or hollow bottom) we shall discouer the moiety of hea-

uen; which proceedeth by reason of the incomprehensible distance, that is from hence beneath vp to the Firmament, with his incomparable greatnesse. That this must needs be true, it is most euident, that the verie least Starre which we discern in heauen, is much more greater then the whole earth; and yet neuertheless, it appeareth to vs but as a small point, in regard of the heauens large spaciousnesse; by the least of which things, a man may make prooue in sufficient demonstration, but it sufficeth that experience hath apparently shewne the same.

Platony approacheth it, in the 10. chapter of his first booke of Geography, *Alphraganus*, in his fourth Difference, *Cleomedes*, in his first Booke; *Geber*, in his second Booke; and *John de Sacroboscio*, as the like do all other that haue written on the Spherae.

This then being thus presupposed, let vs imagine in our mindes, that the vvater and Land do make one round circle, and that heauen is another, but much more great, as indeede it is; and that these two circles haue no other, but one common center within them. Vvich being so imagined, let vs lay two lines of equal greatnesse, which may extend themselves (in common) to the circumferences of all the two circles, according as *Euclides* enstrueth, cutting and diuiding the two Circles by equal portions, each portion being iustly equalled, in regard of each one of them: that is to say, that if those two lines passe on right in such manner, they will make eight parts of a great circle, and so shall make as much of the lesser, I vnderstand and meane each eight part, in respect of each ones greatnesse.

Our elders in former times, in their manner of measuring the world, gaue aduice to diuide the heauen into three hundred and threescore equal partes, which we do now cal degrees, & by consequent, the roundnesse of the earth into as manie parts, by imaginations of lines, parting from the center, and making the diuision in such manner, that the like quantitie which each one of the degrees hath, in respect of the whole heauen; the verie like shall be that of each one of the degrees for the earth, having regard to the roundure and circuite thereof. And as these portions or degrees, if you please so to terme them,

The least Star
is greater the
all the earth,
by euident
prooue.

Platony is lib. 10.
de Geographia.
cap. 10.
Alphraganus, Diff. 4.
Cleomedes, lib. 1.
Geber, lib. 2.
John de Sacroboscio, lib. 1.

How this mat-
ter may bee
easily imagin-
ed in the
minde of man

Euclides in lib.
4. de Element.

The aduice
of our Fore-
fathers, for
measuring of
the world, by
diuision of
heauen.

then, are equal among themselves, so that some one may appeare to containe the scope of miles; the like may be easily gathered, by multiplying what distance is contained in all the rest. To know then the nature of a degree, they made this obseruation. The Pole is a fixed point in heauen, whereon the whole heauen maketh his mouing, yet it remaineth firme & stable. Therefore with an Astrolabe, or any other instrument proper thereto, being in some apt vncovered place, they would take the height which the Pole contained about the Horizon, within the limite of the selfsame sight, and noting the place which appeared conuenable to the elevation or height of the foresaide Pole: they went directly on thereto, without wandering to the Meridian, vntill such time (as with the selfsame instrument) they found it in one degree more higher, then in the first place, and therby they knew, that they had gone one degree of the earth fro that place whence they first parted, iust to that ground where they were arrived, considering, that they had paced by the respect of heauen, in regarde of the fore-named rules of both the circles. Then they would measure that which this degree contained, either by Stades, or thousands of paces; and this being thus knowne by them, they would make their account after this manner. If one degree contained so many miles, the whole roundnes of the earth did containe as many: considering, that therein was to be obserued three hundred and threecore degrees, such and as great as the same were. This was the forme and manner by them obserued, and it may well bee continued to these times, for measuring of the whole earth, as being the most certaine and infallible.

And yet neuertheless we are to know, what greatnesse each degree of the earth containeth in it selfe, and so (by consequent) how much it tendeth to in the roundity, measuring it according vnto the whole greatnesse, answerable to the experience of both ancient and modern men, skilfull, and well studied therein. The most common opinion of all other, is; that each degree or portion of three hundred and threecore, containeth five hundred Stades of ground, and euery Stade is valued to six score and five paces by our Geometricians, and according to they

Geometrical paces, each pace containing as much as two of our common paces. So that the degree containes sixty two thousand and an halfe, which amount to sixtie two thousand Geometrical paces. *Ptolemy* auoucheth the same; as the like doeth *Martianus Capellus*, and the most part of the wisest ancient Cosmographers: beside, this is the opinion in common, of the greater part of our moderne men.

Orontius Phineus holdeth the same iudgment, and sayeth, that this may easily bee experimented by traualing from *Paro* to *Tolowse*, *Glareanus*, & *Anthony de Lebris*, being both of them learned men, and diligent searchers into these matters: they do both affirme, that they haue made the like experience, holding the same for most certaine. *Albeit Erastophilus*, and some other *Græcians* hold opinion, that all degrees had seauen hundred Stades: wherein (it may seeme) they were abused, by measuring their places ouershort. I say then, that each of their degrees, consisting of three hundred and sixty, far off from five hundred Stades: the whole three hundred and sixty, will containe together, twenty two thousand, and five hundred thousand paces, which do make an hundred and eighty thousand Stades. By the which account, the round compas of the whole earth, comprehending therein the whole machine of water, being reduced to a thousand paces, will containe twentie two millions, and five hundred thousand paces. And if you would know how many French leagues or miles the whole Earth containeth, we must then allow vnto each League, the length of two Italian miles. Then, if we diuide twenty two thousand, five hundred paces in twaine, we shall find that the circuite of the earth, containeth cleuen thousand, two hundred and fiftie Leagues of *France*. And if we diuide the by foure; all the enuironing of the Earth, will containe five thousand, sixe hundred, and twentie five miles of *Germanie*; for four Italian miles, do make but one *Germanie* mile. Thus haue we discoursed of the earths dimension, according vnto the most common opinion receiued among men.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the reason, why Snow (being couered with straw) doth preferre it selfe in his entire coldnesse, and warme water in his heate: considering, that two contrary effects are wrought by one and the selfsame thing: with some other secrets beside.



O men of spirit, such as affect the contemplation of Natures workes, nothing can so lightly present it self, or appeare to bee of so slender esteeme; but some one notable matter or other may be found therein, to yield contentment to their mindes, after they haue attained to the knowledge thereof. No doubt but there are many men, of whom if it were demanded, vpon what occasion, Snow (being couered with straw) conferreth it selfe (for long time) in his true coldnesse, and without melting, they hardly knew how to make anie answer. Whereunto *Alexander Aphrodisæus*, that excellent Peripateticus, maketh this reply. *Straw hath no manifest or known quality at all, for it is neither hot nor colde; therefore diuers haue reputed and termed it, to be a thing without any quality.* For this cause, being a matter so singularly temperate and delicate, euen as reaching to such a degree, that it may well be saide to be neither hot nor colde; it easily conuerteth it selfe into the quality of anie such thing, as is thereto annexed. So that coeuering or laying Snow therein, which is colde, the straw apprehendeth the colde quality thereof, and by that means is holpen and assisted, in the true coldnesse of Snow: euen as a thing of one qualitie aydeth another, without yielding any heate thereto, because it is not in it selfe. Therefore, snow being accompanied with his owne coldnesse, & defended against heat, which straw preferueth against the left entrance; it is thus conserued in his entire condition for long time, euen as if it were not couered with straw at all.

By the selfsame reason, a contrarie effect happeneth in warme or hotte water; defending the ayre that it cannot coole it,

for it being likewise couered with Strawe, the straw immediately entereth the quality of the warme water; and being so sodainly heated, it helpeth & conferueth the water in his warmth, and keepeth the ayre off, that else would coole it. The same reason guides vs to vnderstand other doubts and difficulties, which some curious questionists may impose vpon vs, like vnto those before alledged. I am sure wee are not to learn, that ouer and beside our inward naturall heate, that which occasionally our warmnesse in Summer time, is the ayre onely, which (in that season) is much more hot then in any other time of the year; so that the warmer the ayre is, so much the more are we sensible of heat. If it be so then, how cometh it to passe, that we feele more freshnesse and coolenesse, and lesse heate, when wee take the ayre in Sommer, and in mouing and walking to receiue it; considering, that (according to *Aristotles* Motion, or mouing, causeth our heate to be the greater? For the ayre, by reason of this agitation, must needs cause the more warmnesse both in it selfe and vs, then if wee rested and sate in quiet.

The reason ensueth thus: VVee haue then more warmth in our bodies, then there is in the ayre: as wel in regard of our owne naturall heat, as also that which the ayre worketh in vs. For the ayre coming with a fresh and coole gale (I speake this because it is more temperate then we are) it maketh vs some-what the more temperate: but being still and neere vs, it warmeth it selfe in our heate. Euen in the like manner as we haue spoken of straw; for so it conferueth (yea augmenteth) our heate in vs; albeit, when it is stirred, and freshly moued, in comming more temperately vpon vs, then we our selues are; that temperature and difference which wee then feele of lesse heate, doth in the like manner qualifie and moderate ours in vs. This is the answer of the fore-named *Alexander*, but especially of *Aristotle*, vnto this question.

Neuertheless, it is to bee noted, that if we find an ayre more hot then that wherein we dwell; agitation or stirring in such an ayre will not prouoe so good as our owne, because wee shall there feele farre greater heate, as in diuers places oftentimes we do. An argument in this case, may

The Ayre is more hot in Summer, than all the year else beides.

As it is in the Air, in the Air.

More heat in our bodies in Summer time then is in the Ayre.

How the quality in straw is assisted: our bodies.

Difference of the Ayre in heat, & shame thereby causing.

Concerning the nature of a degree, and how our Elders obserued thereof, according vnto the height of the Pole.

A measure of ground containing 120 paces, after five fectes to the pace.

An infallible rule for measuring by degrees.

The greatnes of each degree within it selfe, how much it containeth.

The knowledge of a Stades by Geometricians.

The knowledge of a Stades by Geometricians.

Orontius Phineus.

Orontius Phineus.

The opinion of the Græcians concerning degrees.

An estimate of the whole compasse of the earth by paces, as by Ptolemy.

Distances according to Græcians miles.

The workes of Nature yield great benefite by their knowledge.

Snow coured with straw, keepeth his naturall coldnesse.

Alex. Aphrodisæus.

Straw a thing without any quality at all, yet apprehendeth the quality of any thing therewith conuerted.

A contrary effect wrought by the same means to hot water, keeping it in his entire heat.

may bee framed by hotte water, that if a man put his hand rashly thoreinto, he can hardly suffer or endure it. Notwithstanding, let him hold it firmly therein, and it yeeldeth then lesse cause of passion then if he moued it vp and downe. In regard, that the lesse part of the water environeth the coole hand, whereby it causeth some small temperature round about it: but being plunged and moued about the water, it reneweth fresh heate, and at each time approprieth new power to it selfe; for the more potent, must needs worke nouelly vpon that which is much weaker.

It may be likewise demanded, for what cause it is more hot at the end of Iune, & all along the moneth of Iuly, the Sun being then the furthest off from vs, then it is at the beginning of Iune; considering we are then in the Solstice of the Sunne, and more directly smitten with his beames? Heereunto answereth *Aristotle*, in his second Booke of *Meteors*, and the ninth Chapter, that the heate of the Sunne is not the cause thereof, neither is there any more heate felt by the Sunnes being neerer to vs, then when hee hath longest time to abide ouer vs. For in the months of Iune and Iuly, hee hath a great length of time in approaching towards vs; as also in declining, hee causeth the greater heate, because (in descending) hee heareth that part and tract of the ayre, which hee formerly had well warmed in mounting aloft.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of fodaine death hapning vnto diuers great Persons, that haue thereto bene wisied or threatened, by such as they haue committed put to death before, and their deaths haue ensued to them in such manner, & at such times, as haue bene assigned vnto them: With the notable history of an Archibishop of Mentz or Magonce.

God neuer failed in the last cause of wronged innocents, to lend his help, when a power in man hath failed.



When all helpe in man hath ceased, concerning such to whom great wrongs and injuries haue bene done; yet the powerfull arme of God

hath neuer failed them. And albeit it hath not ensued so speedily, or else so visibly as they could haue wisied; yet GOD, who knoweth both how and when to be auenged on them that are the oppressors of innocents, hath wrought so graciously for his own glory; that trecheries haue come to light in due and meete times, & mens false iudgements haue felt his seuerer condemnation, and publicly enough for other mens forewarning. In this case wee could alleadge many memorable examples; but being loth to trouble you with ouer many, these few commendable Collections shall serue for this time.

I read of a Knight amongst the *Templers* (of whom wee haue spoken in our former Volume) who being (in the opinion of many) sentenced to death verily; as the Officers led him towards the place of execution, hee espyed Pope *Clement*, the fift of that name (by whole meanes he was condemned to death) looking out at a window; and by him stoode *Philippe Bel*, then King of France. The Knight being an *Italian*, borne at *Naples*, beholding the Pope with an vndanted countenance, with a lowde voyce spake thus vnto him.

Most cruel Clement, seeing that there is no Iudge in this world, before whom a poore innocent man may call in question the vniuersall sentence which thou hast given against mee. I appeale from thee, a most vniuersall Iudge, to the vprightest Iudge of all other, Iesus Christ himselfe, before whom I giue thee warning, and likewise King Phillip there by thee, to make your appearance, to answer the false iudgement of death which you haue given against mee. This appearance of yours before the Tribunal seat of God, I do assigne to be made within lesse then a yeare, to do me right there, where I may safely haue my cause determined, without any avarice or passion at all, as here you both haue dealt with me. The poore Knights desire sorted with his wordes, for about the same limited time, the Pope being pained with a great greife in his stomack, died; so did King Phillip: but how soeuer it hapned, it was thought to proceed from the iust iudgement of God.

The very like fortune hapned to *Ferdinand* the fourth, King of *Castile*, who hauing caused two worthy Knights to be executed, more by his owne wrathfull & angry spleen, then any warrant of iustice, being

The library of a Knight, I capture, to do it lawfully.

The Knights last words to the Pope, and King of France, who was led to death.

The Iudge wanted God on the K. and Pope.

The history of Ferdinand the 4. King of Castile, who caused two Knights to be executed.

being no way to bee dissuaded from this violent cruelty, either by teares, intreats, or earnest solicitations; they (in very like manner) cited the King before the Tribunal of Iesus Christ, and to make his appearance within thirty dayes. And it is credibly auouched, that on the last of those thirty dayes, the King dyed.

The like lot also befell to a Captain of the Gallies, which belonged to the inhabitants of *Geneway*, whereof *Baptista Fulgoso* maketh this report. This Capitaine making a falli forth vpon the Sea, tooke a Foyst or small Gally appertaining to them of *Cathelagna*; wherein there was another Capitaine that neuer had done any iniurie to the *Geneweyes*. Notwithstanding, in regard of the malice which the *Geneweyes* bare to the *Cathelagnians*, hee gaue command, that this Capitaine thus taken prisoner, should forthwith be hanged. The Capitaine, shedding many teares, humbly requested, that he might not so shamefully be put to death, considering that he had neuer offended him, or his Nation. But in the end, finding no fauour or mercy in him, he made his recourse to the Diuine Iudge of all men, speaking thus to the cruell Capitaine; *Seeing thou wilt needs execute on me this most vniuersall sentence, I haue no other friend but God to appeale vnto, who is the iust auenger of injured innocents. And therefore I humbly desire, that (this instant day) thy soule may appeare with mine before him, to yeeld an account for the wrong thou hast done me.* Not many houres, after the *Geneway* Capitaine also dyed, and doubtlesse went to render a reason for his most extreme cruelty.

I could alleadge many examples more, aptly fitted to this purpose; but for the strangest of all, I will relate what hapned at *Magonce* or *Mentz* in *Germany*, which generally cost most deare vnto the whole City, according as it is briefly reported by *Gontier*, that renowned Poet, who wrote the life and actions of the Emperour *Fredericke*, first of that name. *Conradus* also the Byshop, declareth the same in his history, among many things hapning in the time of that *Fredericke*, and of *Henrie* the sixt his sonne; the History enueth in this manner.

In the City of *Magonce* or *Mentz* in *Germany*, in the yeare one thousand, five hundred and fifty, little more or lesse, ther

liued an Arch Byshop, named *Henrie*, a man singular in all vertues. This Arch-bishop, according to the duty and office of a faithfull Pastor, as indeed hee was, did seuerely chastise publike sinnes and offences, because he was very ialous of Gods honour, and lone of one neighbour vnto another, the which made him to haue the greater care of his flocke. Heere vpon wicked and dissolute persons grewe hateful against him, desiring many false and slanderous accusations, where-with the Pope was plentifully informed, imposing so many crimes and delicts vpon him, that he was reputed vnnecesse for such a dignity.

These matters thus vnderstoode by the Pope, who alwayes thought him to bee a iust and holy man; being no way able to deny audience to such a crowde of accusations as desired iustice; at last he aduersified the Arch-bishop of these foule accusations. The good reuerend man, to make cleare his innocence, elected (among all his other friends) a man whom hee most affected, and on whom hee had bestowed more speciall fauours, then on any man else beside. Hee was a Priest by profession, named *Arnolde*, advanced vnto many great dignities, as being a man of rich spirit, eloquence, and abounding in the wealth of the world beside.

Arnolde coming to *Rome*, being instructed and pressed on by the diuell, concluded in his priuate thoughts, to deprive his Lord of so high a dignitie, and make application thereof to himselfe. Which that he might the better compass, hauing brought great summes of money thither with him, hee suborned two wicked Cardinals, who, in stead of speaking in his Lords fauour, should enforce all matters more against him. For they affirmed, that they stoode more obliged to God and truth, then to worldly respects or fauours of men; and therefore maintained, that the Arch-bishop was apparently culpable of all the crimes inferred against him, and thereby iustly deserved deprivation. The Pope being thus abusively perswaded by their report, thought to haue sent two Priestes thither, to acquaint him with this information confirmed against him: but (indeede) he sent the two Cardinals conferred with *Arnolde*, to perfect the Proceffe, by them concluded for present execution.

Verue neuer wanted malicious enemies.

The Pope acquiesced the Arch-bishop with his accusations.

The arrival of Arnolde at Rome, and his wicked dealing against his Master.

The wickedness of two corrupted Cardinals.

Capit. Fulg. lib. 4. cap. 9. The history of a Capitaine belonging to the Geneweyes, who cruelly put to death another innocent Capitaine.

The wronged Capitaine words before his death.

The fodaine death of the Geneway Capitaine the same day.

Gontier in lib. de p. Fred. Imp. Conrad. Episc. in Hist. de Rebus.

The history of Ferdinand the 4. King of Castile, who caused two Knights to be executed.

The perfection
of the Cardinals
with Arnolde,
against the
Arch-bishop.

They were no sooner arrived in *Germany*, but they summoned the Arch-Bishop to come before them, where his hearing was admitted in such sort, that sentence was given against him, whereby he was deprived of his See and dignitie, and *Arnolde* advanced into his place, who had sold his Master, even as *Indas* did our blessed Saviour. In pronouncing the judgement, the Arch-Bishop *Henry* then present, delivered these wordes. *God knoweth, that I am most uniuersally condemned: neuertheless, I care not for making any appeale to the further censure of men: because I am assured, that I shall bee better beleued among you, then truth can be in mee. Therefore I receive this sentence, as some iust punishment for my sinnes, and yet doe appeale from your iudgement, to the eternal iust iudge Iesus Christ: before whom I asswaine you three to appeare.*

These wordes were no sooner heard by the Iudges, but they fell into extremity of laughter, saying; That if he pleased to go on thither before, they would follow him at their leysure. This sentence was given in the yeare one thousand, five hundred, sixty six, which the deprived Arch-bishop endured with admirable patience; & being retired into his Monastery, he there remained the rest of his life, yet without acceptance of the habite. To conclude, God would not permit this wickednes to passe unpunished, to the end, that innocence might the better bee knowne: but about a yeare and an halfe after, this *Henric* dyed in his Monastery in great holinesse, and doublelesse attained the glorie long time desired.

Newes of his death being brought to *Rome*, the two Cardinals being very merrily met together, one of them, said: The Arch-Bishoppe *Henry* is gone, and must not we in haste follow him? Indeed (quoth the other) so wee made him promise; but let him tarry (wherefore he is) till wee come to him. Not many dayes after, one of them, being sodainly smitten by one of his seruants vpon the shoulder, fell downe so greuously afflicted with paine, that his bowels and entrailes issued out at his fundament, and instantly died. The other falling into phrensie and madnesse, did cate off his owne hands, and dyed very strangely. Now as concerning false *Arnolde*, hee exercised such cruelties and seditions a-

mong the people, that he became so hated and despised of them all; as being one day besieged in a Monastery, hee was there slayne, and afterward left lying naked in the common ditch of the Citie; where all the people, both men, women, and children, performed all cruelties vpon his body, that possibly could be deuised by them.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Of the cruelty which *Alboutine*, King of Lombardie, vsed to his Queene & wife *Rosamond*: And by what meanes he reuenged her selfe on him as length.



Among those warlike people, which issued out of *Germany*, and the Northern partes, to descend into *Italy*; the *Longobards* are named, who for the space of two hundred yeares & more, seized all those Lands, which (till this day) is called *Lombardie*, and vntill such time as *Charlemaigne* expelled them thence, according as in the History is amply related, written by *Paulus Diaconus*, in the particular Booke which he made for that purpose. He saith, that when they left *Hungary* (where they had for sometime dwelt) to passe into *Italy*, they had one named *Alboutine* their King: a man of great spirit, and verie valiant in actions of warre. For he conquered in battayle *Cunimon*, King of the *Girpides*, and afterwards, causing his head to bee smitten off, made a drinking Cuppe thereof, wherein hee vsed to drinke, and in triumph of his conquest and victorie. At what time, he detained (as his prisoner) a verie beautiful daughter to the fore named King, called *Rosamond*, whom he made his wife, and then afterwards hee went to subdue *Italy*, carrying his Queene along with him, in the yeare, eight hundred, sixty two.

When he had conquered many towns and Cities, he came (at length) to the City of *Paulis*: where (since that time) the succeeding Kinges vied to keepe their leate and continuall residing, as the very principall City of their Kingdome. Having reig-

The Longobards new named Lombards.

Paulus Diaconus hath described the manner of this conquest.

Cunimon King of the Girpides was conquered by Alboutine, and his head was made a drinking cup.

Paulus the ancient writer of Kings.

The words of the Arch-bishop, at his deposition, before Arnolde and the Cardinals.

The scornfull answer of the offenders.

The death of the wronged Henry.

Scorning left by the two Cardinals, at the death of Henry.

The justice of God on the two wicked Cardinals.

The Queene forced to drinke in the Cuppe made of her fathers head, whereupon she concludes the Kings death.

Nothing can be compared to the inward contentment and peace of a woman, when she will needs be reconciled with.

The Queene discouereth her selfe to Paradine, and reuengeth her the King murdered.

A hard choice in such an extremity.

reigned three yeares and three moneths, and being then at *Verona*; he appoynted a solemn feast, where hee drunke to his Queene in the Cuppe made of her fathers head, and forced her to pledge him: whereat shee conceived such griefe and displeasure, that the intire loue which shee had formerly borne him, was converted into deadly hatred, with an absolute resolute and conclusion to kill him, in iust reuenge of her fathers death, & cruelty extended to her. And to assist her in this determination, she conferred with a gentleman named *Hermigilde*: who presently tolde her, that to the execution of such an important busines, she should require the ayde of a valiant knight in the Court, called *Paradine*. Which instantly hee did, but he would not yeeld thereto, because hee tooke it to be too horrid a treason. Finding her hope frustrated, and fearing lest his intent would be discovered, yet desiring nothing more in the world, then to compass the height and pitch of her enterprize: she set aside all care of honour and honesty, & being advertised by *Hermigilde*, that *Paradine* earnestly affected one of her attending Ladies, she desired thereby to effect her purpose. Being acquainted with the secret resort where *Paradine* & his louer alwaies met together; she found some other employment for the Lady, & made vse of her place for the time, *Paradine* keeping her there company a long time, imagining no other, but that it was the mistresse of his affections.

The Queene, who had spent all this while in soft whispers and dalliance, not vying any one word whereby shee might be discouered; perceiving opportunity to apply to fit her, spake thus vnto him. Knowest thou *Paradine*, who it is that keepeth thee company? Full well (quoth he) with my Mistresse, and then named her. Thou yest (false traytour,) replied the Queene, I am *Rosamond* thy Soueraignes wife, whom thou hast dared to abuse in this manner, and dye thou must by the iust wrath of *Alboutine*, except thou sauest thy life by killing him: aduise thee therefore, whether his life or thine owne is dearest to thee. When *Paradine* considered his dangerous estate, without any meanes of helpe or escape; hee resolved to kill the King: and for his better further-

rance therein, both hee, the Queene, and *Hermigilde* tooke counsell together, plotting the proiect in this manner.

The King vsed to sleepe in the heate of the day, and all else auoyded the chamber, the Queene only excepted, and hee being a king of courage and high resolute, euer slept like a Souldier, with his Sword girded about him: which at this intended time of treason, the Queene had tyed so fast in the scabbard, as hee could by no meanes helpe himselfe therewith. *Paradine* and *Hermigilde* waiting the houre, which was vpon the Queenes issuing forth: they entred, and for all their foot treading, the King heard them, and started from his bed. VVhen he beheld two men armed with weapons, and at such a time of no suspicion: fury, not feare made him take no knowledge of them, but fought to defend himselfe with his weapon. VVhich failing him, by the meanes of so false a Queene, and they with their weapons euery where wounding him: hee caught vp a stoole, and therewith made his defence so long as he could, till in the end they deprived him of life, yet neither noise heard, nor any suspicion of murder.

The King being thus dead, and all well carried with a smooth countenance: *Hermigilde* possessed himselfe of the Palace, intending to make the Queene his wife, as immediately hee did. But notwithstanding all their close packing; the *Lombards* (not long after) came to the knowledge of their Kings death, and in what manner hee was murdered, which they purposed to reuenge with all possible speed. Wherein they were prevented, for *Rosamond* and her complices hauing packed vp most of her Jewells & treasure Royall, fled away thence, carrying with them *Aluifinda* Daughter to King *Alboutine*, his first wife. And for their safer security, they went to *Rauenenna*, where then governed a Lieutenant of the Empire, named *Longinus*, who kept that place for *Tiberius*, Sonne to the Emperour *Constantine of Constantinople*, by whom they were curteously entertained.

Not long after, *Longinus* becomming enamored of *Rosamond*, & desirous to enioy her in marriage, whereto he found her very tractable; counselled her to procure the death of *Hermigilde*, & then he would marry her. Shee that had lost all loue and

The manner of the Kings death determined by the Queene, Paradine and Hermigilde.

The valour of Alboutine against his murderers, even in his death.

Hermigilde assisted with Rosamond the Queene.

The flight of Rosamond & the murderers to Rauenna.

Rosamond desirous to aduance herselfe by any way with the Lieutenant, concluded the death of Hermigilde.

Non feare

fear of God, respect of womanhood, and dreadlesse of the shame of men, coucting withal, to aduance her downefalne estate, by marrying with the Emperours Lieutenant; gaue to *Hermigilde* an impoysoned potion at his coming forth of his Bath, perswading him, that it was most soueraigne for his health; by which perswasion he dranke a good part thereof. But when hee found it afterward to afflicke his body, so as he plainly perceiued himselfe to be poysoned; drawing forth his sword in extremity of rage, he compelled *Rosamond* to drinke vp all the rest that remayned in the Cup, so that at one instant time they both were iustly required for the death of *Albaine*. Tydings hereof being brought to the Lieutenant *Longinus*, he caused the young Lady *Aluinda* to be seized on, and sent her (with all her jewels and treasure) to the Emperour *Tiberius*, at *Constantinople*, with *Paradise* also as a prisoner: where hauing his eyes pulled forth, he liued a while, and then died most miserably.

CHAP. XXIX.

Of a pleasant, wistly, and honest deceit, which a famous and vertuous Queene used to her on husband, whereby Iames, King of Arragon was begotten, with other remembrances both of his birth and death.



LVVell remember, that in reading the Chronicle of the Kings of *Arragon*; I finde, that *Don Peter*, Count of *Barcelona*, who was the seventh King of *Arragon*, had *Madam Mary* in marriage, daughter to the Earle of *Mount Pefulm*. Nephew to the Emperour of *Constantinople*, the being a very beautiful and vertuous Lady. All which notwithstanding, the King was much addicted vnto other women, and vied such slender testimony of loue towards his Queene, that hee refused to keepe her company, as (in the duty of an husband) he stood obliged to doe. This strange

behaviour in the King, did much afflicke and greene the Queene, because they had no childre to succeed in the Kingdome, the greatest misery (of all other) that can happen to a well settled Estate. Heerevpon, by aduice of one of the Kings Pages of his Chamber, who (it may be) had formerly done seruice in the like affaires; shee compassed the meanes (vnder title of some one of the Kings cheefe fauourites) to bee brought that night to lodge with the King. Such familiar entercourses hauing passed betwene them, as in such wanton seasons are commonly required, the King perceiuing the day-light neere approaching, in regard both of his owne honours safety and hers, made meanes to her for her speedy departure, but the taking hold of so good an occasion, spake thus vnto him.

My gracious Lord and husband, I am none such as (perhaps) you take mee to be, but hee well assured, that this night you haue slept with your true Queene and VVife. Vse what violence you shall please to mee, for I purpose not to leave your bed, vntill some man, well deseruing faith and credite, may be witness of my this nights keeping you company. To the ende, that if the fauour of heauen hath bin so gracious to me, that fruitie (long desired) may ensue by this aduventure; the world shal take true notice, that it is your owne. The King perceiuing this honest deceit of his Queene, appeared to bee well pleased therewith, and called two Gentlemen of his Chamber, to testifie the truth, according to her desire, and as (indeed) stood best with his honour. It so pleased God, that at six and conuenient time, the Queene hauing at that instant time conceived with child; at such due season as the custome of women alloweth them for trauaile, shee was deliuered of a goodly Sonne, euen on the first day of February, in the yeare one thousand, one hundred, ninety sixe. Soone after it was borne, the Mother caused it to bee carried to the Church, and (which is a thing deserving memory) as they which carried the childre entred into the Church, the Priests began to sing *Te Deum laudamus, We praise thee O God*. Passing from thence vnto another Church, as they were entring likewise therinto, the Priests began to sing the

Warr of Law
full of the
the greatest
miserie of any
kingdome.

Shewes
the childre
seen in light
day-light.

The words of
the Queene
to the King
before she
would depart
from his bed.

The concep-
tion & birth
of Iames,
King of Ar-
gon.

The carriage
of the child
to two church-
es.

Psalme of *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*; *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel*, which gaue a great prognosticating & vndoubted hope, of some excellent vertues to succeede in the childre.

The Father and Mother, not knowing what name to giue him, caused twelue Torchcs (of equall length and making) to be allighted in one instant, the twelue Torchcs bearing the seuerall names of the twelue Apostles. With this conclusion, that the name of the Torch which first fayled, or became extinguished; the selfe-same name should bee giuen to the childre, which happened to be that of *S. Iames*. Heerevpon he was named *Iames*, because it was the name, which the men of *Arragon* gaue to that Apostle. Hee proued to be an excellent Prince, and of admirable gouernement, both in peace and warre, for hee made a cruell inuasion vpon the *Moors*, being much more very liberal to his Souldiers. Among other most notable matters, hee leuied a great Army, which he conducted into the Ile of *Maioica*, that then was in the *Moors* possession, where hee fought many stout batailles. But after he had a long while besiedged the City, he won it in the ende, and likewise other neighbouring Islands beside. Then coming into his kingdome of the *Moors*, especially to the City of *Carthage*, hee proued still the Conqueror, and neuer fayled in any of his attempts.

He had many children, as well sonnes as daughters, on whom (during his life time) he bestowed great gifts and goodly estates. *Don Peter*, that afterward was King of *Arragon*, was his Sonne. Likewise *Don Iames*, King of *Maioica* and *Minorica*. He had another that was Arch-bishop of *Tolledo*. *Madame Tollant*, who was Queene of *Castile*; and *Madame Isabella* that was Queene of *France*; and *Madame Frayaga*, who was married to *Don Emmanell*, Prince of *Castile*; and *Don Peter*, who espoused the daughter vnto the King of *Nauarre*. He liued seventy and two yeares, and dyed religiously, taking on him (before his death) the habite of a Monke. For he had a greuous discafe, which made him renounce his royall Scepter, with deliberate purpose, that if he might recouer his health againe, hee would employ the rest of his dayes in the

seruice of God. But weaknesse encreasing more and more vpon him, he dyed in the City of *Valencia*, Anno 1266. and at the beginning of the Moneth of August.

CHAP. XXXII.

Of an ancient and memorable Custome, obserued by the Inhabitants of the Prouince of Carinthia, at the Coronation of their Prince: and how cruell their punishment is to Theeues.



POne *Pius* the second of that name, who was a man of great learning, & a diligent inquisition for the truth of Histories, as wee haue in many places formerly

alleged, saith in his description of the world; that the Prouince of *Carinthia*, is enclosed within the territory, and vnder the gouernment of *Austria*. Hee likewise relateth a custome, which the Inhabitants of that Prouince haue anciently obserued, at the election and Coronation of their Princes; appearing somewhat strange, yet honest and very commendable. Vvhich custome is also confirmed by *A. Sabellicus* in his tenth Decade: and by *Sebastian Munster*, in his composed Cosmography, which is after this manner.

In this Prouince of *Carinthia*, there is a very great and spacious plaine of olde ruined buildings, which seeme to bee the foundation of some former auncient City.

In which place also there is a great stone, and when obedience is to be giuen at the new creation of a Prince; there is a day appointed, and a country labourer, or meane husbandman (allowed to this prehemience in regard of his lineage) hath order to seate himselfe vpon that same stone. On his right hand

N n 2

standeth

A strange
manner of
naming the
Childre, by
lighting of
twelue Torchcs, testific-
ing the twelue
Apostles.

The vertuous
qualities re-
maining in
the Prince.

He winning
the Ile of
Maioica, and
the Cony of
Carthage.

The issue de-
scending fro
Iames King
of Arragon, &
their gracious
good fortune.

King Iames
became a
Monke be-
fore his death.

A treache-
rous woman
wickedly met
withal, by
her owne
deuill against
her husband.

The Authors
induction to
the ensuing
History.

Aeneas Sylvius
in Cosmographie
libro 10. cap.
27.

A. Sabellicus in
Decad. Hist.
libro 10. cap.
27.

Preparation
to the Princes
election.

standeth a poore Cow, that hath lately calued, which hee holdeth fastened by a corde, and on his left hand standeth a very leane and wretched Mare, tyed in like manner, and round about him is no meane crowd of labourers and country Boores. In this place, and at this Stone, the Prince that is to be entailed, must make his appearance, attended with a great number of men on horse-backe, ryding in very formal order, with twelue Banners borne before him: among which there is one more large and lightly then all the rest, carried by an Earle, thereto admitted by especiall priuledge.

The Arch-Duke, Prince or great Lord howsoever ye meane to tearme him, clothed in a Shepherds habite, commeth to the Stone wheron the poore man sitteth, & as he perceiue him to approach somewhat neere, hee demandeth with a loud voyce, what he is, that commeth towards him with such glory and felicity? Answer he instantly made him, that it is the man, who commeth to be created Prince of the Country. Then as it were with a voyce like thunder, the labourer cryeth out, Is he a iust Iudge? Will he wel maintaine iustice? Will hee preferre the defence and safety of this Country? Is hee a man franke, and free-borne? Is he valiant, vertuous, and worthy of honour and reuerence? Is he a Christian? Is hee a Defender of the faith of Iesus Christ? And all the company maketh answer, that he is such a man, and will so continue. Then hee beginneth againe, and maketh another demand, By what right or reason cometh he to dispossesse me of this place, which belongeth onely to me? To which question, the Earle that beareth the cheefest Standard, replyeth thus. If thou wilt quit and forsake this place, three score Ducates of gold shall be frankly giuen thee, & this Cow, as also this Mare shall both be thine owne, beside the rich Robe, which our King did last of all put off, shall also be thine: moreover, thou and thy family shall bee free, from paying any manner of tribute. After these words, the Prince approacheth neere to the Stone, & the poore man giueth him a gentle blow on the cheek, commanding him (in any case) to be a good Iusticer: & so descending from the Stone, he leadeth along with him the Cow and Mare, and departeth.

Then the Prince dismounting from his horse, ascendeth vp, and sitteth vpon the stone, where drawing forth his Sword, and turning to each side of the stone, still flourishing the weapon round about him; hee maketh a solemne promise before all the people, vttering the words as loud as he can speake, that he will be a iust Iudge, and a good Prince. This done, one bringeth him (in a Shepherds bonnet) a small quantity of water to drinke; and so descending from the stone, hee re-mounteth on horsebacke, and rydeth on to a Church with all his company, there to heare Mass. Which being finished, hee changeth his former plaine and rurall garments, to very Royall and Princely habites: and after a pompeous Dinner with his whole train, he returneth againe into the open field, where hee heareth all the Officers of Iustice speake vnto him, to entrust him in the lawes of the Country: and these are the vsuall ceremonies, obserued at the creation of every Prince.

There is another custome in vse among these people, for the punishment of thefts and robberies; which I hold to be vniust, and ouer-cruell, especially to bee vied among Christians. For hauing but some note or apprehension onely, that such a man standeth in repute to be a theefe; they forthwith send him to execution, without any other proceeding against him. Then three dayes after his death, they examine the witnesses with all care and diligence; when if it shall appeare by solemne inquisition, that he proueth to be guilty of the crimes alledged; they suffer him to hang vpon the Gibbet, vntill his limbes fall peece-meale from him. But if he be found to be innocent, they take him thence, and giue him honourable obsequies and funeral, with many prayers and almes-deeds, for the saluation of his soule.

With this severity doe they chastise theeues and robbers, neuertheless. I read of some other Nations, that greatly haue supported and countenanced them therein. As the *Egyptians*, of whom *Aulus Gellius* writeth in his Attick nights. And the *Lacedaemonians* likewise, who permitted their children to bee theeues, and learne climbing in at windowes, and wandering abroad in the night season, that they might be the more bolde and hardy for warre. Notwithstanding, *Draco*, hee that gaue

The Prince mounteth on the Stone.

The Prince promise before all the people.

The Prince changeth his humble garments.

A cruell ceremony, for the punishment of thefts and robberies among Christians.

A pottent ceremony, for the punishment of thefts and robberies among Christians.

A pottent ceremony, for the punishment of thefts and robberies among Christians.

Laves

Deans his were Law-givers of thees, and Solons mitigation thereof.

At what time the hanging of the thees was first ordained.

Laves vnto the *Athenians*, made one among the rest; wherein he commanded, that every kinde of theft should bee punished with the penalty of death. In regard whereof, *Solon* saide, that hee had written that Law with blood, which made him (afterward) to allay and mitigate it. The custome which yet to this day is obserued for hanging of theeues, was first of all appointed by the Emperour *Fredericke*, the third of that name; according as *Lodowicus Pines*, that learned man in all Artes and Sciences, writeth in the third Booke of his *Disciplines*.

CHAP. XXXIII.

In what part of the Zodiacque the Sunne and Moone, and likewise the other Planets were, at their first creating. Also of the beginning of yeares, and the course of times.



HE learned Philosophers say, that men are naturally curious & couetous of knowledge. Moreover, such is the zeale of their affection

in this case, and the bent of humane vnderstanding so full of strange questionings, as they cannot content themselves to know such things as they may with some ease comprehend onely: but ouer and beside, they are scrupulous and searching (through bold presumption) to know such causes as are very hard, and almost impossible. Nor hath this painefull desire bene altogether fruitlesse and vaine, though many times it fayled, and came farre short of expectation: because by contemplation and continuall study, they haue found out such matters, as seemed before vtterly impossible and supernaturall, or that they should any way be attained vnto by the capacity of men. As namely, the motions of the Heauens; the course of the Planets and other Starres, with their feuerall influences and power, and the like things beside: a-

mong which is comprized my present intended argument, and what in this Chapter I purposed to discourse on, to wit: how to know the beginning of times & yeares; and on what day the world began, or to speake better; when, or in what season God created the world; when began the year and times; and where was the Sun, or where God placed it at first, when hee began his courle; & likewise the Moone, with the other Starres and Planets.

Aristotle did little care for these questions, and infinite other Philosophers beside, who thorow defect of the light of faith, did verily beleue, that the world was eternall, without any beginning or ending. But such as haue declared themselves not to be ignorant in these things, but verily beleued the beginning of times, seeme to stand diuided betwene two opinions. There are some among them, who say, that in the instant when the world was created, the Sunne was found to be in the first point of *Aries*, or the Ramme, which is in the Equinoctiall of Summer, the time coming then to the eleuenth day of March. Others say, that the world began, the Sunne then being in the first point of *Libra*, or the Balances, which is the other Equinoctiall of Winter, commonly happening in these our dayes, on the thirteenth or fourteenth day of September. Of this opinion were diuers *Egyptians*, *Arabes*, and *Greekes* likewise; according as *Lincolniensis* reporteth, in a Treatise of the world, which he wrote to Pope *Clement*; & *Vincenius* in his historicall Mirrour.

Such as haue followed this opinion, alledged a reason for it, which (in my iudgement) is very weak, and of no force. For they say, that then the principall fruites of the earth were fully ripe, and in the very best of their fauour, because it was most requisite, that (at the beginning) the earth should present it selfe in the height of perfection. To this purpose, they produce authority out of Deuteronomy, where it is said; That God made all things perfect and complete. There are some others, who affirme, that the entrance of times, and of yeares, was on the very greatest day of all other; which was then, when the Sunne entred into the signe of *Cancer*, as now it is the eleuenth or twelfth day of Iune. *Julius Firmicus*, an

The Authors purpose in his Chapter.

Curious questions, etc. collected to be knowne.

Aristotle and the other Philosophers here opinion of the world.

Two opinions concerning the Sun and Moone at the worlds creation. Equinoctium Ramme.

Equinoctium Librae.

1. Librae, in Tract. Mund. 2. Librae, in Min. Hic, ostendit.

A reason alledged for the entry perfection at the beginning.

Deut. 32. 9.

The entrance of times and yeares.

Jul. Firmus
in his 1. de
creat. Mund.

The signe Leo
the house of
the Sunne.

The most pro-
bable opinion
on all other.

S. Hierome,
S. Ambrose,
S. Basilie.

The full agree-
ment of all
together.

On what day
was the pas-
sion of our ble-
sed Saviour.

Concerning
the first Mo-
neth of the
yeare.

*Containing
part of March
and part of
April.

Vincen-
tius in his
Mysticall.

Al. in Tract.
astro.

ancient Author, and of great authority in Astrology, in the beginning of his third Booke, which he wrote of the worlds creation, saith: *That when the world began, the Sunne was in the first degree of the signe Leo;* which is the signe wherein hee hath most dominion, because it is called the house of the Sunne: the like he saith, in discovering the other Planets, by their order and degrees.

But that which relistheth of most reason in all these opinions, and appeareth most conformable to truth, is; that when both time and the heavens began to be mooved; the Sun was in the first point of Aries, which is (with vs) in March, and at which time is the entrance of Summer. This is affirmed (beside all other reasons that we can alledge) by the greater part of Historians, as well Christians as Heathens; among whom are S. Hierome, S. Ambrose, S. Basilie, and others, who doe all maintaine, that the beginning of the world, and likewise of the yeare, was in the Equinoctiall of four Summer. And although there may appeare some difference among them, because some will haue the worlds beginning to be in March, and others in April: it may well be endured, for they all agree together, that it was in the Equinoctiall, which now is in March. Notwithstanding, as wee haue formerly affirmed, the Equinoctiall is not alwaies time or constant for Iesus Christ suffered his passion on the five and twentieth day of March, which was then the Equinoctiall, and now it is the eleuenth day of the same Moneth, whereby may well be presumed, that heerefore it was in April.

For this cause, some would haue April to be the first Moneth, and others March; yet notwithstanding, they all say, that when the Sun enters into the first point or degree of Aries, then is the Equinoctiall. This opinion is grounded on the Scripture, especially on the twelfth Chapter of Exodus, where it is said: *The Moneth Nisan* (which is March with vs) *is the entrance to your yeare.* Vincentius, in the beginning of his historicall Mirrour, saith: *The Hebrewes began their yeare in March, because in the like Moneth was the Equinoctiall, when as the world began.* This opinion was likewise helde by some of the Gentiles; as *Elpaeus* in his Astrologi-
along

Tractise, where he saith: *The Chaldeans being very great Astrologers, believed likewise, that on the first day when the world was made, the Sunne entered into the first point or degree of Aries:* and this is also confidently maintained, by the most part of Astrologers, both ancient and moderne. Therefore when the Sunne came in his course thither, or to that Signe; then was the beginning of the yeare, and thence ensued the principall or beginning day. For it is a matter most manifest, that the first day wherein the world began to be made, was also made the first day of the yeare: considering, that till then, there was neither time nor yeare. And therefore the signe of Aries is reckoned (about all the rest) to be the first in order among the twelue signes.

Now, as when we come to judge of the revolution of yeares, and things to happen therein, as of necessity we must equal the figures, by the beginning of the world; even so it is as easie to proue, that God placed the Sunne in the first degree of this signe, at the beginning and creation of the world. And this may be conjectured without any great labor, by our professed in the sixth Chapter of the seventh Booke, in our first Volume, where discoursing on the time and day, when as our blessed Lord and Saviour suffered; it is affirmed, that the Sunne was in the selfe same at the creation, as it was when the great Sunne of righteousness made the regeneration of the world, suffering death and passion in humane flesh, and that happened (as is formerly saide) in the Equinoctiall of Summer, which is an argument and presupposition, that even so hee placed it, when as he created it.

Moreover, it appeareth very credible, that it was so made, because such as know any thing in Astrology, and in the Sphere, do well perceiue, that the Sunne entering into the degree of this signe, and making his revolution by the space of a whole day: there is not any part of the world, which he leaueth vnlookt on with his bright splendour. And this he doth not in any other place of the Zodiacus, because in what place elsse hee is; there are some parts of the earth where he is not seene that day; but being in this first degree, as we haue saide, there is no place where he is vnseene, as hee walketh

Concerning
the beginning
of the yeare,
what Month
and on what
day.

Aries is the
first in order
among the 12
signes.

Of the time
and day when
as Christ suf-
fered in the
flame, apper-
red with the
day of the
worlds crea-
tion.

At what time
the Sunne il-
luminated
the world to
gether with
the cleare
distance of
heavens.

along in his diurnal course, or dayes journey. And it standeth with good reason and conueniency, that the first day of the Sunnes setting forth on progrease, hee should begin in such a place, where hee may best visite the whole world with his beames. And that it should bee in the signe Aries, rather then in that of Libra, appeareth plainly by our former relation, that on the day of our Lords passion, the Sunne was in the selfe same place, therefore there is some particular power in this signe.

Holding this opinion then for the most certaine, I say, that the reason alledged, by such as would haue the beginning of the world, to bee in the Equinoctiall of September, is very weak. For it is not sufficient to say, that all the fruites were ripe and mellow; in regard it is no vniuersall rule: for when the fruites are ripened towards the Northerne latitude, they are not so in the South, but wholly quite contrary. And therefore I craue no helpe of their reason, who say, that the Equinoctiall of March (already proued) is the beginning of the Spring-time, & of flowers ouer all the earth, all things being then in procreation; for if with vs it be the beginning of Spring-time, it is then winter in the Southerne parts. Let our reasons then suffice, & the authority of such worthy men, to cleare all other doubt or scruple; although the Romane yeare, now in vse, seemeth to begin the first day of Ianuary: for this matter came so to passe, onely through the superstitious deuotion, which the Gentiles had to their God *Ianus*, coueting to haue their yeare beginne with his name, as the Christians began theirs with the Natiuity of Iesus Christ, albeit the yeare doth not then begin.

The Romanes (in like manner) began their yeare in March, according as *Marcus Varro* writeth, and *Macrobius* in his first Booke, *Quid in his Fastis*, and many more beside. Also God shewed his immense goodnesse, in placing our first Parents *Adam* and *Eue*, in the Northerne parts of the earth, when he banished them out of the terrestiall Paradise; & that the first season which they saw in this world, was the Spring-time, finding the earth to be Greene & flowry, with the ayre milde, sweete and temperate, which was done for the consolation of their misery and

nakednesse, and so they could not haue found it, if it had not bene Spring-time.

This matter being sufficiently proued, wee must know that there are other Planets, and especially the Moone, as being one of the principall, whom some do maintaine, to be set by God in conjunction with the Sunne, on the first day of her creation. Others say, that she was in opposition, and at the full. Saint *Augustine* reporteth these two opinions, in his booke vpon Genesis, the first Chapter, saying further, that such as maintaine her to bee in opposition, and at the full; do alledge for their reason; that it was very inconuenient, that at her beginning, God should create her any way defectuous. Others vudge the contrary, and say it is more credible; that she began her first day in conjunction, increasing in her age answerable to our account. But to quic this controuersie, I say (in mine opinion) that God at such time as he created her, made her at full, and in opposition of the Sun. And it seemeth, that this iudgement is the most received, as of S. *Augustine*, in the place before alledged, and *Isidore* on the twelfth Chapter of Exodus, saith the very same. This appeareth conformable to holy Scripture, where it is saide: *God made two great lights, the greater light to gouerne the day, and the lesser light to illuminate the night.* Now in the very same instant as the Sunne began his light, hee gaue splendour to the moity of the world, because in that moity or halfe part, hee made day. But the other moity could haue no light of the Sunne, by reason of the earths shadow; therefore it seemeth consonant to reason, that in the other moity of the earth, where it was night, the Moone should extend her office of shining. For like as they were both created at one instant; so should they both fulfill their offices in one and the same instant, and the one to gouerne the day, as the other the night, according to the words of the Text, verified apparently, that the world was wholly lightened at one & the same time.

Contrariwise, if the Moone had bene in conjunction, the light common and vniuersall could not haue come till fiftene dayes after; and beside, three or foure dayes must needs haue passed, before she could lend any light to the earth, and that

Of the Moone
how to be in
conjunction
with the Sun
at her crea-
tion.

Aug. in Gen.
cap. 5.

Others hold
her to be in
opposition.

The Authors
iudgement in
this case.

Isidore in Ex-
od. cap. 12.

Gen. 1. 16.

The several
Offices of the
Sunne and
Moone for
night & day,
to be both
created one
instant.

Against the
conjunction
of the Moone
with the Sun
at that time.

must be but very little too, even as when we see her to be but four or five daies old. Therefore it was very conveneable, that these two famous lights should illuminate the earth at one instant. Ifay moreover, that the Moone then being in opposition with the Sunne, these must needs have her being on the other side of the signe *Libra*, for in her so being, she performd the same day the effects as the Sunne did, illuminating all the world, by her measurable pace of that dayes iourney; which else she could not have done, if she had bin in any other place of the Zodiacque. Heereby it appeareth, that this opinion is the most likely; although *Julius Firmicus* will needs say, that the Moone (at the time of her creation) had her first seating in the fifteenth degree of the signe *Cancer*, where she affected most to be; & of this opinio is *Macrobius* in his first Booke of *Scipios* dreame.

As for the other Planets, it is very difficult to certifye them, and lesse profitable to know them: in which respect, I am willing to bestow the lesse paines on them. Neuerthelesse, *Julius Firmicus*, in his second Booke before alledged, is so bold as to name the places where each of them is seated, saying: *Saturne* should be in the signe *Capricorne*; *Jupiter* in *Sagittarius*; *Mars* in *Scorpio*; *Venus* in *Libra*; & *Mars* in *Virgo*; which are the signes wherein they have most power, and being signes likewise appointed to these Planets. *Elipacius* himselfe maintayneth as much, according as *Ioannes Agricanus* declareth in his Summary, entitled *Agricano*; with *Macrobius* in his fore-named Booke of *Somno Scipionis*, and thereunto consenteth *Julius Firmicus*, naming expressly the same signes, yet there are others, who have thought, that in the recited instant, all the Planets were found to be in conjunction with the Sunne. *Gautierus* the Monke, in his booke of the Ages of the world, saith, that the ancient *Indians* held firmly this opinion. As for my selfe, I am of the minde, that God did then set the Planets in such distant places, one from another, especially from the Sunne; that on such a chosen day, each one of them might illuminate the earth with his beames. VVhich could not be, they being in conjunction with the Sunne, because his presence, within any certaine space or proportion, so hindereth the greatest luster of their light, that

they cannot bee discerned on the earth. Notwithstanding, being created according to the will of God; *It sufficeth* (saith *Augustine*) *that they were made, in being perfected by the hand of God, whose workes (in what kinde soever they be) are perfect.*

CHAP. XXXV.

That men may learne examples by Birdes, Flies, Wormes, and other Creatures, to leade the course of a vertuous life.

WE have already declared in our first Volume, how Beasts & Birds have enstructed men in a great part of the properties appertaining to Physicke, by purging and preserving themselves from harmes: now I am briefly to enreatre, how their example may be profitable to vs, both in body and soule. And vndoubtedly, whosoever wil consider & contemplate, on the nature & properties abiding in beasts, shall not only thence deriue good enstructions for life and safety of our humane bodies; but rules and examples beside, of good, commendable, and vertuous manners. VVhy do not men strue to purchase peace with their neighbours; seeing what concord and amity is among Beasts of all kindes, and how they keepe company, vnite themselves together in each kinde, and stand defensive one for another? VVhy shame they not to bee slothfull and negligent, perceiving & observing the care and sollicitude of the Ant, and after what manner shee maketh her provision in Summer for VVinter? VVhat vassals and subiects are they, that will not serue and honor their good Princes, noting with what loue and obedience poore little Bees serue and honour their King, and that which they doe for him beside? In which respect, such Common-weales as haue no Prince, but enjoy all things in common; may not they learne an example of living in peace and concord, by imitation of the poore Ants, who are so great in multitude, and yet preserve an order of peace & iustice among themselves? And why do not great Lords and Princes consider, what manufacture and clemency all of them are obliged vnto; when

Aug. in Gen. cap. 6.

In the fifth Chapter of the 7. Booke.

Concord and amity among brute beaity, exemplified in Ants.

Slothfullnesse and negligence, reprooued by the Ants.

Loue & duty to Princes taught by Bees.

Against covousness, wealth, and pride.

Of clemency and manufacture.

when they but behold the King of Bees, who doth no offence, neyther worketh any displeasure to the very meanest and slightest of his Subiects?

Our great Seigniors and high-minded men, may learne humility of the Camel, who falleth on his knees, to accept a heauy and ouer-chargeable burden. True and loyall married couples, may take example by the good custome among some Birds: especially Pigeons and Turtle-Doues, noting both in the Male and Female, that nothing but death can impeach their continuall companying, or hinder cyther from their first choyse. I finde written moreover, concerning Turtle-Doues, that the one dying, the other remaineth in the condition of a widdow, & finisheth the remainder of her life in widowhood. Saint *Ambrose* writeth, that widdowed women may learne chastity of the Turtle-Doue. As touching continency, all beasts (well nere) do lesse on vs therein: for after the Female hath conceiued, she neuer seeketh, or hath any appetite to the Male, till her full time be determined. They are likewise examples of temperance in all vices; because they eate no more then sufficeth to maintaine life, neyther sleepe they any more then necessity requirith.

To keepe our selues well and discreetly governed, the Peacocke may be our direction. For defence and maintenance of our houses, as also to liue liberally among our people; what better enstructer can we haue then the Cock? For he will part with the food out of his owne Beake, to giue it to his Hens, and when need requirith, he will expose himselfe to all perils in their defence. The great obligation, wherein children standeth bound to their Parents, and how they ought to serue and asist them, the Storke plainly witnesseth, by nourishing their aged Parents in their owne nests, as they fedde and maintayned them in their youth. Why should not men blush and be ashamed, to commit frailty and sinne through feare, knowing the inuincible courage of the Lyon? Faithfulnessse, friendship, and acknowledgement of receiued benefites, we are notably taught by the meere behaviour of Dogs; that neuer forget the Masters they haue serued, but continually loue them, neuer ceasing to bee thankfull for

the poorest bread they eate. If a man would benefit himselfe by the vse of another mans goods, yet without any harme or injury done him; let him so carry himself in that case, as doth the little laboring Bee, who draweth honey out of the fairest flowers, and yet no wrong at all done to them.

VVhat meanes and order we should daily obserue, for healthfull conseruation of our liues, we are not to learne it of any one beast only, but of many, that know what food doth soonest offend them, as also in with-drawing from one place to another, according to the mutation of times. Moreover, they will liue in such soyles, as are answerable to their complexions and natures: excelling men herein as well as in all other things beside. VVhy should not men be absolutely learned, and ignorance in any thing quite removed from them, being endued with hearing and vnderstanding: considering that an Elephant learneth what soeuer is shewne and taught him; a Dog attaineth to many familiar qualities; and Birds can speake, being thereto enstructed? He that heareth the Nightingales sweet Songs, and some other melodious Birds; how can he but desire to sing musically? VVhy couet not men to be excellent builders, beholding the Swallowes skilfull construction; what arte shee declareth for her owne dwelling, and with what diversity of matter it is composed? VVhat better Geometry, then that of the Spider? VVhat better Astrologie, then that of the Ant, & likewise of a Fish (according to *Galen*) called *Francospos*, that hauing but one eye, yet looks continually vp to heauen? Haue men reason and iudgement, and yet are meere ignorant in these Artes?

How many other industrious and excellent perfections are in brute Beasts, which men either haue, or else may learne of them? Passages vnder ground, making of Caves in the earth, and knowledge how to dwell in them; came they not first from the Mole and Fox? There are certaine little VVormes, in Latine called *Seres*, that enstructed the meanes and manner to spin and make Silke. Next, the Spider taught how to spin thred for cloth, & so to make Nets, whereby to catch Birds. Men learned of Beasts to swim in the water, for there is no one of them but can do

Benefit receiued without prejudice.

Healthfull preservation of life.

Absolute learning, and vnderstanding.

Skill in Musique.

Arte in building.

Geometry.

Astrologie.

Galen in lib. 4.

** A Fish whose eye is alwayes directed vpward.*

Dwelling vnder ground.

Making of Silke.

Making of cloth. Catching of birds. Swimming in the water.

Of her then being in opposition with the Sunne.

Macrobius in lib. 2. de Somn. Scip.

Jul. Firmicus in lib. 2. de creat. mundi.

Elipacius in Tract. Astrolog. Ican. Agrico. in Sum. Agrico. Macrobius in lib. 2. de Somn. Scip.

Gautierus in lib. 2. de Monach. cap. 5.

The Planets not then in conjunction with the Sun.

Rules for philosophy, & knowledge in weather.

Our wearing garments and food.

The cheapest support of our lives.

Examples concerning the soule.

All moral Parables grounded on beasts.

Beasts commended to vs in holy Scripture, for our imitation.

Reasonable men instructed by example of brute beasts.

Autops in lib. sup. loc. cap. 2.

it; yet men cannot attaine thereto, but by practise and learning. What Physicall rules they haue taught men, and knowledge in the changes of weather, hath elle where bene handled; and yet notwithstanding we make such prouision of them, for supply of hunger and other necessities, as I know not how we could liue without their helpe. Our garments are made of theirs, and their fleish is our best Foode: both being brought home to vs from far remote countreyes, and whatsoeuer is needfull for vs, or else we send abroad to seeke after them. They labour, and make the earth playable for our vse; whence we get our bread, and the best fruites of sustentation, so that they are the principall maintenance of our liues. And although they are forelaboured, pursued, and euill entreated by the ipleness of men: yet are they still obedient, both knowing, following, and euermore dooing them seruice.

Come wee now to examples concerning the soule, as a matter of higher Argument, and much greater importance. Whence can a man cerue more worthie examples, both for vertues and good manners meete to bee in men, then from beasts? All those Vertues which naturall Philosophers hath perlwaded vnto vs, are grounded on the similitudes and parables of Beasts: Oratours serued their turnes with them; and all that haue spoken or written elegantly.

God and his Saints haue oftentimes in sacred Scripture, instructed and perswaded vs, by the properties & conditions of beasts, for the perfection of our liues: And the rules of vertue and ciuill manners do tell vs, that we should be wise like Serpents, and simple as Doves; milde, like Lambes, and strong and constant as Lyons. In like sort, by the example of brute beasts, and voide of reason; we are taught to become men reasonable, and spiritually affected. We finde many Offices & estates in the Church, applyed and figured by beastes, and according vnto their properties. By Oxen (according to S. Augustine, writing on the second Chapter of S. Iohn) such men are signified, as doe publish and preach the holie Scriptures: for they till and plough vnto the knotted furrowes of our soules, sowing therein the seedes of Gods most glorious

word.

Saint Paule, and Salomon in his Prouerbes doeth say; *Thou shalt not muzzle the mouth of the Ox that laboureth*, Rom. 9. verse 7. Proverb. 12. chap. 14. The holy Doctors and Preachers of the Church, that with Doctrine and good Lawes doe gouerne and defend it, are termed Dogs. Saint Gregorie speaks it on the wordes of Iob: *Quorum non dignabar patres ponere cum canibus gregis mei*. The same Saint Gregorie, inuitheth men vnto a contemplatiue kinde of life, by the imitation of Goats, that alwayes climbe vp to high places, spending there their time in contemplation as it were: the wordes in *Leuiticus* seem his motive thereto, *Leuitic. chapt. 12. verse 12. Out of the Herd let the Goat be offered*.

Moreouer hee sayth, that Preachers should imitate the Cocke; as grounding on the wordes of Iob, who sayde; *Who hath giuen vnderstanding to the Cock?* Adding withall, that (like vnto the Cocke) they proclaim (in the dunne darkeness of this life) the glorious light that is to come, and awake vs with their shrill voyces, out of sleepey finnes, saying with S. Paule, *The night is past, and day approacheth*. And againe, *It is time for vs to arise from sleepe, looke abroad yee wit, and sinne not*. Phil. 1. 12.

The Church her selfe, pure, holy, and immaculate, is compared to a Dove, as Salomon declareth in his Canticles, saying. *Beholde, thou art faire as my Loue, thine eyes are like the Doves*. And againe in another place: *O my Loue, O my Dove*. We see likewise, that of the foure Euangelists three are figured by three beastes. If I would continue longer on this argument, I could finde matter enough to discourse on. But about all other, that of our Saviour and Redeemer Iesus Christ, is the most notable, who would bee figured by a Beast, as Saint Iohn speaketh in his Apocalypse, chapt. 7. verse 14. *The Lion of the Tribe of Iudah hath bene victorious*. And David sayeth in his Psalmes, *Rouze thee like a Lion*: and so in many other places, which were too long to rehearse. Beside, in S. Mathew, he teacheth himselfe a Hen, saying: *O Ierusalem, Ierusalem how often would I haue gathered thee & thy children together, as the Hen gathereth hir Chickens vnder her wings, and ye would not*. Seeing

Greg. 12. 13 de moral.

Contemplatiue kinde of life.

Greg. 12. 13 de moral.

Preachers compared to the Cocke.

Eph. 5. 14.

The Church compared to a Dove.

Cant. 2. 14.

Ioh. Christ figured by a beast.

Philom. 120.

Matth. 23. 37.

Chap. 36. Of Neglect in Military Discipline.

Christ works compared to the properties in beastes.

Man more of familie vnto God then all his other creatures.

Some men do giue worse examples to men, then brute beastes can do.

Seeing then, that Christ compareth his workes to the properties of Beastes; men may doe well to receiue instruction from them, in leading a good and holie life. And contrary wise, what shame and confusion is it to vs, to see and know, that all kinde of Beasts do follow their nature perfectly, and men (onely made reasonable) vse their owne so badly, abusing that super-excellent gift very vilely. For, he that ought most to honor God, doth most of all offend him, and farre beyonde all other creatures, dayly peruertering and adulterating his workes. So that there are some beastes, of whome men may learne much better examples, then from some kind of men among whom they liue. For they haue more apprehension of iustice, and offend farre lesse, then men that know what is their dutie, and yet do it not. And therefore, God deliuereth it by the mouth of the Prophet Esay: *The Ox knoweth his Master, and the Ass his Cribbe; but Israel knoweth him not, neither will his people vnderstand him*.

CHAP. XXXVI.

Of neglect in Martiall Discipline: and of an Army of Christians, that lost all their liues thorow drunkennesse, and want of following such courses, as are to be obserued in Military affayres.

In the eight chapt. of the 1 Booke in the 64 volume.



EE haue already declared, how Bayan Chinsan, Lieutenant to the Tartarian Emperor Cublay, and director of his Military forces, tooke 12 Cities and Townes (by assault) at his first annuall, for conquering the great Province of Maugy, before all the rest would yeeld themselves tributary. One of them was vtterly ruined to the very foundation and worke vfed then any other known to be, during the Empire of the said Cublay, which was about fixe and thirtie yeares. This City being called Cinginguy, was the second in wealth, greatnesse, and multitude of inhabitants, in all the rich Kingdome of Maugy, and the reason why it was wholly ruined, followeth thus.

Bayan Chinsan, pursuing his Conquests, was much whittood by a strong Cattle, builded vpon a small mountaine, very potent by naturall situation, and artificiall construction. For therein continued a powerfull Garrison, that preyed with great advantages on his Army, passing along the foote of that Mountain: and this was the reason that he would proceed on no further, till hee had deuised some better correspondencie from the people of this Garrison. And yet he durst promise to himselfe, that (within some small distance of time) he should preuaile against them, as afterwarde it prouoed true indeed.

In the meane while, and at the selfsame instant, the explorators or scouts were come backe againe, which he had sent to surueigh the estate of Cinginguy, who made knowne vnto him, that the people of the City appeared, to knowe nothing of his coming, neyther stood vpon any guard, or preparation to expect a besieging. This was the cause (to the end hee might the better prevent them) that hee forthwith dispatched a Squadron of thirty thousand men, armed at the highest, and very good soldiers, all of them being Christians (which came among the Tartarian Idolaters in open liberty, as the Iews haue done from all times of antiquity, and daily yet doe) to possesse themselves of the Citie, and hinder the entrance of any succour, either by way of power or victuals, assuring them likewise, that he would follow them with all convenient speede that might be.

This warlike band of Christians, made such speedy diligence, that (within three dayes) they arrived before the City, and lodged themselves on the Ditches side, before any in the City took notice thereof. They made the escalado in so many feuerall places, and disposed their Archers so conueniently, as no one durst peep out at any of the battlements, or else be scene vpon the wals. At length, the besieged (imagining the army that had thus engirt the, was of far greater strength then it was indeed) being overcome with feare, rendered themselves to the discretion & mercy of the assaillants, to the end, they might finde the more humanity at their handes. The gates being set open, the Christians entred, taking vp their lodgings in feuerall

All along the Citie, the Iews, Bayans, pagans.

Return of his scouts from Cinginguy.

The command that Bayan gave to his Squadron of Christians.

The Christians arrived before Cinginguy.

The men of Cinginguy yeeld to the Christians.

all houses. And these indiscreet conquerors, without any other care of military discipline, finding the City well furnished with victuals of all kinds, & whatsoever was needfull for the life of man, but (above all) plenty of rich wines; fell to making themselves good cheere, and drinking hard, after the German manner, till they fell asleepe with the pots in their hands.

Heereupon the Inhabitants finding themselves deceived, in yeelding to so small a number of people, that had no better vnderstanding in actions of warre, neither knew how to vse the fortune so fairly befall them; began to consult heereon with themselves, and how to worke their deliuerance with as much speed, as they were ouer-hasty in losing their liberty. The Christians continuing in this drunken behauiour, without any feare at all of the Inhabitants, that lodged the Soldiers in their houses, though not halfe so many as they were able to receiue: in one night it was fully concluded, that euery host should kill his guest, and so it was accordingly performed. Afterward, they threw their bodies into the great Riuer, which runneth through the middle of the City, saying: These are the renegades and faith-breakers, men of Christian Religion, of whom the Emperour *Cublay* made no great account, but suffered them to carry crosses in their Ensigns, to shame them the more in their least ill demeanour.

Bayan Chinlan having surprized the foresaid castle, commanded the Captains to be hang'd, and the castle quite ruined; but pardoned all the Soldiers, iourneying afterward on to *Cinguinguy*: but within less then two dayes iourney, hee heard how all his men were slaine, therefore hee brought a strong siege before the City. The Inhabitants were not a little amazed, beholding so powerfull an Army to beset them, and conducted by a man so highly renowned: and therefore desired to haue a Parlee before any farther proceeding, which accordingly was granted. The summe of the Oration propounded by the Deputies, was thus. That they could not deny a manifest truth, but that they had slaine a number of runnagates, masterlesse men, seeming to haue no faith or honesty, neither shewing any open ap-

pearance of their power; but suddenly surprized their City. Moreover, that they were all Christians, more addicted vnto wine and gourmandizing, then any respect of valour or manhood: in which regard, his losse was little or none at all, by the deferred overthrow of such carelesse people, and they humbly desired pardon, if in this case they had transgressed.

Bayan returned his answer brauely and succinctly, saying. His men were warriors, that had no other direction in this businesse, but command from his mouth onely, and he had beene well informed, that they tooke the City by faire order of warre; without offending any one in their goods, or violence offered to wifes or mayds, or disarming any Inhabitant, but suffering them to continue in their wonted liberty. And in being Christians, they did not therefore deserue death, because he could as well tollerate them, as his Master the Emperour, who not onely suffered them to liue in all his Countries, without the least injury done vnto them; but hauing conquered kingdomes, wholly Christian, he neuer inuaded any matter touching their Religion. Moreover, the greater part of Officers in his Court, and the very worthiest of his warriors, were all Christians, being men more faithful, and of better conseruation, then any other Religion whatsoever.

As for their neglect in martiall discipline, he did not allow it in them, but confessed, that they deserued death therein, which (doubtlesse) himselfe would haue inflicted on them; condemning them for beeing so forward, in executing any authority belonging onely to him. For which boldnesse (with an absolute denyall of pardon or fauour) he vowed to be reuenged on the men of *Cinguinguy*; because (against all fidelity) they had slaine his men, and declared monstrous ingratitude for their extraordinary manuetude, and thence hee pretended to deriue his reason.

Having thus spoken, hee would see them no more, but in this rough manner dismissed them. About an houre after, he caused his Rammes and other Engines of battery, to be mounted, for destruction of the walles and houses, and within few dayes after, tooke the City, with-

Wine and gourmandizing more respected then manhood.

Bayan reply to the men of Cinguinguy.

The Christians defended in their protection, and whole kingdomes conquered, by the benefit of their religion.

Bayan doubtlesse pardon or fauour, vowed to be reuenged on the men of Cinguinguy.

In what manner Bayan destroyed the City of Cinguinguy.

The carelesse neglect of Christians in their victory, continuing still in surfeit and drunkennesse.

The Army of Christians in their drunkenness and surfeit, fully vied by the Inhabitants.

The strong Castle taken by Bayan, & rydings brought him of his mens slaughter.

A Parlee required before further proceeding, and answer returned by the men of Cinguinguy.

without any great resistance, putting all the men to the sword, that were about 14 yeares of age. Women and maides went whither themselves pleased; but for their children, they were sold at the Out-cry, to such as would giue the most mony for them: for there were certaine merchants of *Bagdad*, which followed the army that did trafficke onely in such kinde of merchandise, and so do yet to this day. Afterward, vittails beginning to faile, & the warlike enemy, hauing emptied the citie of all the wealth; he commanded it to be set on fire, and that the Army should not boudge thence, vntill it were intirely consumed.

This City was seated on a goodly riuer, large and nauigable, whereby, the comerce which it made with other countries, returned infinite profit and wealth. In it was made the richest & fairest works wrought with the needle, both in cloth of gold and siluer, as no other City in the world beside had the like. There were also made sumptuous vessells (for all vses) both of gold and siluer, by most admirable cunning, and in great plenty: besides costly clothes of fine Cotten, gold, siluer and like. In briefe, it was the second or third City (as then) in all those parts: which was thus destroyed, thorow the drunkennes of *Neistorian* Christians, and by the perfidy of the Inhabitants, euen as *Troyan Ilum* by luxurie & whoredome, since when it was neuer rebuild'd, or inhabited. The ruines thereof may be seene to this day, whereat full many haue stood amazed, it being situated in so potent a territory: but it was thought to proceed from the iust displeasure of God, and for the bloody massacre of so many Christians.

We may now come homeward, and nearer to our selues, and speake of the like faults, as were among these *Tartarian* Christians, thorow lacke of knowledge, how to make vse of victorie: As not long since was seene in *Francke*, in the first battaile giuen neere to *Dreux*, betweene the *French* Protestants and the Catholics, in the yeare of our Lord God, 1562. vnder *Charles* the ninth. The Prince of *Conde*, being chief of those Protestants, overthrew with his horsemen (wherein he was strongest) a great part of the royall Catholique Armie,

whereof *Anne de Montmorancy*, Constable, was commanded, putting the 20000 to flight, and the sayde Constable taken prisoner. Heereupon the Protestants becoming insolent, and vterly vnmindfull of Militarie Discipline: left their ranks, brake their order, gaue the chase, pursuing after certayne runaways, and, before they had fully conquered all their enemies; they beganne to gape after pillage with the *Smart-ruters* and *Lance-knights*. During this disorder, *Monsieur de Guise*, a most wise and valiant Capitaine, having yet left him a bond of braue men, beganne to set vpon those negligent fellows with his troups, and running on the Protestants (who imagined they had the whole victorie, which they knew not how to holde) got the better of them, and tooke their Leader the Prince of *Conde*, becoming sole maister of the field. Thus, not knowing how to vse Militarie Discipline, by breaking their ranks, following the chase, and scraping for pillage, when they had gotten the better of their enemies safe and soundly, yet not hauing wholly overcome them: did they not declare themselves very vnadvised, becoming guilty and well worthie of death: I am perswaded, that all good warriors are of that opinion. And so it happened, for thus the Protestant Armie was vterly foyled, which was (wellneare) equal in great Capraines and good men to the Royall. But such losse doth almost daily happen, where Military discipline is not obserued.

They that (at so cheape a rate) tooke the City of *Cinguinguy*, should haue disarmed the Citizens, seized the strongest places into their owne power, planted Courts of guard in all the most frequented parts of the City, imprisoned the chiefe persons, expelled out of the City, a greater part of the youthfull and most forward men, if they would not kill them, without vsing such courtesie after conquest. In so doing, they had kept Martiall discipline on foote, and auoyded the losse of their owne liues, besides the reproach, to their great infamie. But ouer and aboue all the rest, they should (as much as in them lay) haue abstayned from wine: For there is not anie thing, that sooner bereauech a

O o good

The fault of the Protestants in the battaile at Dreux.

The Duke of Guise a valiant worthy and tried warrior, overthrew the Protestants, and tooke the Prince of Conde prisoner.

The Protestant Army vicerly foyled.

What the Christians ought to haue done, vpon their victorie at Cinguinguy.

Wine most hurtfull to any good Souldier.

Children sold at the Out-cry, to who gaue most.

The description of the City of Cinguinguy, and the commodities made therein.

Cinguinguy the second or third city in all those parts.

A view of some of the disorders among our felles.

good Souldiour of manly iudgement, and maketh him merely brutish in behaviour.

CHAP. XXXVII.

Of the miserable ends, and other strange traueses, endured by diuerse Kings, Emperours, Dukes, and other great Princes, within an hundred and fiftie yeares of these times.



According to the imitation of *Petrarke*, I am desirous to describe the vnhappie ends, and other aduersities, happening vnto diuerse famous Christian Princes; as Kings, Emperours, Dukes, Popes, and other Prelates, liuing within an hundred and fiftie yeares of these dayes, some of them being familiarly knowne to vs; omitting such as the *Greekes* and *Latines* haue set downe in their writings, because I would not be troublesome to the Reader, by repeating Histories else-where to be read, (and perhaps) knowne to him before. And if it come to passe, that any worthe person, constituted in some eminent dignitie, chauce to feele the sickenesse of Fortune, by such occasions as shall ensue in this Chapter; let him take comfort, and forsake all sadnesse; for it is no meane consolation to the miserable, to haue store of companions ranked with them in their disasters.

We will begin then with a king of *Bohemia* named *George*, who liued in the yere 1466, who was reputed to be a man of great wisedome, and was elected (*in sede vacante*) or *inter-regnum* after the death of *Adolfus*, who died on the very day of his marriage, solemnized at *Prage*, the capitall citie of his Kingdome, hauing taken in marriage *Madame Magdelen*, daughter to *Charles* the seauenth King of *Fraunce*. This *George* hauing obtayned the amitie of many in the Kingdome, and making himselfe much feared beyond many other; was installed King, and gave his daughter in marriage, to *Matthias* King of *Hungarie*. In his elder yeres

Ferdinand King of the *Romaines*, brother to *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, possessed himselfe of his Kingdome, he holding then but a small portion thereof, because hee was molested many yeares before, by the Kings of *Poland*, *Hungaria*, and some Emperours, by the solicitation of Pope *Paule*, the second, for fauouring of the *Infantes* Doctrine, in which cause he was so vehemently afflicted, that it shortened his dayes. He dyed much bemoaned; for in his youth, and while his body held the strongest vigour, hee performed many notable and worthe exploits in warres against the *Turkes*.

Another Prince, some short while before, *Charles Bourgoyn*, Sonne vnto *Phillip*, one of the most potent and vndoubted Christian Princes, that was in those times, being in the yere of our Lord God, one thousand four hundred and two and twenty. Hee vnderstoode himselfe to be so rich and mighty, that hee pretended to create himselfe a King. But *Fredericke* the third of that name, being then Emperour, would not admit such an aduancement of his Countrey. His father left him great store of coyne, and many large reuenues of diuerse Seigneuries: hauing lent foure hundred thousand crownes to *Charles* the seauenth, holding all the Townes and Countries, on, and about the river of *Somme*; as *Amiens*, *Abeville*, *Saint Quintin*, and others beside. Hee held also (by way of mortgage) of *Stysmund*, Archduke of *Austria* in *Germany*, the lands to him belonging, both on this side, and beyond the River of *Rheine*, and the Earledome of *Ferrat*, for three score and tenne thousand florins: whereby ensued, the Governour which hee placed ouer those Lands, was the cause of diuerse mishappes and ignominies, that followed vpon him very suddenly.

Moreouer, hee was Lord of fouretee goodly Prouinces; as the Duchy of *Burgogne*, the French Court, of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Friesland*, *Hennault*, *Artois*, *Namures*, *Guelldres*, *Luxembourg*, *Vtrecht*, and *Embourg*, all which Countries valewed well a large Kingdome.

And in regarde of his pompe and wealth

King George
one of the
Hollands
gion.

Charles Duke
of Burgoyne,
sonne to
Phillip.

George King
of Bohemia
in Anno 1466.

The grames
and lands
of Charles Duke
of Burgoyne,
with the feodal
lands that
he was Lord
of.

The Audiour
sharpe his
course in this
argument at
ter Petrarke.

Addice to per-
son of honor
and amiaence

George King
of Bohemia
in Anno 1466.

wealth, he became so proude, that hee durst vnder take the boldnesse (vpon some small suspition conceiued, that *Lewes* the cleuenth King of *Fraunce*, had intelligence with them of *Liege*, being then his enemies) to imprison the sayd King in the great Tower of *Peronne*, where they met both together, vnder the colour of friendly conference. And there he made him condiscend to follow him (like a water Spaniell) in the warres, which hee had against the Inhabitants of *Liege*, euen vntill hee had ruined theyr Townes, and all the Countrey: Heere seated *Edward* King of *England*, being expelled from his Kingdome; giuing him mony, and an armie by Sea, to bring it to passe.

Afterward, hee would needes coape in Armes with the Emperour, and (almost) all the Princes of *Germanie*: besieging the Towne of *Muz* (which is not farre from *Coloigne*) for the space of a yere, but all in vaine. Every one reputed him to be great, happy, and inuincible: but we shalosome perceiue the contrary, and how (by little and little) hee trode the path to his owne ruine, as briefly I purpose to relate. It fortuned, that this *Charles* had infatuated as Governour ouer those Lands, which he held mortgaged by the Arch-Duke of *Austria*: a thiefe and tyrant, named *Peter de Hagenbach*, Counte of *Thierstein*, who (so much as in him lay) tormented both them of *Mulhouse*, and the *Switzers*: whereupon, they took him prisoner, and hauing proceeded against him by due forme of Lawe: they degraded him of his order of Knight-hood, and afterwards beheaded him in the open Market place.

Next, the seauenty thousand florins were assigned ouer to a Banquer of *Basil*, and to the Duke it was signified by an Herald, that hee held no more right ouer the Countrey, then what the Arch-Duke had mortgaged vnto him. Hereat hee grew verie highly offended, and sought all meanes how to be reuenged; especially for the death of *Peter de Hagenbach*. Then hee assembled an Armie, being assisted by the Duke of *Milaine*, and the Dutchesse of *Sauoy*; taking *Lansanna*, which was confedered with the *Switzers*.

Thence hee went and besieged the

Towne and Castle of *Granson*, soliciting them to yeeld themselves. They hauing humbly submitted themselves, the Duke commaunded foure score of them to be hanged, and an hundred more to be drowned, in the neerest Lake adjoining to the Cittie. This inhumane act did not onely moue the *Switzers*; but likewise them of high *Germanie*, who with an Army belonging to the Arch-Duke of *Austria* (whereof *Harman d'Entingen* was the conductor) expelled the Duke from *Granson*, and slew a great part of his Army; taking beside, his Artilletrie and furniture for warre, which was great and rich. Afterward, taking downe all their friends, which the Duke had caused to bee hanged, in their places they hung vp as many *Bourgoyns*.

The moueables of his house, which hee would alwayes haue carried along with him, were of extraordinary valew: for among them were so many rich tents, all of costly silkes, and vessels both of golde and siluer, embellished with store of precious stones, that it would require too long time to recount them. There were some *Switzers*, that sold great store of siluer plates, for two great blankes a peece, not knowing their valew and estimation. A Diamond, thought to bee the greatest and clearest that those times afforded; and, esteemed more worth then fiftie thousand crownes, was sold for twelue Sols. A faire bathing tubbe of siluer, richly gilded, wherein he used to bathe himselfe, was sold for foure pounds. I cannot heere set downe, the rich clothes of Tapistrie, wrought with vauable workes of silke and golde, for him to treade on wherefoeuer hee went. To be brieue, the Reader would be wearied in rehearfall of the incredible wealth and riches, which this vnfortunate prince lost, and whereof his greatest enemies made their triumph.

Then falling into a long and greuous sickenesse, at the length hee recovered, and taking courage to himselfe againe, hee returned the second time against the power and force of the *Switzers*. Hee had formerly taken *Nand* from *Renè*, Duke of *Lorraine*; wherefore the sayde Duke of *Lorraine* forthwith ioyned his forces with the *Switzers*.

An Armie af-
fected by
the Duke.

A most inhu-
mane act
of the Duke.

The Duke
thrust from
Granson, and
his furniture
for warre
taken.

The Duke's
mouable
carried away
with him
warre.

The great
simplicity
of the Switzers,
in making sale
of the Dukes
treasure.

Lewes the
eleuenth King
of Fraunce,
had intelligence
with them of
Liege.

The bold pre-
sumption of
Charles Duke
of Burgoyne.

Peter de Ha-
genbach
Counte of Thier-
stein, De-
putie to Duke
Charles in
Austria, de-
graded and be-
headed.

The begin-
ning of the
Dukes down-
fall and mis-
fortunes.

Fasick Temp.
Major Histor.Rene Duke
of Lorraine.A third battel
vnderaken
by the Duke
of Bourgogne
and lost also.The vanity of
the Bourgogne
must concern
the Dukes death.Naucler, in lib.
7. cap. 10.The vnrfor-
tunate end of
so great a
Duke.Vladislaus K.
of Poland and
Hungaria, &
howe little a
while hee en-
ioyed both
kingdoms,
through his
owne folly.

The Duke of *Bourgogne* being before *Moras*, the people of the Towne yllsd forth, and so beset the army of the *Bourguignons*, that twenty thousand (according to *Fasciculus Temporum*) or twentie two thousand, and seven hundred (according to the *Mother of Histories*) were ther slain. The spoyle was left to the Duke of *Lorraine*, who likewise recouered *Nancy* againe afterward.

A third time likewise, the Duke of *Bourgogne*, being not a little offended, that he should be vanquished by so mean a Prince as the Duke of *Lorraine*, and hee recouering the Towne of *Nancy*; returned with fresh forces, and besiedged it againe with fourteen thousand able fighting men, beside some other bandes in expectation. The Duke of *Bourgogne* was discomfited, and all his army; but by no means could his body be found. The *Bourguignons* could not be perfwaded that hee was slaine; but hauing escaped from the field, hee had cryed himselfe into *Germanie*, where he had vowed to liue in seven years penitence.

There were some *Bourguignons*, that made sale of precious Stones, Horses, and such like things, to be paid againe vpon his returne, and namely to *Brachelles*, in the Diocesse of *Spire*. There was a poore Begger, imagined to bee the Duke of *Bourgogne*, because he liued in the like estate of penance; which made verie many traualle to see him, and bestow very liberrall almes on him. *Naucler* reporteth, that he saw the poore man begging in the same place. The King of *France*, hearing the Duke was dead, seized on *Montdidier*, *Roye*, *Peronne*, *Abbeville*, *Montreuil*, *Arras*, *Hesdin*, and the two *Bourgognes*, to win the Dutchy and Countie. The men of *Gauins* tooke his Daughter, that gouerned his estates very poorely, and married her as themselves pleased; she hauing pur to death the Chancellor, and other of his best officers. Thus you see how this great Prince ended his life, accompanied with many misfortunes.

Vladislaus, King of *Poland*, a young and gallant Prince, was called by the *Hungarians* to be their King, in the yeare 1440. He conceiued such glory by seeing himselfe King of two such mighty Kingdoms, that he thought himselfe to be invincible. Whereupon, being desirous to imploy

his valour in warre against some enemy, that might take notice of his courage and power; he brake faith and Truce, which the *Hungars* had made with the Turk the yeare before. In the first battayle hee gaue, he was quickly slayne, and hadde but a short enioying of his two Kingdoms; for, thorow the inconstancie of Fortune, his pretended felicity was soon cut off, and all his supposed power utterly quailed.

The Emperor of the East, *Constantine Paleologus*, some fifteen yeares after, went to keepe company with this young King *Vladislaus*, in the other world. For *Constantinople*, the Metropolitane Cittie of his Empire, was besiedged and taken by *Mahomet* the second, sir-named the Great, thorow the negligence and treacherie of *John Iustinian* of *Geneway*; *Mahomet* hauing 300000. able fighting men, and four hundred Cannons, and the sledge continued threecore dayes. The Emperour (in flight) was met withall, and murdered neere vnto the Gate: his head being carried vpon a Laurels point, and so conueighed quite thorow the Cittie, while his body was trodden vnto dirt with their feete. *Mahomet* also cauted a Crucifixe to bee erected, and wrote vpon it (in scornfull derision) these words: *This is the GOD of the Christians*: commanding likewise, that euery one should cast dung and filthe vpon the sayre image.

The wife to the Emperour, with her daughters, and the very Noblest Ladies attending on them, were brought before *Mahomet*; and after all reproach was done vnto them, euen the verie greatest Villanies in the world, their bodies were hacked and hewne in peeces.

Some few dayes after, there was another King (but of three dayes standing) put to death likewise. VVhich I may by no means omit, because it was the forenamed *John Iustinian* the *Genewefe*, a traitorous Villaine. For hee had concluded with *Mahomet*, that if he would make him King, he would yeelde vp *Constantinople*, or be the meanes whereby hee should surprize it. *Mahomet* kept promise with him; for hee constituted him a King for three dayes space: and on the fourth day, hee commanded his head to bee smitten off. So sayeth *Fasciculus Temporum*; and that

Constantine
Paleologus,
Emperour of
the East.The power of
Mahomet the
second, Con-
stantinople.The Emper-
our body no
den under
stone, and
head cut off.The shame
done vnto the
imperiall
her daughters.The Treach-
ery of Iustinian
man, and his
suil requital,
being a King
of three dayes
standing.Of Charles
the eighth, K.
of France.His conquest
of Naples,
Calabria and
Apulia.What fate
hath aduyn-
ed to many
empires, &
enoyed.Little care
had of so fa-
tuous a King,
& in to great
an execution,
to let him die
in so thinking
a place.

that these things happened in the yeare, one thousand foure hundred fifty three, about the Moneth of May.

I am sure few people are ignorant, in what Beds of state, the noble Kings of France vsd to take their rest, and vnder what rich Pauillions; yet the iniquity of our times hath bene such, that a Kings lodging hath bene more vile then a laxe. I speake of King *Charles* the eight of that name, who returning home to his kingdom, hauing bene in *Italy*, where hee conquered the kingdom of *Naples*, and the great Dukedomes of *Calabria* and *Apulia*, and wonne two famous battayles in those countries: vpon a Palme Sunday Eue, being the seuenth of Aprill, one thousand foure hundred ninety eight, leading his Queene by the hand, *Anne of Britaigne*, to see certaine Gentlemen play at the Tennis, in a Ditch belonging to the Castle of *Amboise*, entred into an olace, broken, vncovered Gallery, where he gaue his head a great blow against the upper part of the doore, albeit himselfe was but of lowe stature. Taking hold vpon some staves for his recovery, neere vnto a noysome place, where euery one that would (by custome) vsd to let passe their vrine, and other vnpleasantness of the body; he was contented to endure it, and stood there merrily discourfing with the Queene, and other noble persons there present, iudging who deferred best of them that played. Suddenly hee was overcome with a rheume or catarre, which taking from him all his strength and motion in euery part of his body, he was deperied likewise of his speech. This was perceived by all there-about him, and how he lay vpon the ground, in such a foule, stinking, and vncomely place; yet no one had the care, or subiect-like affection, to beare him thence to his royall bed, which was not about twenty paces off.

Hee languished in this manner, for the space of nine houres, and dyed there in that noysome place. Is it not a matter deseruing admiration, that so worthy a King should dye in so vile a place, being in his owne house, among his Officers, and many of the Nobility? Hee that was King of the sweete smelling Floure-de-Luce, to expire and end his dayes, not among heards or flowers of pleasing sa-

uour: but in a place full of filth, then which, the whole world could yeelde no worse?

And to shew yee, that great Princes are as subiect to dye in battayles, as the simplest Souldiours: *James*, King of *Scotter*, may serue as an example, for hee was slayne in the field, with twoo Bithoppes, a great part of his Nobility, and many men of warre, that happened in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and thirteene. And the yeare following, *John d'Albrat* king of *Nauarre*, lost his Kingdome, which was seized by *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, because hee stood accursed by Pope *inthus*, for assisting King *Lewes* the twelfth, in warre against him; and aboue all, in the battaille of *Raenma*, which vntill this present his Successours neuer enioyed.

And *Lewes Sforza*, Duke of that rich and goodly Countrey of *Milaine*, was led prisoner into *France*, lying before the *French* to *Nauarre*, a City of his Dukedome; hee was confined to imprisonment, with the great Tower of *Bourge*, where (in great want and pouertie) hee finished his dayes.

What shall wee say of King *Frances*, first of that name, the Father of Learning, whose wisdom and magnanimitie, could not warrant him against the Ambulcades of Fortune, no more then any of them before remembered? Hee fell into the hands of *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, enuious of his greatness, and had bene his competitor in the Empire, opposing himselfe against many of his designes. Hee detained him prisoner about a yeare; during which time, hee had a most yrkesome discafe, which compelled him (for enioying of his liberty, to yeeld to many hard and grieuous conditions. As, to renounce and disclaime a multitude of rights, which hee pretended to many Dukedomes, Earledomes, and Kingdoms. Beside, hee gaue so great a quantity of money, as well for his expences, as discharge of martiall affaires, and his ransom withall, that his kingdom (for euery after) felt the smart thereof.

And not onely haue temporall Princes felt the rigour of inconstant Fortune; but Ecclesiasticall persons also,

James the
fourth, King
of Scotter, slain
in battaille.John d'Albrat
King of Naurre
lost his
kingdome.Lewes Sfor-
za, Duke of
Milaine, con-
fined in pri-
son, where he
died.Frances the
first, King of
France, the patron
of learning.The hard en-
forcements of
King Frances.

The Author
speakesh now
of spirituall
perions.

Pope Iohn
depouled and
imprisoned.

The bishop of
Liege, Bro
ther vnto the
Duke of Bour
gogne, a lord
both spirituall
& temporal.

The butcher
ing of an arch
bishop, and
4 Cardinals.

Pope Clement
taken priso
ner & Rome
rouaged or
pilld by gree
cy Soldiours.

howsoever high and great degree they haue carried in the world. For in the year 1410. Pope Iohn was put in prison, flying from the Councell of *Constance*, and was gnen in guard to *Lewis*, Count *Palatine*, depouled from his Office, and one called *Martine*, fite of that name, feated in his place, being likewise very inhumanly entreated, for the space of three yeares. Afterwardes, by the humanity of the sayde *Martine*, he was set at liberty, and created Cardinall: whereby euery man may perceiue, how farre this *Iohn* was falne from his former degree.

In the year 1466. the byshop of *Liege* brother to the fore-named Duke of *Bourgonie*, by his wife, who was of the house of *Bourbon*: beside his Office, hee was a Prince of the Empire, a Lord both spirituall and temporal, and holding so great and rich a country, as that of *Liege*. He was taken prisoner by his subiectes, and a great fort of his friends and officers (among whom were ten Abbots and Prototonaries, or Canons, al of worthy houses) massacred in his presence, & himselfe kept prisoner for long time, and in great misery. At length hee got safely away, hauing (by money) won his Guards consent thereto.

At *Florence*, in the year 1448. the arch-Bishop of the sayde place, being clothed in his habitments of Priethood, and saying Masse, was suddenly surprized, and hangd or strangled at a Window, by the hands of the hangman; beside foure Cardinalls massacred by the people, and many other Ecclesiasticall perions beheaded.

And although Popes (as hath beene held) by their great and spirituall authority, might impose silence vpon Christian Princes, from vndertaking warres, but to keepe themselves in quiet, and likewise to take armes at his command, for the affairs of the Christian world; yet it came so to passe, that Pope *Clement* was taken prisoner, and locked vp seven months space in his castle of *S. Angelo*, kept by a guard of *Spaniards* and *Germanes*, and all of them Heretikes (wel-neere) about him. The City of *Rome* was greuously pilld, the Temples ransacked and prophaned; all which happened by the Souldiours of *Charles* the fift, a Catholike Emperour, in the year 1527.

After these men of Ecclesiasticall profession, it shall not differ much from our purpose, to conclude this chapter with the death of three potent Kings, that died all three in one day: to the end, wee may obserue how vnhappy it is for Princes, to thinke that they can well manage their affaires, in medling amongst the quarrels of other Princes, as pusillat euery way as themselves.

It came to passe, that two Princes contended for the kingdom of *Fez* and *Marocco*, situated in *Barbarie* of *Affrica*: the one of them being named *Muley Mahumet*, Nephew to the other that demanded these Realmes, called *Abdelmelec*. This *Mahumet*, who enioyed those Kingdomes ten or twelue yeares, was assailed three or foure times by *Abdelmelec*, hauing gotten assistance of the Turke, and wonne til the best in foure fought battailes. So that in the end, the inhabitants of *Fez* and *Marocco* receyued *Abdelmelec*: because *Mahumet* was a Tyrant, had very few friends, contemning euery one, and trusting altogether in his strength and Treasures, after all his losses in those former Battayles.

Sebastian, King of *Portugall*, made offer to him of his ayde and friendship, but hee refused it, vntill such time as hee had neyther place or person to retire vnto, nor any to follow him. Moreover, hee had spent the great heapes of money which hee had gotten together during his reigne, & now withdrew himselfe into the Mountaines, which are fixe Leagues off from the City of *Marocco*. There hee liued about feauen or eight months, like a theefe or robber, with some few companies of needie persons, which yet againe were cut off by the troopes of *Abdelmelec*; and *Mahumet* constrained to wander in the most vnacceffable places of the Mountaines, where hee endured a million of miseries, for the space of a whole yeare, lying in continuall feare and distrust, onely thorough his conceyued opinion, that hee should bee taken, or betrayed in his secret walks.

In breefe, necessity compelled him to repent his former denials, and to require the friendly succour offered him, by that braue King of *Portugall*. *Sebastian*: vnto whom hee sent an expresse Messenger, and (afterward) two of his Captaines. In the meane while, hee found the means to defend

The death of
three Kings,
all in one day

The memorabi:
History of
Muley Mahu
met & Abdel
melec, Kings
in Barbarie.

Abdelmelec
expelled Ma
homet out of Fez &
Marocco.

Sebastian's
of Portugall,
offered aide
to Mahumet,
& is denied.

The miserie
able cause
condemned
Muley Mahu
met.

Mahumet is
enforced to
request the
ayd which he
had formerly
denied.

* An old City
of Mauritania,
here called
Tingi.

King Sebastian
always seeking
opportunity to
enter Affrica,
and his pretence,
for the advancement
of Christian
Religion.

King Sebastian
unpased into
Affrica, against
the opinion of all
his friends.

The Army in
full preparation
on the field from
Portugall.

The rate of
Abdelmelec,
to encounter
with his ene
mie.

cent from the Mountaines, by wayes of little or no resort, and sought for his safety in *Tanger*, a Towne which the *Portugales* held in *Affrica*: where hee was well entertained by the Gouvernour, who knew some part of *Sebastians* minde towards him, and therefore furnished the two Captaines with well armed hostemen, for the dispatch of their Embassie in *Portugall*.

King *Sebastian* was very ioyfull to see these Ambassadors, because hee was naturally addicted to Armes, and the disposition of his person (joynd with his height of courage) incessantly spurred him on to this businesse. And in this respect, hee did but awaite some apt ouerture, for making his passage into *Affrica*, forming his pretext, vpon an earnest desire (as hee would always say) which hee had to aduance Christian Religion, and to extirpate that of the Mahumetists. Whereupon he suddenly promised (without any better consideration of the businesse) to succour *Muley Mahumet*, and to re-seate him in his kingdomes againe: hee made promise (I say) to such a one, as himselfe had before sought vnto, for this effect, by so large a passage over the Seas, and two severall times had beene misprized by him. The Pope, the King of *Spaine*, and many other great personages, could not dissuade him from this enterprize, but still hee persisted in treading the path vnto his owne death, death that followed him so hard at the heeles. So did hee set on into *Affrica*, with thirteene hundred sayle, as well of great as small Vesselles in that Fleete, the very fayrest and goodliest that had bene in those times. His Army was composed of Lance-knight, *Spaniards*, *Italians*, *Portugales*, and some small number of *Affricane Moores*, which took part with the *Portugales*, and thirty fixe Pieces of Ordnance for the field, well fitted and furnished. In all, there was not about fixteene thousand men of warre; setting aside the Soldiours boyes, Waggoners, Strumpets, Castadours, and other such like people very vnprofitable for the field.

Abdelmelec (wee may well perswade our selves) slept not all this while carelessly, for hee brought threecore thousand men to the field, as well Pykes as Harquebuziers, and twenty fixe Peeces of Orde

nance for the field, well appointed & gouerned by most expert men. *Abdelmelec* was very lorry, that hee should haue any conquest against Christians, in regard hee bare them much affection; not because hee feared the *Portugales*, but as foreseeing, that *Barbary* would proue the graue to the King of *Portugall*; who (indeede) was too weake to encounter with him, that went so farre beyond him in power. And in due consideration of the case, hee would oftentimes thus say to himselfe. *King Sebastian should bee more resolute, then so vnaduisely to runne vpon his owne ruine: for he would take two kingdomes from me, which in right and iustice doe appertaine to me, and giue them vnto a Negro, wherein Christ endome can no way be eased or accommodated, neyther is it a thing which God (being iust) will permit.*

The report and rumors spread abroad, of *Abdelmelec*s valiant carriage, was the cause that euery one came to offer him seruice and obeyance; and from euery Prouince they brought humgody presents and gifts of inestimable value. Many Christian Kings tooke pleasure in his friendship, and embraced him as their kinde well willer: esteeming themselves happy in his acquaintance. So that from diuers places, great store of Christians traiailed into his countreies, where they receiued gracious entertainment, and hee shewed them much better countenance, then to any other men that resorted thither, helping them liberally in their necessities. On the contrary part, *Muley Mahumet* oppressed the Christians all the time of his reigne, or else permitted, that all greefes and molestations should bee done vnto them: wherefore King *Sebastian* (in this respect) did greatly forget himselfe.

Now to deteine the Reader no longer in suspence, the two Armies disposed themselves for the encounter, and mette in a field, which contained about two miles in spaciousness, so euen and plaine, that there was not any tree, grasse, brambles, or stones, to offer the least hinderance. The Army of *Sebastian*, had the River of *Arache* behinde it, and that of *Abdelmelec*, the River of *Alcassar*. *Muley Mahumet*, for whom this Tragedy was to be acted, contrary to his oath and promise, did not bring with him any ayde for *Sebastian*, hauing

How Abdelmelec did offer to make the case of King Sebastian.

The loue, riches, and seruice voluntarily offered to Sebastian by Christians and others.

Muley Mahumet oppressing the Christians.

How the two Armies came to encounter in the field.

The treachery of Mahumet with King Sebastian.

having formerly made him beleene, that more then halfe the Army of *Abdelmelec*, would come and ioyne with him: which came not so to passe, for both the Armies meeting together, each side fought valiantly for it selfe, and the Christians sustained the worse. *Muley Mahomet* was one of the first that fled, shaping his course towards the riuer of *Arache*, where thinking to passe the foord, & it being choked with mud and slime, and his horse sticking fast therein, he gaue him the spur so furiously, that losing his stirrups, and not knowing how to helpe himselfe by swimming, hee fell into the water, and so was both drowned and suffocated in the myre. As for *K. Sebastian*, after that all his men were slain, or (at least) put to flight; he was asslaid on all sides (having but 7 or 8 knights with him) among whom also he was slaine, & lay on the ground among his owne people, that fought for their liues as much as men could do.

Now concerning *Abdelmelec*, some 8 or 10 dayes before the battaile, he fell into a greuous sicknesse, by eating a messie of milke in a neere adioyning Village, which so curdled on his stomacke, as hee could not compasse any auoydance of it. Neuerthelesse, on the day of battaile, hee would needs mount on horse-backe, and presente into the thickest of the fight, where finding himselfe more weake then euer; he was conuayed into his Litter, wherein he died immediately. But his death was very closely concealed, vntill the battaile was finished, and won on his side. Thus we may see, that (in one day) three Kings died by three severall meanes: for *Muley Mahomet* was drowned; *Sebastian* finished his life in fight; & *Abdelmelec* died by sickness. Their bodies also received divers sorts of handling or vlage: for the body of *Mahomet* was flayed, & the skinned stuffed with haire, was carried thorow all the Cities in the kingdomes of *Fez* & *Marracco*, in signe of open infamy. The body of the king of *Portugall*, *Sebastian*, was buried in the Town of *Alcazarguier*, without any Priest for the funerall obsequies, or any sheete to couer his body; but stark naked, according as it was found, when acknowledgement was taken of it among the other dead bodies: yet one of the groomes of his chamber, despoyling himselfe thereof, gaue him a poore paire of

linnen breeches, & a most wretched doublet, which was no way disliked by the *Mahometans*. The fore-said *Abdelmelec* faued himselfe miraculously, for once whole Christian Army, either Soldiers or other, there did not escape 200. *Abdelmelec* was carried away dead in his Litter, royally apparelled, and more then twenty miles off from that place, hee was buried in a costly Sepulcher, among his Predecessors, and there was granted rents and reuenues, to diuers Priests of the *Mahometane* Religion, to pray to God (after their manner) for his soule.

Their successors also were as strange and diuers; for to *Muley Mahomet*, succeeded his mortall enemy, *Hamed*. To *Abdelmelec*, not his owne children, albeit he had diuers; but his bastard Brother, the said *Hamed*, for the father would haue it so. To *King Sebastian*, *Philip King of Spain*, who was (a farre off) a kinsman to him, yet then the neereff that could be found, because the other was neuer married. Here we may apparantly perceiue, how fortune playeth with miserable life, or vnsuccessfull ending in the very greatest, or of highest advancement in this world, as well as those of most meane condition; & that thorow some secret iudgement of God, who can & will dispose of all things, according to his owne good will and pleasure. These matters happened in *Africa*, in the kingdomes of *Marracco* and *Fez*, on Monday, being the fourth day in the Month of August, and in the year 1578.

I could heere alledge many other examples of Christian Kings and Princes, whose endes haue bin scarcely honorable or happy, and that within thirty year of this instant; but because I know, that these times do afford some passionate spirits, who take no delight in such sad relations, and others are of a freer temper, but as void of pitty, as the other are too forward in compassion, not carrying any meane betweene such two extremities; I will forbear to proceede any further in this argument, & enter into some other more apt discourse.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

That *Princes* are commonly such in their actions, manners, and pietie, as they perceyue their Kings, Princes, and Rulers to bee.



Here neede no doubt to be made, but that it was verie true which *Theodorick*, King of the Gothes (writing to the Romaine Senate) alledged: That the course of Nature (shoulde sooner faile, then people bee any other then their Princes. This is not onely to be vnderstood of their vertues and vices; but likewise of the gesture of their bodies, yea euen so farre as to their wearing garments. This may easily be prooued; for *Alexander the Great* but bending his Neck a little towards his right shoulder, al his yong Princes, and other cheefe followers in his Court, did bend theirs also in the very same manner.

Alphonfus King of *Arragon* and *Sicilie*, having a wry necke, all such as followed and affected him, enforced to wry their neckes like his; as being perswaded, that it was most commendable in them, because their King and Maister carryed his necke so: as wee finde it recorded in the Booke of the Courtier, and in the life of *Pyrhus*.

King Frances, the first of that name, vsed continually to wear his haire verie long, and (as it was faide) looking out at a Window, he receiued a wounde on the head; by meanes whereof hee was enforced to cut his lockes, and wear them a great deale shorter then formerly hee had done. Many of his Courtiers, especially such as wore their haire as he was wont to do, caused their long lockes to be cut likewise, and ware them in the same manner as he did. Heereupon afterwarde, diuers Noble and high defended French-men, left off from longer wearing false Lockes and Periwigs, or *Gregorians*, which they reputed as a signe of Nobility and comelineffe, for holding some place of eminnencie in the Commonwealth, & thence-

forward esteemed it as a ridiculous fashion.

Charles the fift, Emperour, wore his beard long, but cut round below, in shape of a pouch or purse. In imitation of him, the Noblemen of *Spaine*, *Italy*, *Flananders*, *Germany*, and *Burgongne*, with some other that were his subiects, had their beards after the selfesame fashion, which they termed to bee an Imperiall Beard. *King Charles the ninth*, King of *Fraunce*, being at *Metz*, where the Count of *Mansfeld*, and *Marquess of Biden* came to see him, because he shoulde shew them a gracious countenance, he tooke off the *Marquesses* Bonnet from his head, and put on (inited thereof) his owne, which he commonly vied to wear, that was a German cap, great, thicke, thrummy, and flat, in forme of a Cheefe. In regard whereof, all the attendants in his Court (which was a great company at that time) would needs wear Bonnets after the same fashion. And it grew to such an extremity in affection, that such Cappes and Bonnets, as were vsually sold in *Metz* for thirty *Sols*, within three dayes after, could not be bought vnder three French Crowns; and yet (as fo cleare a rate) they were not to be had, albeit the Bonnet-makers laboured night and day in making them, the crowd and presse for them was so great, without any other profite or commoditie ensuing by them, but only that they would be in the Kings fashion.

King Henrie the third, by reason hee had some Vicers in the fore-part of his head, was subiect to a continuall paine & greefe: therefore he wore thicke gummy haire, bound vp behinde (like womens) to couer that defect. The Noblemen and Gentlemen of his Court, had their hayre gummed and bound vp in like manner, although no paine thereto prouoked them: whereupon some were verily perswaded, that men would fall likewise to wear womens garments, they were so forward in the fashion of their haire. If I would insert all the courses and behaviour of the people, in imitating their Princes fond fashions and habits, I must needs be too troublesome to the Reader: therefore I will now discourse on their vertues and vices, with as much breuity as I can.

The onely cause why men traualled into Egypt fro so many parts of the world, and

Charles the 5 and his manner of beard.

Beards Imperiall or after the Imperiall fashion

The K. Charles Bonnet with the Marquess.

*Ten French Sols, make 20 English shillings.

The kings fashion is a great matter,

Henrie the 3. King of France whole Courtiers imitated his gummed haire, like vnto Womens.

Muley Mahomet flying from the right was drowned in the Riuer of Arache.

King Sebastian slaine among his own Souldiers, but hardly known

Abdelmelec fell dead by sickness 8 dayes before the battaile, and dyed in his Litter in the midst of the night.

Three Kings died in one day diversly.

The death & buriall of three Kings bodies very strange as I haue bene heard of.

Not two hundred dead of all the Christian Army. The royall buriall of Abdelmelec.

Of the successors to the former Kings in their dominions, after their death.

Gold diggers in all things, as himselfe liked.

The Author voulding to waite indolent relations.

Plot inuid. Tyr.

Frances, King of France did wear long haire, and cutting it, his Courtiers fell into his fashion

False lockes & Periwigs retained.

The cause why in many men traualled into Egypt.

The example of a Learned King, is no mean motive to his Subjects to study & learning.

The words of Plato the great Philosopher.

Manfor, Emperour of Affrica, and all the Spaines.

Great vertues in Manfor, for a lover of Learning, & a famous example to his successors.

Leo Africanus, in his de Temp. Of the women of Libya.

and from Greece more than any other country (as did many great and excellent Philosophers, amongst whom were *Plato*, *Democritus*, and others) was for no other end; but in regard of a King of that Country, named *Ptolomy Philadelphus*, the onely lover of Learning, and seeker after such men as were learned. And in imitation of him, the Egyptians his Subjects addicted themselves so studiously to ground their vnderstanding in the most laudable Sciences, and that for such long continuance of time, as a man was reputed to haue seene nothing, if he had not traualled into Egypt. Whereupon it is sayde, that *Plato* (admiring their wonderful full erudition) cryed out by way of exclamation: *The Greekes are no better then Children in knowledge, being compared with the Egyptians*. Here we may obserue, what honour this good King *Philadelphus* won to his Subjects, because by his imitation they made themselves vertuous, and given to all commendable qualities.

The like happened vnder the reigne of *Manfor*, Emperour of *Affrica*, and all the *Spaines*, who gouerned in the year of our Lord, one thousand, one hundred, & sixe. This King was such a lover of Learning, that he caused all Bookes written in Greeke, eyther concerning Philosophie, Physicke, or Historie, to be translated into the *Arabian* tongue. He founded many Colledges, wherto he gaue very great rents, for the maintenance of poore Students, and professors of learning, whereof a great many are at this day to be seene, in the Cities of *Fez* and *Marocco* in *Affrica*, in *Trenissen*, *Tunis*, *Argiere*, *Hippona*, and else-where, although he was a Mahometane in Religion, yet many other of his successors, that afterwards followed him, and the people themselves (to this day) in those *Affricane* countries, doe relish of the good conditions, maners, and vertues abiding in that King, adding themselves to Learning. Nor appeared this in men onely, but likewise in Women, according as *Leo Africanus* testifieth, saying; *The Women of Libya, in these our dayes, are very Learned and studious, and about all things else, they are sooner busied in good Bookes: then meddling with clothes, Garmets, or other trifles belonging to house-hold*. And I dare boldly main-

taine (with many other Learned men, well read in Histories) that but for this King *Manfor*, and his *Arabian* successors, Physicke had neuer bene halfe so fertile in remedies, as we finde it now to be in these our dayes.

Garcias d'Horta, Physician to the Viceroy of the *Indies*, who liued within lesse then thirty yeares, sayeth, that hee had conferred with many Kings both of the *Arabes* and *Affricans*; and found them to be learned, as also notably skillfull in the Mathematickes. The like is affirmed by him that hath written the generall historie of *India*, that *Almanfor*, King of *Tidora*, one of the verie greatest Ilandes of the *Molucces*; was one of the greatest Astrologers in our times, and that the people are not so rude and barbarous, as heere among vs they are reputed to be. Before *Manfor*, none of them had ever seene the Bookes of *Aristotle*, *Plato*, *Hippocrates*, *Galen*, and other Greeke Authours, in any other Language then the Grecian.

In the time of this King *Manfor*, flourished great store of Learned men and Philosophers: such as were *Amerroes*, *Mesfau*, *Rafis*, *Rabbie Moses*, and diuers others, whose works (at this very day) are read in our Vniuersities, and Commented vpon, by diuerse and sundrie great Schoolemen, and it is not to be doubted, but posteritie (for euer) will rest beholding to them.

The manner of founding Colledges, wherein to instruct poore youths in good Letters; Hospitalls, for the lodging of maymed, sickely, and needie persons; Conuents and Abbeyes, for the dwelling of godly and religious men, wherein to pray for the augmentation of the Church, and prosperity of Christian Princes, were first by Kings and Emperours, and in their imitation, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Popes, Cardinales, and Bishoppes, besides other rich men (among the common people did the like). As *Charlemaigne*, Leues the ninth, *Phillip Duke of Bourgonne*, and diuers other: which is a most plaine and manifest Reason, that all Christiendome remaineth yet to this day, embellished with so manie faire and rich Arch-bishoppicks, Bishoppicks, Abbeyes, Priories, Colledges, and Hospitalls.

King

Physicke plentifully instructed.

Garcias d'Horta, Physician to the Viceroy of the Indies.

Affrican and Arabian, as also notably skillfull in the Mathematickes.

What learned and worthy men flourished in the time of King Manfor.

Christian Kings & Emperours, as also founded Colledges, Hospitalls, Abbeyes, & Monasteries.

All Christiendome remaineth yet to this day, embellished with so manie faire and rich Arch-bishoppicks, Bishoppicks, Abbeyes, Priories, Colledges, and Hospitalls.

Frances King of France, who at three times reigned.

Offhonorable and learned Ladies, hee tooke famous Queenes of Nauarre.

Learned Ladies in Italy.

Elizabeth the famous and learned Queene of England.

King Henry the fourth, whoe the first man in all Battails, &c.

King Mithridates a notorious drunkard, and his people followe his example.

King *Frances*, first of that name, because himselfe was learned, and cherished men of learning and knowledge; beheld his reigne furnished with a great number of learned and vertuous Schollers, more then any other that went before him. In the same minde continued his Sonne, successor to his Crowne, and all the children of his successour, not meanelly cherished and enriched by king *Henry* the fourth, *Magret*, Grandmother to the King now reigning, was a most learned Lady, of whose excellent & most elegant Poemes, we haue great store remaining among vs. As also of *Iane* her Mother, both of them being Queenes of *Nauarre*, (and in their imitation) many other great Ladies of honour, gaue their mindes to the reading of graue Authors, as well Greeke as Latine. Nor is it any matter of meruayle, if in these dayes, wee behold so many Ladies well seene in good Sciences, and among the rest, that *Italy* affordeth such plenty of studious women: the custome of the country prohibiting, that women should be any great walkers, or so much seene as they are in *France*. And because that famous Queene of England, *Elizabeth*, was very skillfull in many Languages, and deeply read in the fayrest and most commended Sciences, as in the Mathematickes, & diuers others: it was also credibly reported, that her house and Court, was bounteously stored with learned and most vertuous Ladies. And that which filled *France* with such plenty of bold and hardy spirits, was by the meanes of king *Henry* the fourth, then reigning: who in all battails, encounters, and charging of the enemy, was alwayes the foremost man himselfe; which taught his Captaines & Souldiers to do the like, onely by imitation of his vnpareld exploits.

Now on the contrary, if the Prince be vicious, his Subjects will fauour of the selfe same taste. As we read of one named *Mithridates*, king of *Amasia*, who because he was a notorious drunkard, and accounted it as a vertue to drinke immeasurably: his people addicted themselves to that foule vice, so that the most part of them were full of diseases, as goutes, conuulsions, palfies, & alienation of vnderstanding. *Marke Anthony*, who tearmed himselfe Emperour of the East, so wallowed with his beloued *Cleopatra*, in the delights of *Egypt* (that the

degenerated quite from the vertues of their former King *Philadelphus*) and became so addicted to drinking & drunkenness, intermixing rich flowres and precious stones among the wine they dranke; that he gaue such example to his men of warre, and to the people thorow the East, to drinke and gourmandize after the same manner, that they would be drunke euery day, and held it as an admirable vertue: forgetting the honest policy of the *Romans*, who would drinke no wine while they were in Armes. And so *Marke Anthony* (albeit hee was a great and worthy Captaine) and all his followers, by hauing discontinued the vertuous exercise of Armes; when hee should come to cope with *Octavius Aquilius*, was (with small labour) surmounted. And the best generous acte, that *Anthony* could then devise to do, and for his latest piece of seruice, was to kill himselfe, like another brutish *Sardanapalus*.

Darius also, the great Monarch and King of the East, about three hundred yeares before *Marke Anthony*, euene like to him, had (beside his married wife) a multitude of concubines, barbed boys, filders, vaulters, dancers, tooles, players, and other people of as small account in his Army, eating and drinking, before eyther hunger or thirst vrged any necessity. His Captaines and men of command, with all the rest of his Army, he licenced to the like liberty: for each of his Souldiers might haue his two concubines, beside as many *Gannedes*, and chiefe men tripled, or (at least) doubled them. In the ende, his Army, thought to consist of eight hundred thousand able fighting men; there could not bee found twenty thousand among them all. For according to the example of their king, they were altogether addicted to luxury and drunkenness, and became as people vtterly vnmeet for warre. Therefore both he and they were overcome by *Alexanders* forces, with small traualle, or losse on his side; because his men were sober, continent, and stout fighting Souldiers, as the king himselfe was. So the Persian Empire, and the Babylonian also, was lost and dissipated in a moment; in regard that their king was lasciuious and of soft temper, which caused his Subjects to imitate his example.

Marke Anthony, whose drunkenness, and dissipation, did overthrow all the East.

A wonderful neglect in so famous a Souldier.

Darius the great Monarch of the East.

Where no president of goodnesse appears, the worse prevaleth.

The cause of the downfall of Darius.

Princes

Perſeus, the powerfull king of *Macedon*, conquering an trunating his kingdome, and therefore made his Triumph, according as it is remembred by *Plutarch*, in this manner. Our first remembrance, concerneth the people of *Rome* in general, with them of all the neighbouring parts round about, attired after their very best ability of performance, and contending for places in houses and windowes, where best they might take view of the triumph. All the Temples and Churches in *Rome* were set wide open, deckt and richly hung with Tapistry, Greene boughes of Trees, beside plenty of incense and sweet smelling perfumes, and so were all the streetes in like manner. Now because in the City the concourse of people was infinite, resorting from so many feuerall places, in earnest desire to behold such a solemne spectacle, there were certain men appointed with staves in their hands, who had charge to make way for the Triumphs passage, and looke to the peoples safe seating, because the matters prepared for this triumph grew so great, as they were enforced to diuide them into three feuerall dayes.

The first day was scarcely sufficient for entrance of all the Banners, Standards, & vanquished Ensignes; as also for passage of the Statues, Colosses, Tables, and Images, for all these were conuayed along in order, in rich and well appointed Chariots, VVaggons, and Thrones. On the second day, the Armour and munition of the conquered king, and what else belonged to the *Macedonians*, was brought into the city: which Armours being rich and gloriously glittering, were conveniently placed on best sighted carriages, meete it for their full and ample beholding. After these chariots and waggons, entred three thousand men, carrying silver money (open to be seene) on great Plates and Vessels of silver, each one weighing three talents, of which Plates and Vessels there were 350 in number, and foure men allowed to carry each piece of Plate. The rest that serued to make vp the full number of three thousand men, carried Fountaine Pots, Ewres, Basons, Lauours, very curiously wrought in gold and silver, beside other vessels of the same metalls, most rich and magnificent to behold: and the passage of these companies continued so long, that

it required the second dayes whole employment, marching along in due and comely order.

The third day being come, the breake of day no sooner began, but in the first band, & beginning of the Triumph, went Drums, Fifes, Clarions, and Trumpets sounding, not weert and delicately, but in such stearne and vigorous manner, as if they were instantly to enter battail. After them were led six score nine, all white, hauing their hornes richly guilded, and their bodies covered with costly clothes: all these were helde as sacred to the Gods, crowned and decked with garlands, and chaplets of faire flowers, & they that guided the, were braue gallant youths, sumptuously apparelled for this seruice, and for the sacrificing of them; and by these kind went as many comely children, carrying Plates of gold and silver for the sacrifice. Next vnto the king, were ranked such as carried gold money in chargers of gold, being fewenly seven in number. And behinde them, followed they that helped to beare the great Bolle or Cuppe of golde, weighing ten Talents, which *Paulus Aemilius* had caused to be made, enriched with many sumptuous and vnualeuable precious stones. They which carried the chargers of money, were such as had bin neerest in fauour, about the Kings *Antigonus*, *Seleucus*, and other Kings of *Macedon*, especially the forenamed *Perſeus*. Next followed the chariot of the conquered King, with the Armes and Weapons which he vsed to weare, his Crown, Scouter royal and rich Robe laid vpon the Armour. Behinde the chariot, were the children to the poore kingled as prisoners, with a great number of his cheefest Officers; as the Masters or Governours of his household, his Treasurers, Chancellors, Secretaries, and others of high employment in his affaires. They all wept, & expressed extraordinary signes of greefe, beholding themselves brought into such a seruitude; which moued all the beholders to much compassion.

Of the children belonging to this king, there were 2 males and 2 females, but so young in yeares, as they were not capable of vnderstanding their misfortunes; whereby the people were so much the more incited to pity their condition, & thought it vnbecoming, that affliction should be

The third day
of the triumph
began
the manner
of the
Triumph.

Six score
nine were
appointed for
sacrifice.

Children
with plates
for sacrifice.

A Bolle
Cupped
weighing ten
Talent.

The conquerors
were
in
the
Triumph.

The king
of
Macedon
was
in
the
Triumph.

Children
were
in
the
Triumph.

The kings
went
in
the
Triumph.

The golden
Crownes of
the Cities of
Greece borne
before
him, and he
following in
triumphall
manner.

No great
disturbance
in the
Triumph.

A Law for
the order
of
triumphs,
and by merit.

Sports and
Feasts were
by free
permission.

The manner
how diuers
were drawne
in their
triumphs.

scene in such tender yeares. In this Triumph, the Father followed his children, attired after his Countries manner; but yet in blacke habites, pacing on troubled and fearefully, as indeed he had good reason, considering his present estate, and whence he was false.

After the King, followed his friends & fauourites, with a great number of his familiars, who all looking on their King, confounded themselves with sorrow, to see his reuerent cheekes furrowed with teares, and many of the *Romans* bemoaned his misery. Then after were brought the crownes of gold, which the ancient Cities of *Greece* had presented to *Paulus Aemilius*, who followed the triumphantly, mounted vpon a goodly Chariot, clothed in purple tisse of golde, bearing a Lawrell branch in his hand, and a crowne of the same vpon his head. Behinde him followed the people both on foote and horseback, some hauing branches of Lawrell and Palme in their hands, and some with Banners and Pennons, singing in honour of their Captaine, triumphing thus after his victories, with their most delectable sights to behold; and in this order *Paulus Aemilius* triumphed through *Rome*. Others also did the like, with some things added or diminished, and so they went to offer their spoyle, in the Temple of *Iupiter* within the Capitoll; and there, according to the forme and manner, as their blinded religion then required, they gaue thanks to their Gods for the victory obtained. And notwithstanding that in this fashion they obserued & performed their customary triumphs: yet they had a Law for it, according to which Law, they gaue triumph by desert, making a distinction of the gates & streets, whereat they were to enter, and whereby they should passe along, the times also being ordered and appointed. But concerning other things, as sports, playes, & Feasts of diuers kinds, it was permitted, that euery man might augment and enrich his triumph, and his chariot also: for it is found recorded, that they had a custome, to be drawne by four white horses, and yet notwithstanding, some haue bin drawne by as many Bulls.

Great *Pompey*, when hee triumphed for *Africa*, he entred in a Chariot drawne by Elephants. *Suetonius* saith, that *Iulius Caesar* when hee made his triumphall entrance,

had his chariot drawn by forty elephants, VVith the like Beasts triumphed the Emperour *Gordianus*. And *Flautius* writeth, that the Emperour *Aurelianus*, who was king of the *Goths*, triumphed in a chariot drawne by Harts. VVe reade also, that *Mark Anthony* in his triumph, had his chariot drawne by Lyons. The Roman Captains had a custome beside when they triumphed, to haue a young childe, or many in their chariots: whereof *Cicero* maketh mention in his Oration pro *Munera*. Others caused to be led in their triumphs, an infinite number of wilde and fange Beasts, as Lyons, Onnces, Beares, Tygers, Rhinoceroses, Panthers, Dromedaries, & other kinds of beasts, as did *Titus & Vespasianus*, according to the relation of *Iosephus*. Some other also would haue their entrance with diuersity of Musique, as well by instruments as voyces, with infinite other the like delectations. Among all which triumphs, some were more singular then the rest; as those of *Pompey & Caesar*, of the two Brethren *Scipios*; and likewise of the Emperours, whereof *Iordanus* speaks in his Book of *Rome* triumphing, & according as *Paulus Orosius* saith, that there were 320 triumphers in *Rome*, the last whereof was the emperor *Probus*, from whose time since, *Rome* ran to her decadence.

In *Rome* there was yet another kinde of solemne welcom, which was somewhat lesse then triumphing, being called *Quatio*, and giuen for victories when as something wanted of such necessary conditions as required triumph. As for example, if the Captaine had not bin Confull or Proconfull, or had made war without great resistance, or little bloodshed in battaile, or had conquered people of lesse esteem; or if the war had bin done without expresse authority from the Senate, & such like other conditions, then instead of triumphing, this *Quatio* was granted to him, & it was performed in this manner.

The Captaine entred *Rome* on horsebacke, in stead of a chariot, and some of them (in elder times) entred on foote, crownd with the leaues of Myrrhe, which were offerings to *Venus*, because such triumphing was not reputed Martiall, but (as it were) venereal, according as *Aulus Gellius* saith. The people attending on this Captaine, were not armed, neyther

Whence the
forme of our
Pageants was
at first deuised.

Some triumphs more
singular then
the rest.

A small triumph
of a
Captaine, for
a victory with
out slaughter
of many.

As the
Triumph
of
the
Captaine.

founded Trumpets, Drums, or any other instruments of warre; but Flutes & sweet musickall instruments, soft and delicate. Neuerthelesse, they entred in order, and with their booty, and the Senate went forth of the City to meete and receiue him, making a great feast for him, as also highly praying & commending him.

I finde that many excellent Captains haue requested & accepted of this honor, and the first was *Posthumus Liberius*, hauing vanquished the *Sabines*; and *Marcus Marcellus* for his victory at *Syracusa*. *Suetonius* affirmeth, that *Octavius Caesar* entred thus, after the *Phillippick* battailes, & the warre of *Sicily*. The cause why this small triumph was so named, is described by *liny*, for in declaring that diuers Captaines were denied this kinde of triumph, and could by no meanes obayne it: hee proceedeth to yeelde a reason, why this Quatio was so termed. The sacrifice (sayeth he) which the Captaine then offered, was a Sheepe, which in the Latine tongue is called *Ouis*: but the other Triumphers offered a Bull, and therefore vpon the word *Ouis*, the reception and entertainment made vnto the, was called *Quatio*, or *Oualis*. Some other say, that it took name by a certaine found in the peoples voyce, of *Oe*, or else *Oue*: but because this is a matter of small importance, it shall suffice to say, that such a thing was named *Quatio*, eyther of the word *Ouis*, or of the other voyce of *Oe* or *Oue*.

It was also permitted to the Triumphers, to erect their Statues in Temples, & common places of resort: also to build Arches and Colombs, named *Triumphall*, framed of Marble, and in or on the, to insculpt (most excellently) their battels and victories, for their owne perpetuall memory. The vestiges or footings of the are (at this day) to be seene in Rome: and these things wer thus done, in imitatio of Trophees, anciently vsed among the *Grecians*, helping themselves thereby in manner following. In the same place, where the Captaine had obtaigned any victory, a great tree was prepared, the greatest therabout to be found, the branches whereof were all cut off; and then vpon the trunk was fastened all the coat-armours of the vanquished, as a victorious and honourable memory, and it was called *Tropeum* or *Trophæum*, after the greek word *Trophæ*,

which signifieth a fleeting conuersion, or retreated, because (in that place) the enemy was put to flight, or disgracefull retreat, and so the *Romans* afterward were glad to follow their fashion.

Salust writeth, that *Pompey* hauing overcome the *Spaniards*, planted his Trophees on the top of the *Pyrennean* Mountaines: and this course (by tract of time) was in such esteeme, that they grew to be made of stone. But this matter can approue it selfe to be much more ancient, & that other Nations haue made vse thereof: for we reade, that *Saul* hauing vanquished *Agag*, king of the *Amalekites*, and beeing come to Mount *Carmell*, he erected there a triumphall Arch, as a memory of his victory. In brieffe, the honour of triumph was esteemed and affected, more then any other honour in Rome, so that for obayning it, the Captaines would expose their liues to all traualle and perill. Beside, the Triumphers grew to great wealth, both by the enemies spoyle, and the gifts of their friends, and so much the rather haue I reported these things, because Princes may thereby receiue example, how to honour and remunerate their Captains and Soldiers to their merits. But in these decaying dayes, sluggards, and such as doe nothing at all, are as well, if not better respected, then they that adventure their liues and goods, both for seruice of their Prince, & profite of their native country.

CHAP. XLI.

Of such names of immortal honour and renowne, which the Romane Captaines haue granted and giuen them, according to their severall victories.

Ver and beside this high dignity of Triumphs, the Romane Captains had farre greater honours giuen them, by names & surnames, which were imposed on them by the people and Provinces, that had bin conquered and overcome by them. And as it was a notable forme of exaltation to honour; so did they immortalize their houses of descent, by contrary names of glory

Pompey's
Triumph
over the
Pyrennean
Mountaines

1 Reg. 11

Triumph
was
more
counted
then any
other
honour
in Rome.

Mummius
Achaicus.

Scipio Affricanus
Scipio Affricanus.

Scipio Affricanus
Nemantinus.

A further
addition
of honour
to the
Romane
Generals.

glory and fame, onely through their memorable actions, which procured fo many worthy and illustrious Families in the City of Rome.

For our first entrance into this discourse, wee may take an example by the three *Metelli*, whereof one (according as *Salust* and some others write) because he had overcome King *Iugurthe*, conquering also his lands and kingdome of *Numidia*; was surnamed *Numidicus*. The second being *Quintus Metellus*, for the victory he obtaigned against the king of *Macedon*, was surnamed *Macedonicus*. And the third, *Creticus*, because he conquered the Isle of *Greece*. But much more ancient then these, were *Martius Coriolanus*, and *Sergius Fidenatus*. The first was named *Coriolanus*, after the Towne *Coriola* in *Latium*, by him conquered. And the other by the like acte on *Fiden*, a Towne in *Italy*. Another *Metellus* also was surnamed *Balearius*, because he had conquered to the *Romane* Empire, the Islands called *Baleares*, now termed *Maiorque* and *Minorque*.

Lucius Mummius was surnamed *Achaicus*, because hee had subdued *Achaia* and *Corinthe*. So the other *Brutus*, in regard he brought the *Gauls* in subiection, was surnamed *Gallus*. The two *Scipios*, being brethren, were honoured by the names of the people whom they had vanquished; the one in *Africa* and *Carthage*, and the other in *Asia*, because he conquered also in *Antioche* and in *Asia*: for hee was the first that displayed the *Romane* Coullors or Ensignes in *Asia*. Another *Scipio* afterward, surnamed *Paulus Emilius* (of whose triumph we haue already spoken) & *Nepheue* adoptiue to great *Scipio*, was likewise surnamed *Africinus*; because hee assayed and won the great and puissant city of *Carthage*. Neuerthelesse, hee receiued a greater honour and guerdon, to be surnamed *Numantinus*, and he himselfe held it in farre higher respect; because in *Spain* he destroyed *Nemantia*, and vtterly overthrew the *Numantines*.

I finde in like manner, that Emperours attributed vnto themselves the surnames of conquered places, speaking them expressly in their Letters missiue and other instruments; namely *Seuerus*, and his successors after him; as for *Arabia*, *Parthia*, *Armenia*, *Germania*, and other Provinces by them subdued. So one named himselfe

Arabicus, another *Parthicus*, another *Armenicus*, so *Germanicus*, and *Asiaticus*; each man according to such victories as he had obtaigned, so did hee magnifie himselfe.

Moreover, for other matters and reasons, the *Romane* Captaines were illustrated by especial names, for their greater magnificence and splendour. As we reade of *Stareus Mantius*, who for defending the Capitoll from the forces of the *French*, was surnamed *Capitolinus*. The family of the *Turquatis* receiued that surname, for taking a Chaine or Coller from the necke of an enemy, for a Coller or Chaine in latine is called *Torquis*, and so were diuers of them therefore named, *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, because by long delays & dissimulations; hee had held out *Hannibal* in warre, only for the defence of Rome; they surnamed him *Cunctator*, which is as much to say, as a temporizer or delayer. And for the same reason also, they termed him (beside) the Shield or Buckler of Rome, which rebounded to his greater advantage and honour.

Marcus Marcellus, who liued also in those times, in regard of his great power and valiancy, the continuall battels which (without ceasing) he gave to the enemy, was called, *The sword of Hannibal*. And that excellent Captain *Sylla*, though somewhat cruel, was surnamed *Happy*, in regard of his prosperous victories. *Pompey* likewise was so renowned by his successe in warre, that he had the surname of Great giuen him, then which title, I know not what could more haue raised and exalted him. So farre extended the dignity of surnames, granted to Captaines in those dayes, especially to such as were vertuous Commanders and Generals, as they were also called Emperors, which in these more modernet times, is the title of supremest dignity, and which could not then be giuen, but to a Captaine, Prator, Consull, or Proconsull, that had bin victorious in some notable battaile, and had desolated the enemies country, by the death of a great number of enemies: As if two thousand of his men were slaine, there must then ten thousand perish on the enemies side, and not otherwise it was granted.

With this so gracious and happy a surname, was *Iulius Caesar*, the Father of *Iulius Caesar* honored, for the victory which

The first
Ovation
Triumph
umbers, and
that accepted
thereof very
gladly.

Pompey's
Triumph.

How this
kinde of tri-
umph toke
name at the
E. they vari-
ety of opinion

A further per-
mission gran-
ted to Trium-
phers of ere-
cting Statues,
Pillars, &c.

They had a
among the
Grecians, and
in what man-
ner.

Marcus Man-
tius Capito-
linus.

Novellus
Torquatus &
Mantius Tor-
quatus.
Quintus Fa-
bius Cuncta-
tor.

Marcus Mar-
cellus, The
sword of Han-
nibal.

Sylla the
Happy.
Pompey the
Great.

Captaines cal-
led Emperors
and vpon
what respect
or duetie.

* Called also Sabell, a people of the Mountains between the Sabines and the Mariti in Italy.

Mark Anthony was offended at Caesar.

The name of King late used in Rome.

Well deserving strangers as much respected as the native Sonnes of Rome.

Atalus King of Asia.

Eumenes brother to Atalus.

Deiotarus king of Galatia.

Maffiniffa king of Numidia.

he had against the * *Sannites & Lucanes*, in the time of *Sylla*. *Pompey* also was called Emperour, for the memorable victory he wonne in *Africa*, against *Domitius*. *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, being Proconsull in the warre against the *Partians*, was by them of the Army named Emperour, for the victory there obtained. *Julius Caesar*, before he was called to the Empire, was styled Emperour, by reason of his many victories. But if this Capitaine had not suffered great resistances in his battailes, he had not bene worthy of that name, & yet notwithstanding he was reprehended, so that *Marke Anthony* murmured against him, and yet because he had taken a great City, on the further side of the River *Eufrates*, he was content that they should call him Emperour. After *Julius Caesar* and his successours, inueiling themselves with the full Seignury of *Rome*, & knowing well, that the name of King was in horror and detestation among the people, they would be named Emperours, which title hath continued euer since, & is the very greatest of all.

So then we see, that for such honors, the *Romans* sayled not in their gratification, as well to their strange friends abroad, being vnder their reward, as to the home-borne Sonnes of *Rome*. Because like as they were powerfull and rigorous, in fighting against enemies; so were they as gracious and liberrall to such as assisted them. So that in the same kinde of bounty they gaue to king *Atalus* the Prouince of *Asia*, with the title of king: for which (afterward) he was ingratefull, because (by his testament) hee returned all his profits to *Rome*. To *Eumenes* the brother of this *Atalus*, because he had well serued and assisted the *Romans*, in the war against *Antiochus*: the Senate gaue him all the Cities and Townes, which hee had conquered from *Antiochus* in *Asia*. To king *Deiotarus* of *Galatia*, because hee had ayded *Pompey*, in the warre against *Antistridates*, the *Romans* gaue him the Prouince of the lesser *Armenia*. In the like manner was king *Maffiniffa* of *Numidia* guerdoned, hauing bene embraced by *Scipio*, as his companion and friend to the people of *Rome*: to him was giuen all whatsoever he had conquered in the kingdom of *Syphax*, who had assisted the *Carthaginians*.

Nor were these gifts and presents al-

lowed to Capitaines, and men of apparancie only; but likewise to them of the meanest condition, they gaue gifts, prerogatives, and great honours. The Consul *Marius*, knowing the well deserving of two companies, that had fought valiantly against the *Cimbrians*, a people among the *Allemaignes*, and were come into Italy with him, he receiued them as Citizens of *Rome*. When being reproued for doing such a thing contrary to their Lawes, he made answer: *In the noise and clattering blowes of weapons there is no voice of the Law heard.*

CHAP. XLII.

Of such Crownes, with other recompences and salaries, which the *Romans* gaue to Soldiers. Also of punishing offenders, comprehending (in this case) an excellent form for warre, and good government of a common-wealth.



HE *Romans* were not careful only for honouring & gratifying their Capitaines, but offered them (beside) infinite other graces & fauours, rewarding them honourably in diuers and sundry kindes, with Crownes & Jewels; as holding them in particular esteeme and reputation, and according to the merit of their actions in Armes, in the same sort were they respected and required.

When a Capitaine had obtained a victory in some notable battaile, were it vpon the Sea or Land, and had therein taken some Towne by force, or done any other singular enterprize, immediately after, they had a custome to make diligent inquisition, concerning the valour of the particular bandes and Squadrons. Then mounting vpon the Theater, after they had giuen thanks to the Gods for the victory obtained: in generall they commended the whole Army, and especially extolled the band or Squadron, that had fought with most man-hood. Afterward they reuealed particular men in the companies by their names, publishing the worth

Meanes used respectively, the *Romans* as well as great Armes, they example of the Consul *Marius*.

Titus Livius, lib. 6. c. 10. Papius Confors.



The fullall crowns which the *Romans* gaue.

Titus Livius, lib. 6. c. 10. Papius Confors.

Different kind of recompences vied among the *Romans*.

Caesar, lib. 1. c. 10. Papius Confors.

The manner of publishing the merit of their Armes vpon their open Theater.

Such as had the honour to be crowned with this Crowne.

of their vertue and courage, in no lesse measure then they had deserved: terming them friends and louers of their country, saying also, that the Common-wealth stood highly obliged to them. And this being done, they gaue then presents of Gold and Silver, of Crownes, Girdles, Bracelets, Jewels, as also very excellent armour for horses, made so curiously, & deliuered with such defences and prohibitions, as no man was suffered to vweare or haue the like, without he had deserved it in the same manner. Histories are full of these things, and particularly *Titus Livius*, speaking of the Consul *Papirius Cursor*, saith; that he gaue Bracelets of Gold to fourteene Centurions; and afterward to a Squadron, he gaue very rich & costly Ornaments. As much hee saith of *Scipio*, being in *Spain*, and other places.

Now, concerning the Crowns which they gaue, they had diuers names, and were according to the degrees of merite. They had the Crowne Obsidionalis, the crowne Triumphalis, the crowne Ovalis; Corona Ciuica, Corona Muralis, Corona Nautica, and Corona Castrensis. *Pliny* speaketh of them all, and so doeth *Aulus Gellius*.

But that Crowne of greatest excellence, and more esteemed then all the rest, was Corona Obsidionalis, which extended to the circled or sieged of the Campe, and it was giuen only for hauing deliuered an army enclosed and besiedged within a Towne or Citie, or when a camp was strictly enuironed. So that by such a worthy deede of armes, the place or people accounted themselves to bee deliuered from death, or mercilesse imprisonment: for no other action whatsoever, was this honor & respect to be giuen. The crown was made of greene leaues, for they cared not to haue it made of Golde, or other mettall, but of the grasse and hearbes of the same field, where the enemy had bin ouerthrowne or forced to flight. With this Crown was crowned the Great *Quintus Fabius*, because when *Hannibal* was before *Rome*, hee defended and deliuered it from his besiedging. *Emilius Scipio*, was also crowned therewith in *Africa*, for hauing deliuered the Consul *Manlius*, with certaine bands. *Calpurnius* obtrayned it also in *Sicily*, and so did the valiant *L. Cincinnatus Dentatus*, and some other.

Corona Ciuica, or the Citizen crowne, was made of Oaken leaues and branches, with the fruite or Acornes hanging on it. This was giuen to him that had laued a Citizen, when his life was in extreame perill, killing his enemy, & making good the place where the danger hapned. This crown was so much made account of, that sometimes it felt to such a mans Honour, who for sauing one *Romane* citizen, at his deliueance slew two of his enemies. But because he defended not and made good the place from future perill, doubt was made, whether he had deserved this Citizen Crowne, or no. Neuerthelesse, Law was dispensed withall, and it was concluded to be giuen him, seeing hee had deliuered the Citizen, and slaine two of his enemies in a place so perillous, which was not in his power still to protect, although the Law imported so much. And albeit a man had deliuered a King, or a Capitaine of confederates and friends, yet could he not haue his crowne to reward him, except hee had deliuered a *Roman*: I find that *Pliny* recordeth, that this very fame crown had bene giuen to one, who slewed the first enemy that mounted on the wals of a City or Fortresse, being defended by or for the *Romans*.

This Corona Ciuica, was the most excellent, next vnto the Obsidional, and might dayly be worne, and in all places. Likewise, he that deserved this Crowne, was of such account and esteeme, as hee might sit in the Theater, or at Feastes, where hee had alwayes his place nereft unto the Senate. And when hee entered, the Senate would rise vpon their feete, to do him honor.

He stood also free and exempt from any Office or charge whatsoever, except his pleasure was to acceptit: and moreover, for his sake, and in regard of him, his Father and Grandfather (if they were liuing) stood exempted also. Many *Romans* obtained to weare this Crowne, & especially the most valiant *Cincinnatus Dentatus*, named before, who wonne fourteene of them. The second *Capitolinus* had sixe; and to *Cicero*, by particular dispensation, one of them was granted, because hee had defended *Rome* from the conspiracy of *Catiline*. These Crownes, whereof wee haue made relation, although they were made but of Hearbes and Leaues, and might

Corona Ciuica, the Citizen Crowne, giuen for sauing a Citizens life.

Law may sometimes be dispensed withall on needfull occasions.

Plinius lib. 4. c. 7.

The reputation & esteeme of this Citizen Crowne.

What *Romans* had the honor to weare this Crowne.

might more properly be called Garlands, or like to the *French* chapels of flowers: yet were they (notwithstanding) much more esteemed and renowned, then if they had beene of the finest gold.

As for the Mural Crowne, called *Corona Muralis*, it was of golde, and given to him that had assaulted and ascended the walls of a city, or a castle, mounting first vp the scaling Ladder, and both freeing and defending the walles, which caused, that the Crowne was made in forme of an imbristled wall. The first (according to *Pliny*) that obtained this crowne, was *Marius Capitolinus*. *Scipio* also gaue it to *Quintus Trebellius*, and *Sextus Digittus*; because that they (both together) wonne first the enemies wall, before any other.

Corona Castrensis, five Vallis, was given to him that (in the fight) entred first into the Barriers, Railes, or Lifes of the enemies Campe, coming off againe with credite and reputation: this Crowne also was made of gold, and shaped according to Battions and Rampires of a field for warre.

Of the like metall was the Nauall Crowne, *Corona Naualis*, which was bestowed on the man, that first (in fight at sea) boarded and entered an enemies shippe: and it was in the shape of the prow or poynt of a ship. *Marcus Varro* made no disdaine of this Crowne, when it was offered vnto him by great *Pompey*, in the war against the Pirates. *Offanius* presented it also to *Marcus Agrippa*, and to *Sylla*: many other likewise had the honor thereof, wherof now I omit to speak.

When any Souldier of *Rome*, were he noble or ignoble, had made any prooff of his bodie, were it at the course of Launce, or in single combat: the *Romaine* Captaines or Generals were wont to giue him or them collers or chaines of gold and silver, or bracelets, or girdles, accordingly as they had deserued, with other priuileges and preheminences. And such prizes they might giue to his friends, that had assisted them in the war: but as for the Crownes, they were referred onely for *Romaines*. Of all which things wee finde many notable examples in the *Romaine* histories.

Suetonius writeth, that *O. Tullius* permitted to *Marcus Agrippa*: that he might

bear a Banner of Azure colour: in regard of a victory which hee had obtained at Sea, against *Sextus Pompeius*. He further affirmeth, that it was he who desired first the gifts of Collers and Flagon chaines, with other particular presents beside, allowed only in such affaires, which would require too long a space heere to report. And heere it is well worth the remembering, that the *Romaines* were to valiant, that some one man hath wonne the honour of all these rewardes, or the greater part of them. For *Pliny* and *Solinus* doe name such men, amongst other *Marcus Sergius*, who obtained the most part of them. And in the warre at * *Thyracynus* and *Troia*, where the *Romaines* were vanquished by *Hanniball*, he wonne the crown called *Corona Civica*, as also in the ouerthrow at *Cannas*. This man was so valiant, that hauing lost his right hand in the battell, he shewed great valor with the left, and by meanes of a Steele hand made him, in stead of the other lost, he foyled and slew 4. men in one day in the field of *Battell* ech after other: in which braue day of fight, and others beside, he receiued 23 wounds, & al in the fore part of his body.

Yet notwithstanding, neither this *Marcus Sergius*, nor any other beside, did euer deserue and attaine to so much as *Lucius Cincinnatus Dentatus*, Tribune of the people, of whom we spake a little before. Of him write *Plinie*, *Solinus* *Valerius Maximus*, and *Aulus Gellius*, affirming, that in iewels and presents of price, some greater then other, he obtained onely by actions of Armes, 320. and more. Beside, that he entred Rome with 9. feuerall Generals, when they performed their solemne triumphs, & whom he had assisted in their victories. He had a great number of brooke Spears, shinerd Lances, shafts of Launces, pikes without heads of Steele, giuen to him as signalls of honour. He had 18. collers and gold chaines: 83. of silver: Of armors and furnitures for horses furing war seruice, and thereunto particularly appoynted, hee had fure and twenty: an hundred and fortie bracelets; eight Castrenses; three Murales, one Eliodonale, and I know not how many Nauall. In feuerall fought battailes, hee had taken fure and fourtie wounds, all of them before vpon his bodie; and no more then one only behind, and thirty foure times

The first deser-
uer of Collers,
Chaines and
other gifts.

Hee was the
first that
obtained
the Crowne.

* A Lake in
Hetruria.

*Marcus Ser-
gius* a valiant
Romaine.

48. wounds
all before on
his bodie, and
but one onely
behind.

hee had disarmed and dispoiled the enemy, hauing personally bin present in fixe score encamped battells. Nay, he was so valiant and fortunate in Armes, that hee was firnamed the *Romaine Achilles*: and although his performances may seeme to the world incredible; yet notwithstanding the multitude and conformitie of histories doe auouch them.

The *Romaines*, for famous actions in Armes, conceded (beside) other honours and preheminences, as power of publike iudgements, and sitting in the chair of * *Curules*, which was the seat of the *Adies* and *Prator*, and which was permitted to *Scipio*. Sometimes also there they gaue consent, for the greatest authorities of Souldiers, according as they were suffered by the people to doe: concerning a degree or state, submitted to the libertie of the *Patriottes* and people. Captaines likewise were permitted to erect triumphall Statues, and to decke and cloathe themselves, euen as if they had bene Consuls. The Senate granted (by forme of salary and congratulation) that they might place in Temples, the armes and spoiles of enemies conquered by the in battels: and such things were teamed *Manubie*, as much to say, as spoyles and booties taken from an enemy.

Furthermore, the *Romaines* had a commendable custome, concerning such as had bene slayne in their warres; that their children should haue and enioy the like wages, as they gaue vnto their fathers liuing. And to olde Souldiers, that had long time followed the wars; such good allowance of land, as they might well and easily liue thereon. Suffering them also to dwell in Citties, Townes, and Provinces conquered and subiected, where themselves pleased to make election. In this manner the Cittie of *Siuit* was made a Colony for *Rome* by *Caesar*: which Colonies (according to the common *French* saying) may be teamed a new dwelling, or transmigration of people. In briefe, the *Romaines* neuer left a good action vnrequired, nor without some great priuiledge: for the which cause, more valiant men were found among them, then in all other nations beside.

I spare to speake of many other requittals, which the *Romaines* vied in respect of Armes, thinking already I haue sayde

enough. Notwithstanding, it is a matter most certaine, that as they excelled all Nations, in both acknowledging and rewarding honest seruices: so they came not a iote behinde vs, in teaching and correcting where occasion required. For when men were not to be moued by regard of honour and vertue, or by necessity and gaine, to doe what was good; yet they were compelled to doe no vile thing, both in respect of shame, and feare of punishment. For the paines were great and rigorous against such as shewed themselves to be slouthfull and negligent: because when they lost honour, being called thereto, and might by their owne indeuour haue had it; they were well and foundly whipt, till the blood followed. Some were manacled with yrons like flauies; and if they fled away, and forsooke their Captaines in battaile, they were impaled or spitted on stakes, or else crucified: for, answerable to the delict, so was their punishment.

Titus Livius writeth, that the Souldiours of a Squadron, belonging to *Appian Claudius*, to whom the keeping of a place was giuen in charge, forsooke and lost it. He being desirous to inflict punishment, and yet to mixe it with mercie: they were selected by numbers of tenne, and then to cast lottes, and they on whom the lot fell, were put to death for all the rest. *Inluis Frontinus* sayth, that *Marke Anthony* did the very like to a band, which had not defended the rampires, but suffered the enemies to set fire on them. Other inflictions also hee imposed vpon Souldiours, for disobedience and other offences, requiring more time then I am permitted. Wherefore I will shape my conclusion thus onlie, that as those times wanted not remunerations and honours for well doing; so, they were as forward in correcting wicked and bad actions.

CHAP.

Corona Mur-
alis, giuen for
first taking
the wall, or
a Citie or
Castle.

Corona Cas-
trensis, as be-
coming to the
armes and
seruices that
are.

Corona Nau-
alis, giuen for
winning ships
at sea.

Other worthy
rewardes for
merits.

Suetonius
in *Caesar*.

The *Romaine*
Achilles, *Lu-*
cius Cincin-
natus, *Ven-*
antius.

* The chief
Chair in the
Councell
house.

Statues al-
lowed to be
erected by
Captaines
and
Generals;
and their
enemies
Armes in
Temples.

Manubie, the
spoile of
enemies.

Respect of
blame Souldi-
ers children,
and men of
long seruice,
for their
dwelling and
subsisting.

No good &
left vnrequi-
red by the
Romaines.

No want of
doctrine and
discipline, among the
Romaines.

Correction
and punish-
ment for idle
and negligent
persons.

Tit. Livius in
Dec. lib. 4. c. 7

Inl. Frontinus
in *lib. 7. cap. 3.*

CHAP. XLIII.

Of the reason wherefore Sleep was granted and giuen to man: And likewise, that too much sleep is vicious and hurtfull.

Sleep was naturally giuen to man for his conseruation; because there is not any naturall worke, but it hath neede of rest and repose. *Aristotle* sayth, *Every creature that hath blood, sleepeeth*: and there he proueth by good reason, and likewise by experience, that fishes doe sleepe. Sleep is a repose of all the senses, and proceedeth from the fumes and euaporations, which (in regarde of foode receiued) arise from the stomacke to the braine, by the coldnesse whereof, the hot vapours are tempered, and make the exterior motions and senses sleepe: then retyring the vitall spirits to the heart, all the members become slowlie, and rest from their trouble, vntill such time as the vitall spirit (which is the instrument whereby the soule frameth her operations, gouerning and commanding the whole body) doth recouer new forces, and ceasing diminishing those vapours, man awaketh from sleepe, and then the senses and powers retaine more freshly, with farre greater power to their operations.

Concerning the occasions of sleepe, *Aristotle* discouerseth at large in his Booke of Sleepe and Vigilancie: and *Plutarke* declareth diuers opinions of the Philosophers, beside sundry naturalists. But although it is for the rest and health of the body, yet it must be taken moderately; because long sleepe (saith *Aristotle*) weakeneth the naturall and animall spirits, even as the moderation thereof doth giue them vigour: for many things are necessarie, which neuerthelesse are hurtfull, if they be receiued excessively. Foode is both needefull and sweete, and yet notwithstanding, if it exceede measure, it harmeth, and hath no rellish at all. In like manner, moderate trouble is wholesome; but

ved with extremity nothing is more damageable. And so stay of sleepe, that it should not be taken but vpon necessitie, for recreation and repose of the senses, the spirits and members of the body.

Over-much Sleepe (as it ouer-loadeth the members and senses, making them slouthfull, and enfeebling them by idleness) so it ingendred so many humidities in the bodie, that they make it sicke, and killeth it, because in the time of sleepe, all the moistures of the bodie (with the naturall heate) retire themselves to the exterior partes, and then they make no evacuation of the superfluities and humidities thereof. Also, sleepe immeasurably vsed, nor onely is prohibited by naturall Philosophers and Physitions; but likewise it is reprooued by all wise men of vnderstanding. *Aristotle* sayth, *During the time of sleepe, there is no difference betwene the wise man and the foole*. And questionlesse, although a wise man had not any other occasion to make little vse of sleepe, but for equalling himselfe with a foolish Idiot; yet he should auoyd and shunne the excesse (though sleepe maintaineth life, and is very wholesome) in considering with his best cogitations, that he which sleepeeth is not liuing. And as *Plutarke* sayth in his Booke of the contention betwene fire & water: *The man that sleepeeth hath no more strength or knowledge in his sleepe, then if hee were dead*. *Pliny* is of the same opinion, saying; *Sleepe taketh from vs the halfe part of our life, considering, while we are in sleepe, we neither know nor feele, whether we are liuing or no*. *Ouid*, and other Poets beside, with men of no mean learning, do call sleepe, *The similitude of death*.

Saint Paul, in the fourth chapter of his first Epistle to the *Thessalonians* sayth, *Brethren, I would not haue you ignorant, concerning them that are asleepe*: in speaking these words, hee plainly meaneth death. Then it followeth thus: *Such as sleepe in Iesus Christ, will God bring with him*. Sleepe likewise is the resemblance of negligence and slouthfulness, according to *Saint Gregorie*, who saith; *For a man to sleepe, is to keep himselfe and perseuer in his sinnes*. If sleepe thus had not bene vnderstood to sinne, *Saint Paul* would neuer haue sayd so many times: *Awake ye now, and sinne no more*. A man then may

Excessiue
of sleepe
weakeneth
all the
body.

As if a
man
should
lie in
his bed.

Sleepe
equall
eth a
wise
man
with
a
foole.

Plutarke
hath
no
more
strength
or
knowledge
in
his
sleepe,
then
if
hee
were
dead.

Pliny
is
of
the
same
opinion,
saying;
Sleepe
taketh
from
vs
the
halfe
part
of
our
life.

1. Theil. 4. 14.

S. Gregorie
saith;
For a man
to sleepe,
is to keepe
himselfe
and perseuer
in his
sinnes.

2. Corin. 13.

very

very well shame, to spend the most part of his life sleeping in his bed; for therein he sinneth no less: then he that sitteth all day at a Table feeding: in regarde, that these things ought not to be taken, but for the sustentation of life, and not the hurt thereof, and of the soule also; wherefore sleepe is allowed for sustenance, and not for voluptuousnesse.

Seeing then it should bee employed onely for the health of the bodie; let vs now vnderstand, after what maner a man should lie in his bed for Sleepe, to the end it may be profitable to him. I reade, that the most profitable kinde of sleeping for any well disposed person, is first to beginne sleepe vpon his right side; and afterward (for the most part of the night) to turne and rest vpon his left side; and in the ending of his sleepe, to turne a while on the right side againe. The reason is, because the stomacke of a man is seated in such sort, that the mouth thereof leaneth somewhat more to the right side then to the left; but the hollow heart or bottome thereof, declineth a little toward the left side. So that by lying down to sleepe (for an houre or two) on the right side, the stomacke extendeth it selfe and resteth vpon the liuer. And hence ensueth two speciall commodities; the first, that the stomacke ordereth it selfe, and in that preparation, the foode descendeth downe the more easily: the second, that the humidity of the meate receiued, refresheth the liuer, and by that refreshing, naturall heate taketh strength in the stomacke, to beginne and cause digestion.

After that these two good effects haue followed one another, then it shall be fitting to turne vpon the other side, because by being so turned, the liuer cometh and couereth the stomacke, and embraceth it euen with wings, (as it were) so that his foode retaineth more to the liuer, and thereby perfecteth digestion. Neuerthelesse, it is good in the morning, for a finall consummation of that times sleepe, to turne againe vpon the right side, to the end that the stomacke may beginne to ease and discharge the liuer, and likewise to expell the ayre or superfluitie of the passed digestion. This rule is good, and will bee well acknowledged by him that hath a qualified liuer,

and his stomacke not cold, but if at these two members are found and temperate in him. But he that hath an ouer-hot liuer, and a cold stomacke, as many times it cometh so to passe: it is not good for him to sleepe vpon the right side, because the stomacke falling vpon the liuer, straineth and presseth it in every part, heating and enflaming it excessively, so that the vpper part of the stomacke continueth vncouered by the superiour part, cooling and weakening it more and more; whereby the very greatest heate of the liuer carrieth and beareth vpon it, all the little left in the stomacke before, whence ensueth bad digestion, and consequently a sickly disposition. Wherefore the man that hath a cold stomacke, and a hote liuer, it is not wholesome for him to sleepe on his left side; because the stomacke being wholly couered with the liuer, it maketh digestion; and as for the liuer, lying so aloft vpon the superiour part, it is both discouered and discharged, and by that means refresheth it selfe, and is not enflamed at all.

There are some also, that make a custome of sleeping on their belly, which helpeth and comforteth digestion, because it assemblith and retaineth naturall heate in the stomackall part, which is in the better disposition for euacuating superfluities. The contrary cometh to such as sleepe on their backe, with the face openly discouered: in regarde that naturall heate extendeth it selfe abroad, by which meanes digestion is weakened, and the superfluities can not be purged by the mouth, nor by the ordinarie conduites and passages: but remaine in the breast and in the throat, which oftentimes causeth stuffings and suffocations, with Epilepsies and other infirmities.

The wife therefore doe also counsell and aduise, that a man should not sleepe too much stretch out in his bed, because thereby digestion is greatly weakened and impaired: for according to the Philosophers rule; when the vertues and forces are vnited together, the operation is so much the better. But being moderately and indifferently heaped or doubled, the carnositie which couereth the stomacke, ioyneth the more closely to it, heating and strengthening it better then before. These rules whereof I haue spoken, are necessa-

Of an over-heated liuer, and a cold stomacke, and what kindred thereon.

Of a cold stomacke, and a hote liuer.

Of such as do sleepe vpon their face and belly.

Of such as sleepe vpon their backe, and what ensueth thereof.

Of sleeping too much stretch out in bed.

As if a man should lie in his bed.

What sleepe is said to be.

What sleepe consisteth by his source in the body of man.

Aristotle in Lib. Som. & Vig. Plutarke in Mor.

Too much sleepe is very dangerous.

All things are to be vied with moderation and difference.

necessary for such as bee dainty and delicate, and those of weaker disposition, but that be healthfull, lusty, and able, the best rule that they can observe, is to keepe the custome which they haue bene most vied to.

CHAP. XLIII.

Of an ancient use and custome in Spaine, in making their account of times, by these words, Here de Cæsar: What that Here is, and wherefore, and when the use thereof was left.



In ancient times they had a custome in Castile, when-soeuer they dated writings & instruments of reckoning or worth; they wrote downe the words of Here de Cæsar, in such sort as we see downe the year of Grace, or of our Lord God, and the same stile was obserued in Chronicles and Histories, as hath bene obserued by many diligent Readers. And although this matter hath bin seene and discouered by many yet few people haue vnderstood the occasion and originall of this vse, neyther wherefore the word is termed Here.

In mine opinion, there may bee two good reasons rendred. The first, that this word Here was written with an aspiration, and so haue I found it in some places of the Spanish History; although in some other it is not so. But being so, we say, that it commeth of the Latine word *Hierus*, which is as much to say, as Lord; and thereby it followeth, that Here may be vnderstood for Lordship, Soueraignty, Monarchy, or Reigne and Dominiion: and that Here de Cæsar, implyeth the Monarchy of Cæsar, that is to say, the beginning of Monarchy, which is vnderstood of Octavianus. Of this opinion is Antonius Nebrissenfis, for in his vocabulary for the Spanish Language, he saith; Here de Cæsar, is namely the Monarchy of Cæsar.

Astrologers in their accounts, and especially king Alphonsus in his Tabletes, nameth the beginning of reignes by the

word Here: as that of Philip, that of Alexander, that of Nabuchodonosor, that of Cæsar, and many other. And yet notwithstanding, although this may seeme to bee a case cleare and euident, yet there is a kinde of difficulty, wherein it is expedient to yeeld satisfaction. To wit, that as Eusebius, Paulus Orosius, and diuers other write, Christ was borne in the 42 year of the Empire of Octavianus: if it be so, it appeareth that Here should anticipate the 42 years of Christs Natiuity, in regard that it hath respect to the beginning of Cæsars Empire, according to due consideration. Neuertheless, it anticipateth but of thirty eight yeares, according to king Alphonsus his setting downe: wherefore the Text hath not sayled, for euermore Here de Cæsar, precedeth the birth of Christ thirty eight yeares.

I vnderstand this to ensue from Eusebius, Orosius, and all the rest, who naming the birth of Christ, to bee in the two and fortieth year of the Empire of Octavianus, begin their account of his Empire, at the first day of his entring Rome, soone after the death of his vnkle Iulius Cæsar, where he arriuing, was made Capitaine with the Consuls Hirtius & Ponsæus, against Mark Anthony. In setting downe the account of time so, and not otherwise, the birth of Christ commeth iustly to bee in the two and fortieth year of his Empire: notwithstanding, they that make their account by Here, leaue out foure yeares at the beginning. And it seemeth they had good reason so to doe, because in those 4 first yeares, Octavianus held no command in Rome, neyther had the gouernement without resistance: for at the entring of those foure yeares, he had warre against Mark Anthony. Then going afterward to Rome with his troopes, he had the Consulship perforce, in the place of Hirtius, he being dead at his comming.

When these things were done, hee made an accord & conuention with Mark Anthony and Lepidus, where they became all three (one after another) to gouerne for a certaine time, and made the cruell proscription, whereby they did put to death diuers of the principall men in Rome. Moreouer, he and Mark Anthony passed into Greece, in persecution of the murderers of Cæsar, where they fought a battaile against Brutus and Cassius: after whose

A question concerning the Natiuity of Christ.

This Here to Vnderstand the meaning downe the account.

This is the first year, Octavianus had no command in Rome.

The Transiure of Octavianus, Mark Anthony and Lepidus, and their proscription.

The City of Rome in Augustus.

When the account of Here and Monarchy iustly begins, according to the true date of Augustus.

The death of Cæsar, according to Eusebius.

These are the years, according to the Olympiades.

The first year of Augustus.

death and discomfiture, he lost Mark Anthony in those Easterne parts, and returned into Italy, where he opposed himselfe against Lucius Antonius, the brother vnto Mark Anthony, and besiedged him in Perusia, constraining him to yeelde to his mercy. Thus hauing vanquished and expelled all his enemies, hee came (without any contradiction) to Rome, to gouerne Italy, France, Spaine, and Germany: for Lepidus was in Affrica, and Mark Anthony in Asia; therefore his entrance and Seignury, was foure yeares after his comming from Greece.

In regard whereof, the account of Here and Monarchy, beginneth (by good reason) there, which is thirty eight yeares before the birth of Christ: so that Eusebius, Orosius, and all the rest, who set downe the birth to bee in the two and fortieth year of Octavianus his Empire, doe begin their reckoning, from the day that Iulius Cæsar was slaine, he being his vnkle. And this is proued apparantly, because it appeareth by all histories, that Iulius Cæsar was slaine in the year seuen hundred and ten, from the foundation of Rome: & our Lord was borne in the year seuen hundred and fifty two, whereby there is a distance of two and forty yeares, all which are granted to the empire of Octavianus. In like manner, according to Eusebius, Iulius Cæsar was slaine in the year of the worlds creation, five thousand, one hundred, fifty seuen: and our Lord (after the same Eusebius) was borne in the year five thousand, one hundred, ninety nine, wherein there is a difference each from other, of the same two and forty yeares.

If we come to account by Olympiades, Iulius Cæsar was slaine in the second year of the 164 Olympiade; and Christ was borne in the third year of the 194, inclusively; which is also the same difference of two and forty yeares: in which respect, they set the empire of Octavianus, two and forty yeares before the Natiuity. Albeit his true empire began foure yeares after the time when his Here had originall, and thirty eight yeares before the Natiuity: for during those foure yeares, hee was no Lord nor Commander, as all the Roman Histories do approue. Plutarch, Appian, Dion, Suetonius, and more then all the rest, Titus Livius, or to speake better, Lucius Florus saith, That Octavianus com-

ming to Rome, when his vnkle was slaine, was but eighteen yeares of age, and was Consul at nineteen. Then the warres being past, and all his enemies vanquished, hee returned victoriously to Rome, & Monarched in the three and twenty of his age. So that by this account, and likewise that of Titus Livius, the empire of Octavianus began foure yeares after the death of his vnkle Iulius Cæsar, which agreeth with the account of Here, thirty eight yeares before the Natiuity.

Some others doe allow of another reason or opinion, concerning this Here, by writing it with a diphthong *Æ*, without aspiration, and they say it is deriued of the Latine word *Aera*, for coine or money, *Æra consularis*, and that it had originall, from the beginning of taxes or tribute money, which was payed to Octavianus, and called *Ære*, or the tribute of Cæsar, and not the empire of Cæsar, and that it was termed *Æra Ære*. It is further affirmed, that it was the name of a coyne or money, which was reckoned at a certaine value, and that from the time that was ordered and imposed, so they numbered and counted the *Ære*. Saint Isidore is of this opinion, speaking thus. *Æra singulorum annorum constituta est a Cæsare Augusto, quando primo censu excogitabo Romanorum orbem descripsit. Dicta autem Æra, quod omnis orbis as reddere professus est reipublice.* Therefore it appeareth plainly, that this manner of account, came and receiued name of his money and tribute then payed. So hee auoucheth in the chapter following, in speaking of the Quinquenniall yeares, where hee saith: *Ad huc enim Consules, ad huc Æra non erant.* In like manner it seemeth, that Ambrose Calepine, in his Dictionary gaue this diction such originall, saying. *Astralogi quoque initium, a quo supputationes incipiunt, Æram vocant: dicta Æra ex eo, quod omnis orbis as reddere professus est reipublice.*

Fryer Alphonsus, of the Order of S. Dominick, in his Eucheridion of times, hath these very words. Another beginning came of accounting by the Here of the same Octavianus, who hauing the whole world in his hand, would know what people he had vnder his Empire: and therefore commanded by Edict, that euery one should be registered in the towne of his birth, so the end, they might giue

Qq

The Empire of Octavianus began foure yeares after Iulius Cæsar was slain.

The second reason concerning the Here, because Cæsar's tribute many.

Isidore's opinion of the Æra.

An account made from five yeares to five yeares.

Ambrose Calepine in his Dictionary.

Alphonsus, Dominick's Eucheridion.

Here de Cæsar, the words as we do this year of our Lord God.

The first reason concerning the word Here.

Here de Cæsar, the Monarchy of Cæsar.

After Nativitas Augusti.

The account of Astrologers.

The name of Aera derived from the tribute payed by them.

A question concerning the beginning of Cæsar's Edict of taxation.

An answer to the former question.

The Edict could not so soon be known in remote parts as neerer home.

him (in figure of Seignury or dominion) a kinde of money; and because this money was of metall, the description thereof was named *Aera*. So that (according to these Authors) this manner of numbring the years by *Heres*, came from the tribute which they payed, and it was so written in Latine, *Aera*.

Notwithstanding, there remaineth yet another difficulty, of no meane importance, to wit, it seemeth that the Edict of *Cæsar* began not so long time before the Natiuitie as the thirty eight yeares which they count of the *Here*. Also it appeareth by the second chapter of *S. Luke*, that it began in the yeare when our Lord was borne, because he saith *Exijt Edictum à Cæsare*: There came out a decree from *Augustus Cæsar*, and therefore the beginning accordeth not with that of *Here*. Wherevnto (in mine opinion) answer may be made, that on the hither side of the East parts, to wit, those of *Italy*, *France*, and *Spaine*, this Edict might be begun by the commandement of *Octavianus*, when hee had bene enstalled Lord and Emperour peaceably in *Rome*, which was thirty eight yeares before Iesus Christ was borne: but in *Affryia* and *Indea* it was not then made knowne, because the Prouinces remained vnder the gouernment of *Mark Anthony*, vntill they came vnder the Monarchy of *Cæsar*, and there is no contradiction to be found, but that eight and thirty yeares (before) he gouerned *France* and *Spaine*, and measurably impatronizing himselfe of the Prouinces, hee caused the Edict to be accordingly published. Wherefore it might so come to passe, that the first which was made knowne in those Countries, was that whereof *S. Luke* speaketh, and yet neuertheless, there were other Countries and Prouinces, where that *Here* had received beginning before.

Venerable Bede sheweth this clearly, writing vpon the same chapter of *S. Luke*, expounding the words, *Et describatur vniuersus orbis*, he saith thus. *Signant hanc descriptionem, vel primam esse habuerunt, quæ totum orbem conclauserint, quæ utraque iam parte terrarum leguntur fuisse descriptæ*. It seemeth this description, to bee the first that was vniuersall to the whole world; because before it, many Citties and Townes in particular, had bene described or set downe. *S. Ambrose* affirmeth as much vpon the said chapter of *Luke*, saying: *There were found many other Lands and Prouinces, which had bene registred downe. Lucius Florus*, in his abridgement of 133. Bookes of *Titus Livius*, writeth: That *Cæsar*, some after hee had vanquished *Marke Anthony*, imposed a tribute vpon all *France*, which was a little lesse then thirty yeares before Christ was borne.

But whether the cause arose by the first reason, of tearming it by the name of *Here*, or by the last; it is sufficient that it began eight and thirty yeares before the Natiuitie. This custome of accounting by *Heres* is very ancient, especially in *Spaine*, as also among the *Arabes* and *Sarrazines*, and I thinke that the *Gothes* afterward vsed it, and it was not left so long as the *Romans* reigne endured. *Isidore*, in writing of the *Gothes*, and of this *Here*, approacheth it to be ancient. And although I cannot directly say, when it began, yet I know well enough, that it hath bene long time vsed in *Spaine*, as appeareth by the *Spanish* Chronicles, euen vntill *Iohn* the first, King of *Spaine* (who lost the battaile of *Aluabarasa*, in the fifth yeare of his reigne) commanded, that from thence forward, the *Here de Cæsar* should no more be vsed in writings and histories, but the birth of Christ; which was in the yeare 1383, and in the *Here de Cæsar*, 1421.

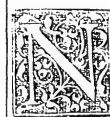
THE.

The End of the Fourth Booke.



OF NOBILITY POLITICALL AND CIVILL.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.



Nobility, which many of the greater sorts of wits, with great prooffe of vncorrupted verity, & much flowing Eloquence, haue gone about to derue out of diuers foundations, is of three sorts: and is diuided into Nobility *Calestiall*, which consists in Religion; Nobility *Philosophicall*, which is got by Morall vertues; and Nobility *Politically*, whereof this present Treatise is. Out of the two first sorts of Nobility, no man can come Noble, except that he the same, be a good man also. But out of this third sort, a man, although he bee neuer so wicked and vngacious, may yet excell the rest of men, euen in the highest degree of Nobility: so as did *Cælogulus*, *Nero*, and such others like.

The matter of Nobility, was in ancient time accounted of two sorts, viz. *Theological* and *Morall*: For why, Nobility is a thing honourable, and of itselfe laudable: But without vertue, nothing (according to the opinion of *Cicero*) can be commendable, or praise-worthy. Of which thing, the seate and scituation of the Temple of Honour among the *Romans*, was a notable example: whereunto there was no entrance or way, but by the Temple of vertue.

But by the preposterous innouation and change of things, that Nobility which was proper onely to the good, gaue place, and in stead thereof, that Nobility which is alike common vnto the bad and to the

good, slept to the helme: yea, euen the word *Nobilis* (or Noble) it selfe, which some will haue to haue bene so called, as who should say, *Nobilis*, or remarkable, or for some vertue Notable, began to be indifferently taken into both parts, good & bad: as *nobile Scortum*, a noble harlot, *nobile Scelus*, a noble villaine. Neyther in question of Politicall Nobility, are we any more to haue recourse vnto the Diuines or Philosophers, and much lesse to the ancient *Romane* Constitutions (for the most part) discerning all things by Magistracies, Charges, and Offices, but onely vnto the dispositions of the Princes and Monarchs of the world: who haue the power of the gouernement of the world (as it were in a sort common together with God) after their maner, gouerne Nobility according to their owne pleasure and good liking, and so haue made the same hereditary. And hereof is it, that a stranger, made a Nobleman at *Rome*, or else where, is not at home accounted in the number of the Nobility, his Prince being thereto vnwilling, and so contrariwise also. Wherefore, they which examine Politicall Nobility, according to any other rule, then the custome of euery Nation, are vterly out of the way. Yet in this so great diuersity of manners and customes of Nations in all places, the same Definition of Ciuill Nobility agreeth vnto them all, viz. *Quod sit qualitas, sine Dignitas qua quis legitime à Plebe conditionis existitur*.

Q. 92

Politically Nobility is contained in the bad as to the good.

In question of Politically Nobility, we are not to haue recourse vnto Diuines, or Philosophers.

Barthol. in explanatione Regime of vniuersum Dignitas omnia sunt in m. Politically Nobility is defined vnto the custome of Nations.

The Temple of Honour among the Romans.

per gradum erigitur. That it is a quality or dignity, whereby a man is lawfully exempt and by degrees promoted out of, and above the estate of the vulgar & common sort of people. Of this Nobility, there be two kinds, y. z. Nobility *Nature*, that is to say, by birth: and *Dative*, which is by the Princes gift. For as for violent Nobility, such as was that of *Nemrods*, I utterly reject it.

But that these things may be made more manifest, we will by certaine of the better Common-weales, even vnto these our times, deriue the beginning of this dignity, and the manner of obtaining the same, as it were euen from the first infancy thereof, taking both the matter & the examples we therein vse, out of most authenticall and approved Authors, the sentences almost nothing, and much lesse the words, much changed, so that the well affected Reader, cannot of right, lay any thing thereof to our charge.

CHAP. II.

Of the Nobility of the first Age.



Dare contrary vnto the common received opinion affirme, nobility *Dative* to haue bin before, & more excellent then Nobility *Nature*, exaple being taken fro *Adam* himselfe, whom all men know to haue bene made, and not borne: and verily to haue bene a Noble-man (if any other) as formed by God to the Image of himselfe, endowed with all good gifts, and made Lord and Soueraigne Ruler of all creatures; yea, euen of the whole world. But that celestiall Nobility he soone (alas, too too soone) lost, by hearkning vnto his wife: and that worldly Nobility which he yet retained, being vnto his children deriued, began first in them to be *Nature*, or Nobility by birth. If any man therefore consider *Adam* his owne race and Progeny, he must needs confesse all the men of that age, to haue bene together Noble. But as in mans body for the preservation of the whole, diuers functions, and offices of members, are required; euen so, in that first society

of men (as in all others) a distinction of persons was necessary: wherefore the first Common-weale, which was of the family of *Adam*, and of his children, consisted wholly of Noblemen (to wit) of the children of one Father, and he the same, being a King, a Prophet, and a Priest; but yet not all of them to be with like honour reuerenced. For he, that first Householder as it were by the decree of Nature, gaue the preheminance and cheefe place vnto his first begotten Sonne, so long as hee kept the right of his Birth-right, which order other families. Afterward following, constantly obserued: so that he which was first by Nature, should be accounted also first in honour. Yet neuertheless, was it altogether lawfull for the Father of the family, to make choise of his own children, that so according to euery one of their desarts, he might bestow vpon them honours, or take them from them.

Of the great number of *Adams* Progeny, & the discord of the Brethren among themselves, at length arose the diuision of Families, and so consequently the vncertainty and forgetfulness of kindreds, and deadly hatreds and fallings out withall. By warre, the change of mens estates and conditions, and seruitudes are brought in. The vanquished, of Noble become base and vnnoble: & contrariwise, the victors, of base persons, became Noble. Men for the preservation of themselves, haue out of families assembled together into Villages; out of Villages, into Cities; and out of Cities haue growne together into Prouinces, and so into most great kingdoms. In dangers and distresses, according to the rule of reason, wise men are called vpon for their counsel, valiant men for their aide and defence, vnto whom, as vnto men most worthy, the government is committed; whereas the rest are enforced without difference, to obey without any respect of their stocke or kindred.

These things to haue thus bene in the *Jewes State* and *Common-weale*, is vnto all men knowne, which are but easily read in the old *Testament*. First, that Principality and prerogatiue, was giuen vnto the first begotten, you shall easily vnderstand, if you shall diligently consider, that when *Adam* by reason of his great yeares, was not able longer to attend to the government of the church, and of the common-weale,

A difference
of persons
in the
first society
of men.

The pre-
eminence
of the first
born
right ob-
served.

The diuision
of Families

Families
to haue
growne
into Villages

Villages
into
Cities
Cities
into
Prouinces
&
Prouinces
into
Kingdomes

The first be-
gotten were
all Princes
of their owne
Families.

The Nobles
or Princes
of Is-
rael.

Captaines of
thousands,
Centurions.

Captaines of
fiftie,
Decurions, or
Captaines of
ten.

The Heads
of the
Families,
The Heads
of the Tribes.

weale, *Seth* was made Gouvernor, who then held the place of the first begotten. Vnto *Seth* euen for the same cause succeeded *Enoch*: vnto *Enoch*, *Conan*: vnto *Conan*, *Mahalel*: vnto *Mahalel*, *Iered*: vnto *Iered*, *Canoc*: vnto *Canoc*, *Methusheh*, vnto *Methusheh*, *Lamech*: vnto *Lamech*, *Noah*: who ruled ouer his Progeny an hundred & ten yeares after the Deluge; at which time, the disperfion of his posterity happened. Which disperfion being made, euery one of them bare himselfe as Prince of his owne family; which preheminance passed still vnto the first borne of that stocke and family: so that the first begotten of the principall family, still held the same. Neither ought any man to doubt euery one of the Patriarks to haue ruled as cheefe men ouer their owne Tribes and Families vntill that the government of the whole people was deliuered ouer to *Moses*. But concerning *Moses* himselfe, we reade in the fourth of Exodus, him and *Aaron* to haue gathered together all the Elders of the children of *Israel*, which was the first Assembly. In the 24. of Exodus, the Lord commandeth feuentie of the Elders of the children of *Israel*, to come vnto him, together with *Moses*: which feuentie (in the same chapter) are as it were by a knowne name called Nobles or cheefe Persons of the children of *Israel*. *Moses* beside, oppressed with the multitude of sutes, following the counsel, of *Iethro*, chose out of the people certain Captains of thousands which should beare rule ouer a thousand families: others of hundreds, who commanded ouer an hundred: others of fifties who had the command ouer fifty: and others of ten, who bare rule ouer ten: & determined of their lesser sutes and controuersies. Now that there were many Captaines of thousands, euen in one and the selfe-same Tribe, it is out of holy Scripture manifest; and these men, *Moses* here & there calleth, *The Heads of the Fathers*, *the Heads of the Tribes*, *Princes*, and *Heads of the Soldiers*; and amongst them were 12 cheefe Princes, especially chosen of the 12 Tribes, who sometimes were alone by themselves chosen out for some especiall commission. But what manner of men *Moses* made Rulers ouer the *Israelites*, and what manner of companions he chose forth as assistants vnto himselfe in the government of the common-weale, he himselfe in the

first chapter of Deuteronomy thus plainly witnesseth. *And I take vnto you the same season, saying, I am not able to beare the burden of you my selfe alone. For the Lord your God hath multiplied you: and behold, you are this day as the starres of heauen in number, &c. Bring (from among you) men of wisdom and of vnderstanding, & men knowne in your Tribes, that I may make them Rulers ouer you. And you answered me and said, that which thou hast saide, it is good for vs to do. And so out of the Tribes I tooke the Captains (men of wisdom and experience) & made them Rulers ouer you, Captaines ouer thousands, and ouer hundreds, ouer fiftie, & ouer ten, & Officers among your Tribes, &c. But wee endued both by the weight of the words, and by reason, are enforced to cōiecture, *Moses* being a wise man, in this election and choise, to haue preferred men for their wisdom & experience famous and well knowne, both for the gaining of the fauour and obedience of the people, and also for the better government of the common-weale: neyther to haue any thing regarded such, as boasted onely of the prerogatiue of their birth; for otherwise, instead of helpers, he should rather haue associated vnto himselfe, the perturbors of the publike peace. Wherefore we set downe those feauenty Iudges by the commandement of God, appointed by *Moses* to haue bin of the dignity of Senators, vnto who some men adde two moe, viz. *Moses* himselfe, and the High-Priest, as if that six had bin appointed out of euery one of the twelue Tribes.*

Wherefore, by those things which we haue now already spoken, it is euident, as well *Dative* as *Nature* Nobility, to haue bin in vse amongst the *Israelites*, & sometime euen in one and the same family, to haue passed vnto the first begotten alone, or to some other graced with some publike Office in some family, whilst the rest borne of the same flock, in the mean time stucke fast within the bounds of them of the vulgar state and condition. And concerning the kings of the *Israelites*, it is to be thought also, as it is of the kings of other nations, that they according to their pleasure, ennobled many, cyther by reason, or by affection moued and induced so to do. But lets vs now from the *Jewes*, passe ouer vnto the *Geniles*.

Princes.

The heads of
the soldiers.

The definiti-
on of nobility
Two kinds
of Nobility,
viz. Dative
and Nature.

Nobility
which in *Ada-
m* was first
Dative in him
began to be
Nature.

CHAP. III.

¶ Of the first Greeke Nobility.

Nothing was euer more vnconstant the the Greek Common-weale, with perpetuall changes still floating vp & down. The beginning of their Monarchy, I (as most are wont) will no further tetch, then from *Cecrops*. He first called the rude *Athenians* out of the fields, into a ciuill society, built twelue Townes, and diuided the Citizens of them into Souldiers, Artificers, Husbandmen, and Shepherds. Every City had Magistrates of it owne, neyther did they but in times of great danger resort vnto the King: yea many of them at times tooke vp Armes against their Kings. They which inhabit the *Champaigne* Country, were commanded by some few. The Mountiniers were gouerned by a popular estate, and they which dwell by the Sea-coast, had a mixt gouernement, in a meane betwixt both. And they which out of the whole body of the people, were called vnto the gouernement of the Common-weale, were honored for Princes, Senators, and Noblemen. *Plutarch* writeth, such men as were of greatest power in the Cities, to haue bene thrust out by *Theseus*, that hee himselfe might alone raigine, yet diuided he the people into Senatours, Husbandmen, and Artificers: of whom hee would haue them of the first ranke, to excell the rest in dignity: them of the second fort, to excell the rest for necessary vse; & them of the third, to exceede the rest in multitude and number. But in the choise of the Senators, he had respect vnto their wealth, their learning, and especially their vertue, which things were required also in the person of the King. For *Demosthenes* in his Oration against *Nearus* sheweth, after the Common-weale set in order by *Theseus*, neuertheless by his hands stretched out, to haue appointed a King out of the number of the which were thought to excell in vertue. Vpon the Senators he imposed the charge of bearing of Office, to consider and determine of matters of Religion, to interpret and expound the

Law and sacred rights: and when he was desirous more to encrease the City, hee called all men indifferently vnto an equall part of the Common-weale. Wherefore, in *Theseus* his Gouernment, Nobility was gotten by riches, knowledge, and vertue. After the Kings, there was in the City a double *Democratie*, one which consisted in the power and gouernment of the richer sort of the Citizens; and another, which rested in them all in generall which were free-men. *Solon* (the discord betwixt the common fort, and them of the richer sort of the people being appeased) after the slaughter of the *Cylonians*, restored vnto his country, the Democratically or Popular gouernment, the Oligarchy or gouernment of some few, being quite taken away. He deuised foure orders or degrees of Citizens: Them, which could of their dry & wet commodities, fill fise hundred of their measures (called *Moly*) hee placed in the first order or degree. Them which could fill foure hundred of those measures, hee placed in the second ranke. Them which could fill three hundred, in the third, and al the rest in the fourth. And called the first of these *Atolides*, the second *Eguites*, the third *Zeugetes*, and the fourth *Thetes*. All publike Offices, he appointed to be committed to them, which were placed in the three first degrees, and they so hauing borne Office, were accounted in the number of the Nobility, but vnto the fourth ranke was no publike Office or Magistracy communicated; & therefore that ranke was altogether bale and vnno- ble. But after *Solon*, *Aristides*, and *Pericles* participated the Magistracies, euen vnto the basest and lowest sort of the people also, as *Xenophon* in his Booke concerning the *Athenian Commonweale*, setteth it down for right and reason, that they, euen of the meaner and poorer sort, should indifferently be called & admitted vnto all preferments in euery part of the Common-weale, for that they more profited for the enriching of the City, then did they of the Nobility. Euen plaine Citizens, hauing well deserued of the Commonweale, were therefore among the *Athenians* ennobled. So *Leo*, for that he for the welfare of the commonweale, had solemnly vowed his daughters to death, was accounted & registred amongst the ten Worthies. And Nobility once by the Father obtained, enno-

After Theseus a double Democracie in the Athenian Commonweale.

Foure orders or degrees of Citizens appointed by Solon.

1. Atolides.
2. Eguites.
3. Zeugetes.
4. Thetes.

ennobled his Children also.

But the *Athenian* commonweale was not so lauish & prodigall in the communicating of Nobility, as was in ancient time the *Romaine* Common-weale sparing and curious in the bestowing thereof. Wherefore this the *Romaine* State and Common-weale shall afford vnto vs greater store and plenty of matter of this kinde and nature.

CHAP. IIII.

¶ Of the first Romaine Nobilitie.

Romulus to draw strength vnto the city of *Rome*, but lately before by him built, ordayed an *Asylum* or *Sanctuary*, wherevnto the poore and bale people out of Countries and places thereby by flocks resorting, gaue the first encrease vnto so great a city. And out of this rabblement of people *Romulus* chose an hundred *Senatours*, which by *Iuuenall* the Satyricall Poet is in these verses noted.

Et tamen ex longe reptatis, longèq; reuoluis
Non n, ab infami gentem deducis Asylo:
Placuisse primas quisquis saci ille tuorum,
Aut Postor satis, aut illud quod decore nolo.

(name,
And though from far thou dost repay thy pedegree &
Yet frō the bale *Asylum* thou canst but deriue the same:
For he that was first Author of thy stocke and pedegree,
A Shepherd was, or else such one, I list not name to thee.

Then *Romulus* for their honor, would haue to be created, *Fathers*: and for their age, *Senators*, and both them and their progeny he appointed to be of the ranke of them that were of the *Senatours* descended. But afterward, the Common-weale being communicated also with the *Sabines*, he chose out another hundred. *Tarquinius Priscus* (oras some other rather would haue it) *Brutus* added vnto them another C. called the *Senatours* of the meaner fort of the People. *Valerius Publicola*, after the Kings were driuen out, chose threescore and foure more then an hundred, of the order of Gentlemen (in stead of so many *Senatours* slaine by *Tarquinius Superbus*) which were called *Adelēs*, or men chosen: for after the

kings driue out, such as he law to be wife, ancient, and of approved honesty, he alcribed into the *Senate*, as into the most graue & reuerend Councell. After those first foundations of the *Romaine* Common-weale thus layed. Citizens of *Rome* descended of the stocke of *Senatours* (who before had borne the chiefe and greatest Honors) were by the *Dictators*, *Censors*, or *Triumvirs*, created *Senatours*, and afterward also of the Order of Gentlemen were called into the *Senate*.

Vv herefore, the Order of *Patricij*, and of the *Senatours*, to haue ennobled such as were thereof, there was neuer anie doubt, but concerning the order of Gentlemen, some there be, which make question. *Tiraquellus* thinketh the *Romaine* Gentlemen to haue holden the middle place betwixt the *Patricij* (or them which were descended from *Senatours*) and the *Plebeij* or Common People: for that *Tacitus* calleth them *Illustres*, or men of marke. *Martiall* also calleth the Order of Gentlemen, the Lesser Order and the Order of *Senatours*, and of them that were descended of *Senatours*, the Greatest Order.

Many are also of opinion, Nobilitie to haue bene giuen amongst the *Romaines*, by the bestowing vpon them Rings of Golde: and most certayne it is, such gift of Rings to transerre the state and condition of a Free-borne man vnto them to whom they were so giuen, without which free estate no *Romaine* was deemed capable of Nobility. But when the vse of rings of Golde began in *Rome*, it is not manifest. *Pliny* writeth it of long to haue bene the Badge or Cognissance of them which were about to goe Ambassadors vnto forraigne Nations, and the rest of the *Senatours*, to haue bene without them: neyther was it the manner and fashion for anie other to vse them, then such as had for that cause publicly receyued them. And such Golde rings they vsed onely abroad, and iron rings at home in their houses.

But afterward, the custome of wearing of Gold rings beganne to be vsed of all the Nobility, as it is written in *Titus Livius* in his ninth booke, in these words: The *Senate* to haue burnt with such rage, and disdayne, because *Cneius Flautius* a late freed man was made *Adilis*, that many

Adelēs.

Ordo Equitum, or the order of gentlemen

The golde ring.

Fathers, Senators, Patricij.

The first diuision of the Grecian common-weale by Cecrops.

Who were Princes, Senators, and Noblemen among the Greeks.

A new diuision of the Athenian people by Theseus.

The right of
wearing of a
Ring, to who
it belonged.

The dignitie
of a Senator.

ny of the Nobility thereupon, laid aside their gold Rings, and Trappings of their Horses: wherein *Plinie* witnesseth many to haue bene deceived, which thinke them of the order of Gentlemen to haue then done the same. For that (sayth hee) is also added: but the Trappings were also layde aside, for which the name of Gentlemen is put too. It is also recorded in the *Annales*, Rings to haue bene then layde aside by the Nobilitie, but not by the whole *Senate* in generall. Whereby it is manifest, that the Gentlemen as then had no right to weare a Ring, and that it belonged but vnto the Nobilitie onely; that is to say, vnto the *Patricij*, and the *Senators*, although they were not themselves *Patricij*; that is to say, descended of *Senators*, for that the dignitie of a *Senator* gaue beginning to Nobilitie.

But after that Iudiciall causes were translated from the *Senate* vnto the *Gentlemen*, the vse of Rings together withall, passed vnto them also; which was not then so much the cognifiance of *Gentlemen*, as it was of *Judges*, and yet not of all them, but of them which were of greater dignitie and honour. Rings (sayth *Plinie*) diuide the other Order from the vulgar People, as soone as they once beganne to be men of marke and fame, and afterward. But Rings verily put a middle and a third Order or Degree of men, betwixt the Common-people, and the *Senators* or *Fathers*: and that name which horses of seruice before gaue vnto men, this name (I say) the *Judges* now giue vnto moncy: neyther was that long agoe done: for *Augustus* the Emperour, disposing of the *Courts*, the greater part of the *Judges* wore Iron Rings, and they were not called *Equites* (or *Gentlemen*) but *Judices* (or *Judges*.) The name of *Equites* (or *Gentlemen*) rested in the troops of publique horses. But afterward, in the ninth yeare of the reigne of *Tiberius*, when the Order of *Gentlemen* was come into an vnion (for so he termeth it) order was taken for the credite of the wearing of Rings, as that they should be vnto all *Gentlemen* common. And at length (sayth hee) when as *Caius Sulpitius Galba* going about to gaine the credite of a youthfull good name with his Prince, by the fines of *Tauernes* and Victuallling houses) had complained in the *Senate*,

even Chapmen and Pedlers to be defended from the penalty of such their misdemeanor, by the wearing of Rings; it was for this cause by the *Senate* decreed, that it should not bee lawfull for any man to weare a Ring, but vnto him who being free born, both by his father and grand-father by the Fathers side, was valued at 40. *Sesterces*. And by the Law *Fulvia* concerning the *Theater*, to such as had place and did sit in one of the foureteen orders or degrees. Hereby it came to passe, that they seemed to be of the Order of *Gentlemen*, which did weare golde Rings, for that it was not lawfull for any fo to doe, but such as had a *Gentlemans* substance. And therefore *Suetonius* writeth, *Julius Caesar* when as in exhorting of his Souldiers, he oftentimes shewed the finger of his left hand, and said, that he could willingly, for their sakes, be content to pluck off his owne Ring; to haue been thought in so doing, covertly to haue promised vnto euery one of them, the right to weare a Golde Ring, and the substance of a Gentleman. But after that it was permitted to all *Gentlemen* indifferently to weare them; that marke (sayth *Plinie*) beganne to bee indifferently of all men desired: For before, *Gentlemen* and *Judges* were knowne by their Iron Rings; but at length, whilest the Order of *Gentlemen* is seperated from the Free-borne men, the wearing of Rings was communicated with them: that were bond-men, and of seruile condition: that is to say, with such as were of bondmen and slaues, become free. Howbeit this right of wearing of gold Rings, was not wont in ancient time to be giuen to any other, but to such as had right manfully and valiantly behaved themselves in the wars; neither was the right of wearing of a gold Ring, euer giuen to such, as were of bond-men made free, except they were also made free-men borne, (which was in ancient time a Priuiledge not to be granted but by the Prince.) And it was alwaies in ancient time, accounted a greater matter to be a freeman borne, then to be rewarded with the right to weare a gold Ring: For that sheweth vs euen from our birth to be freemen borne, whereas this right of wearing of a gold Ring, indeed, either blottes out, or as much as it can, watheth away the staines of seruitude; yet so, as that the

signe

The right of
Statues or I-
mages.

signe thereof for euer remaineth. But the creating or restoring of a man vnto Gentility, cometh nearer vnto Nature, which bringeth with it all the commodities of naturall Gentry, and that belonged onely vnto the Prince, to restore agayne a man banished or cast into exile, vnto his former estate and place: who being so restored vnto their blood or birth-right, were not onely ingrafted into the number of the citizens of *Rome*, but also inrolled among the *Quirites*; that so, they might be partakers of all the honours and offices of the Common-weale. Therefore it is of *Plinie* called *ius Quiritum*; that is to say, *The right and Priuiledge of the Quirites*.

There was also among the Ancients, a certaine right of hauing of *Images* or *Statues*, which was by the *Senate* giuen vnto such, as had notably borne some great Office, or worthily deserued some great honours, which was not so much for the marke and signe of Nobilitie, as of the stocke and Family wherunto they were giuen. For, they which obtayned *Statues* for their stocke and family, there was no doubt, but that they thereunto brought Nobilitie also. And I know not what greater or more excellent thing there was, then to haue the right and power to vse *Statues* and *Images*.

Plinie in his nine and thirtie Booke thus writeth; *Apud Maiores, Imagines in stirpis erant, quæ spectarentur, expressis cultus singulis dissonabantur armarijs, ut essent Imagines quæ comitarentur gentilia funera, semper, defuncto aliquo, totus aderat Familia eius qui nunquam fuerat populus. Stemmata vero lineis discurrebant ad Imagines pictas. Tablinæ vero codicibus implebantur, & monumentis rerum & magistratuum gestorum.* In the time of our Ancestours, *Images* and *Statues* were in their Courts to be seene, liuely counterfaits and portraictures were in all their Studies and Closets placed, to the end that there might bee still *Images*, to attend and set forth the Funerals of such as were to be buried of that stocke and Family. And alwayes, when any Gentleman of note and marke dyed, all the whole race of them that were then liuing of that house and Stocke, accompanied the dead corpes; and from their Armes, lines were drawne along vnto the painted *Images* of them whose Armes they

were. As for their Studies and Closets, they were full of Bookes and Records, testifying the Noble acts by them worthily performed, and the honourable Offices by them in the State & Common-weale borne and discharged, whilest they yet liued. Whereby it is declared, *Statues* and *Images* to haue bin rather the signes of some great Office well discharged, then of any Nobilitie. Neyther, that all the *Images*, of all that were of the stocke and race of them, to whom the right of *Images* belonged, were wont to be carried at the Funerall solemnities of their kinsmen, but onely the *Images* of them, who with great prayse and glorie, had borne and discharged some honourable Office, and who had of the *Senate* obtayned that right and priuiledge.

Vv herefore *Cicero* reckoneth vp this right of hauing *Images*, amongst the ornaments of Magistrates. Such as are, the *Gowne*, the *Senators Robe*, the *Chair of Estate*, and, to haue the preheminance to deliver his minde and opinion first: All which things passed not vnto their posteritie, so that they might vse the same in such sort as did the Nobility, of such as had bene *Consuls*, *Prators*, and such like: which the *Roman Lawes* would haue to descend vnto their Nephewes in these degrees; that as well the women, as the men, vnto the Nephewes sonne, should be accounted of the same dignitie that their Ancestors were of. In briefe, he that had brought the right of hauing of *Images* into his Family, is to be thought to haue done no more, but that his owne *Image* might be carried forth at his owne Funerall, and the Funerals of them of his owne stocke and Kindred; and not, that the *Images* of his posterity, should also in such Funerall solemnity be carried; but onely the *Images* of them who had gotten the like right. And these *Images* were kept at home in their houses, and were carried forth at the Funerals of them of their house and stocke, for an example of their Noble acts by them done. But concerning *Images* and *Statues*, many thus doe thinke, That they which had the *Images* of their Ancestours, were accounted and called *Ancient Noblemen*, and those which had but onely their owne *Images*, were reputed and called *New Noblemen*: but such, as had neither *Image* of their owne,

nor

T. 54
Statues.
Sic a causis.

nor of their Aunccestours, they were reputed as base and vnnoble. And yet they of the common sort of the people, having obtained the Offices (called *Curules*, or of the *Iury Chayre of Estate*) had also their *Images*. And thus much concerning the right of Images and Statues: Now will I againe returne vnto *Romulus*.

As *Romulus* had diuided the people into two degrees or orders (*viz.*) the order of the *Senators*, and of the *Common persons*, calling their Progeny *Patricios* and *Optimates* (or the Progeny of the *Fathers*, and of the *Nobility*) and the Progeny of the other *Plebeios* (or a Progeny descended from the vulgar and common sort of people) so diuided he their Offices and vocations also. Vnto the *Patricii* or such as descended of the *Senators*, hee left the liberrall professions (*viz.*) the bearing of Armes and Offices, the making of Sacrifices, the deciding of controuersies in Lawe, and the administration of all busineses belonging in publike vnto the citie and Commonweale: But to the *Common people* he left the bearing of Armes, also the tilling of the ground & the feeding of cattle: other base trades and occupations (not becomming free-men borne) he assigned vnto strangers, Marchandize, and seruile ministeries, he wholly committed vnto them.

The *Romaines* themselves, he would not haue to exercise any base trade, or laborious and painefull businesse; vnto whom hee forbade all vnhonest manner of gaine, for all such manner of gaining was thought vniuely vnto such as were *Fathers* in the Common-weale: neither in ancient time could one be chosen *Senator*, or one of the *Patricii*, but by an expresse Law, to that end and purpose propounded to the people, which was the greatest office belonging vnto a *King*, a *Consull*, or a *Dictator*. But in what things the *Patricii* were discerned from them of the common sort of the *People*, is by many examples tried: for the *Patricii* which excelled in Nobility, and which were honestly begotten and well brought vp, had a *Tablet* or *sewell* on their breasts, and little Moones on their feet, for they vfed *Iuory Buckles*, crooking horned wife, like vnto the *Moone*, which they say was ordained by *Numa*, that *Senators* and their posterity, should vnto their black shooes

tie Moones, as if by the Character of the *Moone*, the number of an hundred had bene designed and figured, in which number the *Senators* were then contained. But the *Tablet* they wore was of Gold, made in forme of an heart, where-with they of ancient time, are reported to haue also sealed their Letters: which *Tablet* free-borne boyes, and the sonnes of such as had serued on horse-backe, vfed to weare, together with the inbrodered Gowne called *Prætexta*, vntill they were seuentene yeares olde, which time expired, they then in a soleme feast hangd it vp vnto their household, or harth-gods, whom they called *Lares*. Euerie honourable and noble youth wore this *Prætexta* or inbrodered Gowne about his coat, but after child-hood past, this *Prætexta* being left off in the seuenteenth yeare, and sometime in the sixteenth, and fifteenth also, they put on the gowne (called *Toga virilis*) or *Mans Gowne*: that which was inbrodered with Purple, was wont to be giuen only to them whose fathers had borne the great Offices (called *Curules*) or some other great honors. The order of *Gentlemen*, and the *Common sort of People*, in ancient time did weare no Purple. The garment of the *Tribune of the People*, and of them of the *Communitie*, was a cloake, such as they called *Sagæ*, *Endromides*, and *Cuculli*, *Casocks*, *Mantles*, and *Clasques* with hoodes. But in succeeding times, the *Commoners* indeede did weare Purple, but yet different from that which the *Senators* wore (*viz.*) of a darke colour, and died with the iuyce of hearbs, and not with the right *Tyrian purple dye*. Beside that, the *Patricii*, by the institution of *Romulus* had the *Auspices* or offices of *Divination* belonging vnto them, and the *Senate* the offices of Priesthood. But this ordinance (saith *Dionysius*) continued not long, for that all things were made common with them of the *Communitie*. And lest any man should thinke the dignity of the *Patricii*, and of the *Senators* to be the same, *Tacitus* reporteth, the Emperour *Claudius* to haue selected out of the *Senate*, euerie one of the most ancient sort of the *Senators* into the number of the *Patricii*, there being now but a few left of those families which *Romulus* called *Maiorum*, and *Lucius Brutus*, *Maiorum Gentium*. But there is another thing

The wife of the
Prætexta, or
inbrodered
Gowne.

Sagæ,
Endromides,
Cuculli.

A Tablet
A little Moone

Why the *Romans* vfed the
Character of
the *Moone* on
their shooes.

where-

whereat thou wilt happily more maruell, which is, that the *Communitie* growing strong (as there was a passing ouer from the state of a *Commoner* vnto the degree of one of the *Patricii*) so diuerse of the *Patricii* also went ouer vnto the *Communitie*, and so became of their numbers. The election of the *Senators*, according to the alterations and changes of times, belonged sometimes vnto the *Kings*, afterward to the *Consuls*, and to the *Dictators*. After the *Kings* driuen out, we reade, the *Consuls* to haue chosen such of the *Patricii* as were decreed vnto them, and afterward some of the *Commoners* also to bee *Tribunes* of the *Souldiers* with *Consulary power*, vntill that it was by the Law provided, that the *Censors* should Warde by Warde make choice of them in the *Senate*. By and by after a substance was required for the creating of a *Senator*, and if he that was so chosen, did afterward waste and weaken his said substance, he lost also his order and degree.

Wherefore it is manifest the *Romaine Nobilitie* to haue bene established in the dignity of the *Patricii*, and of the *Senators*, which not to haue bene denied vnto the Order of *Gentlemen*, we gather of that which followeth, although some others be of other opinion. *Dionysius* affirmeth, three hundred *Gentlemen* to haue bene chosen by *Romulus*, out of the most honourable Families, tenne out of euery Warde. Some of the *Gentlemen* were such as serued vpon a publike horse, altogether in the Citie; other some of them were such as serued vpon a priuate horse in the Armie abroad. The publike horse the *Censor* appoynted, and publike Horse-men, or *Gentlemen*, he created, as well out of them that were descended from the *Senators*, as out of the *Communitie*, who at length were for their substance created also, as were the *Senators*. But a *Gentilemans* substance was foure hundred thousand *Scitricies*, which being consumed and spent, the reputation and dignitie of a *Gentleman*, therewith took end also. *Isidore* writeth, That although a man were by birth a *Senator* sonne, yet vntill he came to lawfull yerres, he was but a *Roman Gentleman*, & so afterward came into the order of the *Senators*. *Livy* bringeth in *Perseus* King of *Macedon*, thus speaking. *Equites Romani*

principis inuentus, Equites Seminarium Senatus, inde lectos in paruum numerum Consules, inde imperatores creant. The *Romaine Gentlemen* (saith he) are the Princes of the youth, the *Gentlemen* are the *Seminarie* of the *Senate*, out of them being chosen into the number of the *Fathers*, they create their *Consuls*, out of them they create their *Generals*. The *Romaine Gentlemen* did weare the *Robe of Estate*, neither could any man be of the order of the *Gentlemen* of Rome, but that hee must be free-borne. Wherefore, to be a *Romain Gentleman*, was somewhat a greater matter, then simply to be a free man borne. Yet *Pliny* hath written, the wearing of Rings, to haue inserted and put a middle and third Order into the *People*; and them to haue begonne to be euerie where renowned, and to haue diuided the other Order from the vulgar sort of *People*, or the *Communitie*; as if hee should haue said, The *Gentlemen* at the first to haue bene *Commoners*, but afterward to haue been men of better note & make: which according to the words of *Isidore* before recited, may seeme to be compared vnto the *Senators* children, who were accounted among the *Equites* or *Gentlemen*, vntill they came vnto the *Senators* age.

In the question of *Nobilitie*, not onely the ignorant, but euen the learned also, much erre, whilst that they agree not vpon the proper signification of these words, *Eugenia*, *Nobilitas*, *Generosus*, *Nobilis*, *Ingenus*, *Gentilis*; that is, Honour of birth, *Nobility*, a *Gentleman*, a *Nobleman*, a man free borne, a *Gentleman*, For while they interpret *Eugenia* the Greeke word, *Nobilitas* in Latine, (and with vs *Nobility*) the more generall word is brought in place and steed of the more particular: or as the *Logicians* vfe to say, *Genus pro Specie*. For why, *Eugenia* or honour of Birth, is but the one kinde of *Nobilitie*, called *Naxtine*, (and not all kinde of *Nobilitie*) requiring a certaine antiquitie of stocke, of riches, and of vertues as *Aristotle* would haue it) whose words are these: *Non diuites, neque boni, sed qui à virtutibus, diuitiis, vel antiquis bonis descendunt. Eugenes sunt habendi*: Not the rich men onely, neyther the good men alone, but they which haue descended from Vertues, Riches, and good Aunccestors, are

to

A Senators
substance.

A publike
horse.

A Senators
sonne, vntill he
came to be of
lawfull yerres
accounted but
a Gentleman
of Rome.

Eugenior
Nobilitas
birth.

to be accounted *Noblemen borne*.

Nobility of birth, which is called *Eugenias*, is of *Ofortus* defined: *Splendor vel dignitas generis in quo maxima virtutes existerunt vita Communi salutaris & commodas*. The lustre or dignity of stocke, wherein most great vertues have flourished, wholesome and commodious for the common vse of mans life. Which *Ofortus* affirmeth, to be as it were subiect to rottennesse, and with olde age to be able to be consumed and ended. But this rule is not in our Court received. *Symon Symonensis* in these words reprooveth *Ofortus*, his name being concealed, or else some other man of the same opinion with him. *Supine loquuntur qui aium quendam summa Senectus mentis vini & consilium debilitat, sic etiam Nobilitas splendorem medietate vetustate auget, extrema vero Senectus conficit*. They speake ydly (saith he) which say, that as great old age doth weaken the force & iudgement of the minde, so also, the glory and lustre of *Nobilitie* to be with moderate antiquitie encreased, but yet to be with extreme olde age extinguished. For as the similitude (saith he) agreeth not, so neyther doth it well conclude: For the more auncient that a Stocke or Family is, by so much the credit and reputation thereof is greater. And yet hee the sayde *Simon* forgetting himselfe in another place stumbleth at the same stone, by setting bounds and limites vnto the same *Eugenias*, or *Native Nobilitie*, and by decreeing that a long and continuat race of Noble Progenitours, in whom great vertues have oftentimes shined vnto the number of three discenes, doth make a true Noble Stocke, or *Eugenias*. And that the beginning of a Stocke or Familie, is no further to be deriued, then from the fourth Predecessor, left in searching further, euen *Kings* themselves (as saith *Plato*) should be deriued from *Slaves*, or *Slaves from Kings*.

Of this *Eugenias* or *Native Nobilitie*, all ages haue best thought, but yet so, as that all the right of *Nobilitie* should vpon it be ground: for a man may be Noble, although he be no *Eugenias*, or from *Nobles* descended; yea, he may be more honourable then he which is so descended, although not so auncient a *Gentleman*. As a new made Earle, compared with an

Esquire of a most auncient Family. As *Agathocles*, of a Porter made a King. What was *Romulus*? VVhat was *Tullus Hostilius*? And what was *Turquinius Priscus*?

But let vs now come to search out the signification of the aforesaid words: The *Romans* diuided their People into *Free-men* and *Slaves*; of *Free-men*, some were of Bond-slaves made *Free-men* (whom they called *Libertini*) other-some, were *Free-men borne*, (whom they called *Ingeniti*.) The *Libertini* were Citizens of Rome, who were three wayes manumitted or made free; that is to say, by Will or Testament, or in the open Congregation or assembly of the people, or before some publique *Magistrate* which had power so to doe. And hereupon happily in auncient time, when as this our Kingdome was much oppressed with seruile state and condition, the word *Franklin*, for a man made free, or enfranchised, was in vse, except you had rather it to haue beene vsed, for a *Free-borne-man*.

But they were called *Ingeniti*, or *Free-borne-men*, who neyther themselves, neither their Auncestors had euer serued as *Slaves*. And their Auncestors they reckoned vp, euen from their Grand-father, which is euident by these words of *Linus*. *An vquam fando audistis Patricios primos esse factos non a Carlo dimissos, sed qui patrem Cicere Auumque possint?* Did you euer heare it spoken, the *Fathers* to haue beene first made, and not sent downe from Heauen; but such as could reckon vp their Father and Grand-father: that is to say, nothing but *Free-borne-men*.

Freedom of birth, opened a way vnto all degrees of Honours, which (euen as *Politick Nobilitie*) was eyther *Native*, or *Dative*; that is to say, by birth, or by gift. *Dative Freedom* was by certayne *Magistrates* giuen, and at length onely by Princes themselves, and that two manner of wayes, the one secretly and not so plainly, by the gift of a *Ring*, the other more expressly by name and perfectly, by restoring of men to their birth or blood. And whereas men of seruile condition were but by one name called and knowne, *Free-borne-men*, and *Men of free estate* and condition, had two or more names. And the name which they tooke from their Stocke or Familie, is called *Gentile*.

Of Free-men
some were
freemen, &
some were
Free with
bond.

A braille.

Ingeniti
freedome
birth.

The name
Gentiles
taken from
the stocke or
family a man
cometh of.

Gentile, or proper to them of that race or kindred. And yet it is to be noted, names giuen by chance, sometime to become proper to a stocke or family. As *Tullius* was a name proper & peculiar to a Family, but *Cicero* was a name gotten by chance, and signified of the Pulle called *Cicer*, (or the *Ciclope*) the forme whereof one of that family had vpon the end of his nose, who thereof was first so surnamed: but that same name of *Cicero* began to be *Gentile* or proper to that Family, as to *Cicero the Orator*, to his Brother, and to their posterity. *Tully* in his *Tropicks* defineth, *Gentiles esse qui eodem inter se sunt nomine, qui ab Ingenitis oriundi sunt, quorum Maiorum nomen seruitutem seruerit: qui Capite non sunt dimitti*, them to be *Gentiles* (or of the same stocke and family) which are among themselves of the same name descended of *Free-borne-men*, none of whose Auncestors had serued as *slaves*, or had beene condemned to loose their liberty, state, or Country.

They which were called *Gentiles* (or of the same stocke or family) were of necessity to bee descended from *Ingeniti* or *Free-borne-men*; for that of *Slaves*, and of them whom they called *Libertini* or men of *slaves* made free, there is no stock or family. Wherefore, the right of *Gentility*, or of hauing of a Stocke and Familie, although it was different from *Nobility*, yet is it not to be doubted, but that it was in great esteeme & reuerence among the *Romans*, and to them, to haue aboue all things desired to bee called *Gentiles*, as men that had beene descended from some good stocke or kindred. And that desire hath euen yet vnto this day possessed all Italy.

For among the *Venitians* they are called *Gentilhomini*, who deriue their stock from the first Inhabitants of that Island; and which are themselves *Patricy*, or descended from the *Senators*. And that word *Gentilhomie*, as it were by hand deliuered from the *Italians* to the *Frenchmen*; from the *Frenchmen* remoued to vs; and at the length, together with the new place of dwelling, hath begunne to put a new signification, differing from that which *Gentilis* or *Gentiles* was of, amongst the auncient *Romans*.

For it is false which some, & they learned also, haue deliuered, *Gentilitie* to haue

been proper onely vnto the *Patricians*: for why, it was common vnto the vulgar sort of the people (as was *Ingenity* it selfe) which appeareth by this one place of *Strabonius*. *Patricia gens Claudia (sunt etiam & alia plebeia nec potentia minor nec dignitate) ortu est in Regibus*. The *Clavian* stocke and family, of the order of the *Patricy*, (for there was another house of them also of the Commonalty, neither in power nor in dignity inferior to the other) rise vp at *Regills*. But they seeme to haue beene deceived, by that which *Linus* writeth, *Romulus* to haue created an hundred *Senators*, which he called *Minorum gentium* (or of the greater families) and *Brutus* another hundred also, called *Minorum gentium* (or of the lesser families.) But this proueth not, that we must therefore grant, only them of the order of the *Patricy*, to haue had a stocke and family; neither did this so calling of them, *Minorum* and *Minorum gentium*, diuide them from the common people, but the felices among themselves only; for that, whereas they were all chosen of *Free-borne-Citizens* (and which had their stocke and family) yet such of the as *Romulus* had created, brought the honour of the order of the *Patricy* sooner into their stocke and family, then did they whom *Brutus* had freed vnto them. They are also called *Gentiles*, who in likeness of name agree among themselves (although there be no kindred amongst them at all.)

Among the *Athenians* they were called *Gentis*, that is to say, *Gentiles*, not they which were ioyned among themselves in stocke or blood, but were of those sort of people, who diuided into *Wardes*, grew into a certaine society and fellow ship among themselves. For among the *Athenians* there were foure Tribes, and euery Tribe was diuided into three *Wardes*, which made twelue *VVardes*. And euery *VVarde* was diuided into thirty parts, which they called *Gentes* or Kinreds. But againe to the purpose.

VVhy a stock or family among the *Romans* is to be deriued from the Grand-father, neyther could consist but in two at the least (viz.) the grandfather and the father: Some thinke the reason thereof to be, for that the *Latins* word *Gens* signifieth a multitude, which requieth mo then one: and yet *Gens* seemeth to be called, as

it were *Genus* (that is to say a stock or kindred) the Letter V. being taken away. Howbeit these two words differ, the one of them from the other, for that *Genus* significeth a stocke and beginning; but *Genus* importeth as it were a certain multitude of Stockes, and of beginnings of Families and Houses.

Ingeniously
th grace
therefrom
Nature.

Ingenity, or freedom of birth, had the Ornaments thereof from nature, and had respect vnto liberty, which is still denied from the Grand-fathers. But *Gentility* was a matter of the ciuill Law, and was referred vnto the ancientness of *Agnation* (or kindred by the fathers side) differing from the other onely in antiquity of stocke: for it is not needfull to deriue or take *Agnation* farther then from the Father.

Altho it be so, then *Gentility* and *Nobility* are all one and the same thing. And they confound *Gentility* (whereof the common people no lesse want and boast, then doe the *Noblemen*) with *Nobility*: which deny him to be a Noble-man by birth, but he whose Grandfather was *Noble* neither agree they with themselves, when they dare to affirme (but by what authority I knowe not) *Nobility* together with the seed of the Parents to be passed ouer vnto their posterity, according vnto that saying of *Mantuan*:

*Qui vult in solij venit à radicibus humo:
Et patrum in natos abeant cū semine mores.*

The beauty of the fairest branch,
doth from the roote proceede;
And so the Fathers manners do
in their off-spring abide.

And otherwise out of *Horace*:

*Est in Inuencu, est in equis patrum
Virtus: neq; imbellem feroces
Progenant Aquila Columba.*

In Bullockes, and in Horses eke,
the Syres worth we proue:
Nor doth the hardy Eagle hatch,
the weake and fearefull Doue.

By which Analogies, the learned Poets verily went about to stirre vp Noble and courageous youths, to the imitating of their Fathers vertues, being otherwise not ignorant *Nobility* whereof we intreat to be a thing ciuill or *Political*, & not naturall. And indeed of vnreasonable creatures, there be diuers kinds, but of men there is but one sort. VVherefore, as an

Eagle bringeth not forth a Doue, so neither doth a man beget a Hare. But admit that good men are begotten of good Parents, and valiant men, of valiant fathers. But if this be vnto mankind proper, why are not good and valiant children begotten by good and valiant common persons also? or why, they are men as well as the other, but nothing is then this rule more deceitfull. For through the corruption of mans nature, we see it oftentimes to happen, an vnthrifty sonne to be born of a thrifty Father: a foolle, to be begotten of a wise man; a Coward, of a valiant man. Neither is this now any noueltie or new matter, but such as tooke roote euen in the first corruption of our Nature. For accursed *Caine* was the first begotten sonne of *Adam*, a most good father, and of him the same was good *Abel* begotten. *Jacob* also and *Esaú*, were the two iunior of a most blessed father: of which two, God loved the one, and hated the other. And if there be any thing of great operation, which is passed ouer together with mans feede, it is altogether vice; so farre off is it from being of any vertue, which is euer with Labour and study begotten, but born neuer. An Emperour (as *Ferretus* writeth) for his bodily substance is no better then other men; and yet for the highnes of his dignity, is most like vnto God. *Demosthenes* saith also, wicked Sonnes (as it were) by a certaine fatall destinie) to be borne of good Parents. It is also commonly saide in the Greeke Prouerbe, *The misfortunes of the Worthies sonnes*. VVhat should I produce the *Mathematicians* and *Astrologers*, which affirme *Nobility* much more certainly to depend of the force and influence of the starres, then of the constitution of parents.

And yet the vulgar sort, and not without cause, vseth to expect some greater thing in Princes children, then in poore mens; of which their hope and expectation, there are many causes alledged, as the great means Noblemen haue, for the best bringing vp and instructing of their children (for it is a shame vnto the sonne if he shoulde degenerate from his Father, being a Nobleman.) In briefe, the plenty of Kinsmen and Friends giuing the good Counsell. Neither was the Poets minde any other, if you marke his conclusion.

Do

Alde quod n-
gimus didicisse
filiis artes:
Nobilitas mores
sunt facit esse
fida.

Doctrina sed vim promouet iustom;
Recti quoque alius pectora roborant.

Instruction, helps Dame Natures powres,
And teaching, strengthens those minde of ours.

By Natures ingrafted or hidden power, hee vnderstandeth certayne feedes of vertues, which by the goodness of God alone, are yet in mans Nature, which become not otherwise fruitfull then do the feedes of Hearbs, according vnto the manner and fashion that they are manured & ordered with; so that a man well brought vp, may much more easily obtayne Philosophicall Nobilitie, then can a man that hath bene well borne.

Wherefore poore Countrey-mens Children, who know nothing more then their beasts and cattell, seeme rather to be rude *Silvans* then men. Whereas others, borne in better place, euen in the same Schooles, and in the same Studies, striue with Noble-mens Children, and would to God they did not so do, both with greater profit and praise.

Other reasons yet remaine, which proue *Political Nobility* not to be a thing substantiall, but meere accidentall: for why, it may be both present and absent, without the corruption of the subject whereof it dependeth; so that the passage thereof may be letted by some heynous offence committed. It is also lost by voluntary departing or relinquishing of the same (when as Nature in the meane while cannot be thrust away with a forcke) which wee reade to haue bene done, of many of the Romaine *Patricijs*, who refusing their *Patriciat* dignity, took on them the state and condition of the vulgar sort, or Commoners. Now many, through the Lawyers termes, are in this matter deceived, who call the extinguishing of Nobility for some offence committed, *The corruption of blood*: which manner of phrase and speech, they vse not, for that *Nature Nobility* is naturally and essentially in the humour of blood, more than other hereditarie facultie, but because the right of inheritance, which is by the degrees of the communication of blood directed, is by that means determined or ended, & in hatred of the crime, it is called *Corruption*, with the infection whereof, all their children are polluted and defiled.

Neither can a stronger argument be

devised, to proue *Nobility* not to be mingled with the blood, then that the *Nobility* of the Grandfather ennobled not his nephew by his son, condemned to lose his liberty, state, or country. Of which this ciuill institution, a naturall reason is giuen; to wit, for that an vnable mean leteeth & hindereth the extreame to be ioyned together. But yet it was wont to be demanded with vs, no otherwise the it was long agoe with the ancient Romans, whether the nobility of the father being a *Senator*, do profit his son, being borne before his father had obtained that dignity? And whether such Nobility in the son, be *Nature* or *Dative*? Whereunto I answer, The child by our custome, to be immediately by his fathers nobility ennobled, & their children, like the boughes of a tree, removed into a richer ground, are green & flourish with the same new moysture that the bodie of the tree doth. And such Nobility hath deferred to be called *Nature*, for that it extendeth not but to them, which are borne of such a father. As for example: A Baron, being honored with the title of an Earle, his first begotten son forthwith taketh vnto him the title of some *Barony*, and all his daughters are saluted *Ladies* and *Princesses*.

Wherefore we conclude *Nature nobility* to be drawne from the father, & not to be needfull for vs to seek for it further: for it may be, that sometime it canot be deriued from the grandfather, as in case that some great offence of the father come betwixt: for a man borne of a noble father, is without all doubt by descent noble. But if anie man wil contend him, not properly to be *Eugenus* or nobly descended; I answer, the common sort of people most of all, do respect the same, but the *Iudicial Court* to haue thereof no care at all. For otherwise some new Princes should be of lesse *Nobility*, then some meane Noblemen, if the priuileges of Nobility should be bestowed, after the ballance of proper and true *Eugenia*. Adde moreouer, that if true *Eugenia* should be vrged, it requirerth not only our great grandfathers grandfathers, but euen all the rest of our ancestors in continuall order, after them to be *Noble*, fith, profitable for the Common-weale, good me, & without spot or imputation.

An hard speech indeed, but an harder rule, and a consequence, of all most

Rr 2 hardest:

Nature Nobility is not necessarily to be deriued farther then from the father.

hardest: Such a noble descended person, is a rare Bird, and yet some such there be: but concerning that matter, heare *Aristotles* opinion. *Eugenis*, verily (saith he) I haue found but in few, and no where an hundred good *Eugenis*. Wherefore the Athenians called their Noblemen by more vsuall words, *Eupaterios* and *Empetrides*, as who should say, *Men borne of Noble fathers*: although I do know these words to be oftentimes confounded with the word *Eugenis*.

It to be no hard thing to affirme, that Nobility may be deriued from the mother.

I haue frankly affirmed Nobilitie to descend from the father to the children; and what if I should say the same force to be in the Mothers nobilitie also? Surely, both reason and the opinions of Doctors, and ancient customes also, will be present for the defence of this cause. If Nobility draw any thing naturall at all from the Parents, almost the whole constitution of the Childe, is to be giuen vnto the Mother. It hath also such shape (if we may beleue Philosophers) as the Mother conceiue, together with the feede. For first, it taketh life from the Mother, it taketh likewise nourishment of and from the Mother, encreasing from the Mother; and in briefe, by the consent of all men, it, together with spirit and vitall humour draweth from the mother, affections, Vertues and vices. And that such power is in the Mother, it is manifest by the precepts of Philistians, who command Parents to be most careful to what Nurses they put their children to be nursed. In briefe, if the vertue of the Father be in the children to be reuerenced, why should not the Mothers be so also? The manner of the Sex, doth neither diminish nor encrease Nobilitie, which is for it selfe to be desired. Nay, in tender women it seemeth to haue both more admiration and grace.

It is of a certayne Lawyer well written; That amongst the causes for which the honour and dignitie of persons, is encreased or diminished, that is of others the lightest, which is drawne from the difference of the Sexe: *Vlpianus* reporteth, the sunnes of the women of the *Illyenses*, of *Delphos*, and of *Pontus*, to haue bene assigned vnto the houses of their Mothers, and not of their Fathers. *Plutarch* writeth, that amongst the *Xanthi*, the Sons were ingrafted into the stocke

and family of their Mothers, and from them the name of the stocke and kindred to be deriued, and not from their Fathers. The same thing *Herodotus* reporteth of them of *Licia*: as that they should take the name and credite of their stocke and kindred from their Mothers, and that he was with them a free-borne-man, and Noble, that was borne of a free-borne-woman, and Noble; although his Father were a Slaue or base common person; yea, and by the Lawes of the *Romaines*, the Sonnes in some cases follow the beginning of their Mothers. Neyther is it a thing vnheard of with vs, nor with other Nations, Sonnes to haue taken vnto themselves, names from their Mother, which were of greater nobility than their Fathers; as *Rainatus de Clara*. *Spartianus* and *Trebellius Pollio*, haue written, *Matricianus* or *Matrinus*, to haue bene by his Mother noble, his Father being but onely a valiant and martiall man. You may also with *Cornelius Tacitus* reade this sentence: *Iam depulso Nerone, quisnam eligeretur inquirebant, & omnium ore Rubellius Plancus, cui Nobilitas per matrem ex Iulia familia. Nero* being now deposed, great inquiry was made, who should be chosen, and *Rubellius Plancus* was in euery mans mouth, who was nobly borne by the mothers side of the *Iulian* Family. And from these, *Virgil*, *Ouid*, and *Statius* *Papinius* disagree not, whose verses I haue thought good here to set downe.

VIRG.

Genus huius maternis superbum
Nobilitas dabit: incertum de Patre feretur.
His Mothers noble birth, to him did giue a noble race,
For by his fathers side he was, born but obscure & base.

OVID.

Et quoque per matrem Cylenonen addita nobis
Altera Nobilitas.

And by my Mother *Cylenonis*,
Is doubled my Nobilitie.

IDEM.

Nixit cui *Euxander*, qui quoniam clarus streque,
Nobilitas sine, sanguine matris erat,
From hence did old *Euxander* come, who though he noble
By both sides, yet by Mothers blood, more noble did
(appeare)

PAPINIUS.

Sed quicquid patrio cessatum est sanguine, mater
Reddidit, obferoque huius clarioris erat
e omnis quoque domus.
Stemmate materno iulio, virtute paterno.

What

What wanted in the Fathers blood, the Mothers did requite the same; And the base house reioyced much, by such a match to grow to fame. By Mothers Stocke accounted blest. And Fathers vertues with the best.

Now the Reason which many Doctors bring, to proue the Sonne to be partaker of his Fathers Nobilitie, is this; *Eugenis* thing compound, partaketh of the forme and matter which agreeth to both the parents. Wherefore, where the Law repugneth not with reason, this rule is to bee holden for true.

And now concerning Nobilitie Datine (or by birth) I haue thus much spoken: and from hence I will directly proceede vnto Nobilitie Datine, or to Nobility which commeth by gift.

CHAP. V.

¶ The diuers beginnings of Nobilitie Datine.

Being about to search out the other kinde of Political or Civil Nobilitie (viz.) Nobilitie Datine, and that euen from the first beginning thereof, certayne things before sayde, seeme heere necessarily to be againe to be called vnto remembrance. Their argument is first to be refused, which say: That seeing *Adam* was a common Father vnto all men, whereof commeth it, that one man should be better then another? It is thereunto answered out of the same Olde Testaments, out of which the question is risen, being of the like Authority and credite both with the Christians and the Iewes. *Noah* when he had planted a Vineyard, and had tasted of his planting, hauing drunke of the wine, lay drunken and bare in his Tent. And *Cham* seeing the priuities of his father, tolde it to his brethren, who upon a naturall honestie and vertue, with a Cloake cast upon their shoulders covered their sleeping father with their eyes turned from him, and not

seeing their Fathers nakednesse. But *Noah* awaked, and knowing what his younger sonne had done vnto him, he cursed *Cham*, commanding him to be a slave of all Ianes. By this shamefull and vnworthie fact, *Cham* with all his generation, carryed away his Fathers curse, feruitude, and the Title of obscure and base persons; whereas contrary-wise, *Sem* and *Japhet* found all the Names and Titles of Honestie, Nobilitie, and Vertue, and their Fathers blessing withall.

The Datine Nobilitie, whereof our present speech is, was for many causes raysed and inuented. And first of all, vpon vrgent necessitie. For when as euill and wicked men preuailed, and good and honest men were oppressed: it was necessarie the good to be distinguished from the badde, and for the preservation of the publique tranquillity, to be seperated and diuided from them: wherefore, wise, iust, and vertuous men, and the lights, as it were, of the world, shining before others, were set ouer the rest, that they might bee vnto all men an example of godlie and honest life, that they might decide and determine all things. And at that time such wise men and prouiders for the Common-weale seemed by vertue to procure vnto themselves Nobilitie. For the olde Prouterbe preuailed with them: Vertue, and not blood to ennoble men. Such men were by the People called, chosen, & appointed Counsellors and Iudges, who by their subiects were elected and created Kings and Princes. And they, which for their worthy deeds had obtained such honorable Titles and Offices, ennobled both themselves and their posterity.

Another cause also why Nobilitie began to be honoured, was the Ignorance & vnskillinesse of the vulgar and Common sort of people, who haue their fence, reason and vnderstanding so dispersed and scattered, as that they cannot gather, discern, or iudge any thing certaine, firme, or sound. Wherefore, for the maintenance of the publique peace and tranquillity, it was necessarie to make choice of Princes (that is to say, of Gouvernours) men, for their vertue and wisdom, famous and Noble, who might compose and set in order the troubled estates, for lacke of knowledge disordered, and

N. call to the cause of the state.

The ignorance of the vulgar and common sort.

Rr 3 with

Wealth and riches.

Nobilitie.

Men immediately by God called vnto Nobilitie.

Knowledge in martiall affaires.

with singular wisdom, and action, as it were by a certaine cunning, drawe the rude people vnto a more ciuill kinde of life, and courtesie of behauiour: such as were *Iupiter, Pallus, Ceres, Bacchus, Apollo*, and many others. And these men, by their wisdom, vertue, and skill, obtained not onely the Titles of Nobilitie and Dignity, but were of the vnskillfull multitude, accounted for gods also, and receiued from them euen diuine honors.

We see *Nobilitie* to haue risen also, of the abundance of wealth and riches: for many pinched with extreme poutie, enforced to hang vpon the richer sort, and giuing themselves altogether ouer into their power, repured them for *Noblemen*, and for such, both esteemed of them, and honoured them.

Nobilitie also beganne of Noble and worthy acts done; for in auncient time, when as Nations were by their enemies oppressed, if any valiant and courageous man had from such oppression deliuered his Country, he therefore was about other men worthily honoured. Many also in auncient time by Martiall prowesse obtained *Nobilitie*, and therefore of the people accounted Noble: as was *Dauid* for the death of *Goliath* the *Philistine*. Some, immediately from God were elected and called vnto Nobilitie, as *Iosua, Gedeon, Iephth*, and the rest of the *Iudges of Israel*, who were Generalls ouer great Armies: other some, were againe by God chosen euen from the Plough, to be rulers ouer the people, as the Princes of the twelve Tribes of *Israel*. King *Saul* called out of the field; *Dauid* from feeding of his flock, who thought themselves vterly vnworthy of such a princely calling. But such as God hath ennobled, are of vs about all others to be accounted most noble.

Yea, no small part, but euen the greater part of *Datiue Nobilitie*, gained vnto themselves honor and glory by their skill in martiall affaires, carrying home with them victory and triumph ouer their enemies; so as did *Horatius Cocles, Titus Manlius, Scipio Africanus*, and his brother *L. Scipio Asiaticus*: I speake not of great Emperours, such as were *Vespasian, Domitian, Nerva, Traian, Antonius, Senerus, Theodosius*, and many others, who were part of them accounted *Fathers of their Country*; part of them *Benefactors*, but

all of them best *Princes*, whose Images are vpon their Coines, euen yet carried about, and publique Statues were in the honour of them, with certaine solemn Ceremonies erected, to the intent that all others with their valour and vertue, should with their deedes, as it were, in striuing-wise, aspire and grow vnto the like glory.

Others also, borne of most base and low condition, who by Armes in time of warres, for their wisdom and courage, haue beene promoted to be great Emperours, *Casars, Dukes, Princes and Earles*: as were *Tullius Hostilius, Numma Pompilius, Tarquinus Priscus, Iulius Caesar, Octavianus Augustus*, and such other like, from hence, tooke the beginning of the Titles of their vertues. For certaine it is, at the first vnder the *Roman Empire*, when as they had subdued the *Germanes, Italians, the Spaniards, the Britains, the Gauls*, and other most mighty kingdoms, *Dukes, Earles, and Barons*, not then to haue bin in such sort, as now they be, but from thence to haue afterward spring vp and risen. All their Offices were executed by *Tribunes and Lieutenants*. There was a greater *Tribune*, who was next vnto the Emperour and his succellour. There was also a great Officer called *Tribunus Celerum, Lieutenant of the Armie*, of the light armed and most readie Souldiers. Those which with a *Cohort*, or band of men, were the Keepers, and had the guarding of the Emperours person, and they among the *Romans*, which were of the first Order, next after the Emperour, were called *Tribuni Celerum*, as they were long agoe in the time of *Romulus*, and of the other fixe kings succeeding him.

The great Officers, called *Magistri Equitum*, or *Maisters of the Horsemen*, had like power with the *Dictators*, and with the Emperors, as *Lucius Feneftella, Pomponius Latius de Magistratibus Romanorum*: and also *Flauius Vegetius*, and *Marcus Cicero* doe, intreating of Martiall affaires, describe. But *Pomponius Latius* writeth *Romulus* to haue called the General of an army, whom the *Germanes* call *Hertzogen Tribunus Celerum*. Salust in his Treatise concerning the Conspiracie of *Cateline*, hath called them *Dictatores*, & *Imperatores*; that is, *Dictators* & *Emperors*. Beside that, Great Magistrates called

Magnanimity and wisdom.

Præfetti Prætorio, were of so great credit and authority, as if appeale had bin made from their sentence, they might againe appeale from the Emperour vnto the *Præfetti Prætorio*. For most wise, good, and iust men, by the Emperours chosen out, were created *Præfetti Prætorio*, vnto who they were wont to commit almost the whole estate of the Common-weale. The Emperour *Senerus* granted many things vnto the Great Officers called *Præfetti urbis*, and *Præfetti Prætorio*, of all which, heere to speake, were but needlesse. For heere we speake onely of the authority of the *Præfetus Prætorio* (or Captain of the Guard) which the Emperour onely gaue vnto him, who is the chiefe, liuely, and very essentiall Law it selfe: who were of power to thrust Citizens into exile, and to restore them vnto their estate againe. Whereby it is most euident, Princes and Governours of People to haue had the power and authority of the sword, to punish the offenders, and to administer Iustice: whereby they were afterward thought to procure and get a great name of Nobility, both vnto themselves, and to their posterity: and right probable it is, the authority of Princes and Dukes to haue first risen of the *Tribuni* and *Præfetti*: which Princes, at such time as the *Romane Emperours* removed out of *Germany & Italy* into *Greece*, are read to haue taken vnto themselves the Imperiall power: which authority and regall priuiledges wee see (euen at this day) by Kings and Emperors to bee granted vnto Dukes and Princes: so that the election of Princes & Dukes dependeth not of their Subjects (as doth the election of Kings) but is Datiue, as of gift, to be referred vnto the fauour and bounty of the Emperours and Kings, to whom they haue bene subiect. And in the former times, the names of Duke and Prince were names of Offices, and not of Honours and Dignities. And so in the times of the *Romans*, the *Roman Kings*, their *Dictators* and *Consuls*, & also their Emperours, were in the administration of their ciuill affaires, all martiall men, both horfemen and footmen.

But beside these great Offices of the *Tribuni* and *Præfetti*, there were other publique offices and charges; some called *Ordinarij*, for that they kept orders in the army, and stood in the front of the bat-

taile. Those in the time of *Augustus*, were wont to be called *Augustales*: and of *Fl. Vespasianus, Flauiales*: some called *Aquiliferi*, carrying an Eagle in their Ensignes, and other some called *Imaginary*, bearing the ensigne of the common or generall Army of the people of *Rome* notable with the Letters, *S.P.Q.R.* that is to say, *Senatus Populus Que Romanus*: or the Senate and people of *Rome*, whom wee can more fitly compare vnto none, then to our Standard or Ensigne-Bearers.

But if wee would heere prosecute all things in order, this Treatise should without measure encrease. But now in this place wee onely goe about, slightly as it were to shew the beginnings of Noble Dignities & Offices, least any man should suspect them to be but altogether things faigned, and vpon no reason grounded. Rehearsing these things in the mean time by the way, that when we shall come vnto our owne age, it may appeare, how much Powers, Dominions, and Nations differ among themselves. For they who in auncient times were vnder kings and emperours appointed Governours ouer Regions and Countries, are now become hereditary possessors thereof: & they which before were but Noble Ministers or Seruants, are now become absolute Nobles.

Beside that, in the mean time it most plainly appeareth of that which is aforesaid, that the kindred, stocke, and descent of the Nobility in former ages flourished and became famous onely for vertue, noble actes, and valour of minde. And that Vertue being set apart, wee are all forasmuch as concerneth mans nature, the sonnes of *Adam*. Wherefore, according to the rule of Theologicall or Philosophicall Nobility (whereunto our Ancestors especially addicted themselves) to boast of Nobility by birth, without vertue, was but a vaine thing.

*Nam gentis & Proasos & que non fecimus ipsi,
Vix ea nostra duco.*

For our proud Stocke and Pedigree, and things we did not make, VVee scarce reckon them for our owne, or for our owne them take.

VVherefore wee pray and exhort all men,

men, that forasmuch as vertue commeth not by inheritance, every man would endeavour himselfe, of himselfe to become Noble. For they which otherwise vaunt and boast of Nobility, seeme only honouers of vertue, vpon another mans credite, and liue not by their owne, seeing that they be rather base persons, bearing themselves brag, vpon another mans vertue. But for the most part quite out of order, so the fashion and manner of the world now is. For what cannot flattery, the fauour of Princes, and too much indulgency do, and bring to passe.

PARERGON.



It is sufficiently manifest, by that which is aforesaid, what the iudgment of my Friend and Vncle Robert Glouer was, concerning Politicall Nobility in ancient time, amongst the Gen-

tiles: which Philosophers heeretofore, haue fer forth to vs. as a wauering thing, (and Diuines as a thing vncertaine) whilst they in speaking thereof omitted the Ciuill Rights of persons.

It were verily to be wished, that the ornaments of vertue should euery where be conferred and bestowed vpon none, but vpon such, as in whom vertue it selfe resereth: for that as the encreasing of honor, so the credite and reputation thereof also, is propounded to be gotten, not by ambition, but by industry. But seeing that Politicall Nobility is another thing, whereof there be diuers beginnings, and those of such sort and condition, as maketh in euery man that hath them, a beginning and excellency proper and peculiar to themselves: it is from the rest of the kindes of Nobility (viz. Theological and Philosophicall) by this only difference distinguished, that whilst they rest onely vpon Religion and Vertue, this Ciuill Nobility resteth vpon the custome of Nations.

In the prosecuting whereof, for that he finished not the same, I verily tooke it most grieuously: for many things seemed to me to be therein wanting, which might much haue concerned the matter: As the

peculiar forme of enebling of men, vsed in euery kingdome apart, and especially in this Empire and Island, as the very method and order of the worke seemed to me to make shew of. But forasmuch as he in his life time perfected not these things: For,

—*Absolut clarum cito mors Achillem.*—

Vntimely death soone tooke away
Achilles, and clos'd him in clay.

Least *Tenuiss* head being onely by *Aepelles* perfected, the body being not yet drawne, the whole worke in the meane time altogether imperfect or deformed, should lye neglected and vnregarded, I thought it a thing worth the labour, to supply that defect, with such things as hereafter follow: to the intent, that at length amongst others, I might in fewe words, and as it were at a glimpse, itew what orders of Nobility are with vs also: what Rites and Ceremonies are vsed in promoting of men vnto the degrees of Nobility, that from hence the forme of creating of the being before vnderstood, I might afterward with greater fruit, and fuller pleasure, come vnto the persons themselves, with their families, marriages, changes, and noble acties; and at length in a iust volume (if God shall see it good) more at large, and fully delight the Readers.

But if we shall compare these old and most ancient times of the Romane Empire with ours, wee shall finde no signe or token of that ancient Nobility in the Courts of Princes. If you shall seeke for such as they called *Patricij* or Senators (whom the Romanes reuerenced as men sent downe from heauen) you shall finde them no where but in Citties, exercising Vltury and Merchandize (trades vnto the Romanes forbidden) at whom (although within their owne walled they be much regarded and esteemed) our noble Courtiers were wont to scorne & jest. Or else if it please you, goe vnto the time of Pope *Urban*, who (forsooth) made *Charles* the Sonne of King *Lemes* the 8. in *France*, a Senator of *Rome*, when as he should rather of his owne right, haue graced him with the Cardinals hat. In deede, it was a very ridiculous comparison

son of the French King his Sonne with a Senator of *Rome*, as the matter now standeth.

Wherefore let vs see, and as breiefely as we can touch, how, & by what degree after the empire of that City (which first built by Shepheards, at length became Mistress of the whole world) began to decline from so great an Estate, together with the change thereof, by little and little, drew with it the change of Noble dignities and titles also.

After the translating of the Romane empire by *Constantine* the Great, all that excellency of publike dignities, whereof it is exprefly and sufficiently enough before spoken, seemeth to haue bin changed into a certaine other forme, and a new manner of ennobling of men to haue bin deuised. And verily, the names of Honours and Dignities in the east-empire, seeme to haue bene diuers from the west-empire: and the *Latines*, after the empire rent in sunder, and seated at *Constantinople*, seeme to haue bene subiect vnto the *Greekes*. For he that was there next vnto the Emperour, eyther by reason of the neerenesse of blood, or by institution, and was of the *Latines* called (*Primus*) was of the *Greekes*, by a generall name saluted *Despotes*; that is to say, *Lord*: as he is at this day calld *Monsieur* among the *French men*. The later *VV*riters, were wont also to call him, the same man *Sebaston*, according as the emperors had deuised honourable titles, where-with they might grace their friends, and binde them vnto them. The third in dignity from the emperor, was the *Sebastocrator*, whom hee whom they called *Cesar*, followed as fourth.

But whilst the emperor *Basilius*, was wont to be called *Sebaston*, & also *Cesar*, he the same man, at one & the same time enioying all these titles, these dignities were then as offices, and not as titles of honour. But afterward, they as honourable names of dignities, euen without any offices at all belonging vnto them, began to bee according to the emperours pleasure, bestowed and disposed of. And for a time, the next in honour vnto the emperor, was called *Cesar*: as *The king of the Romanes* at this day, is in the *VV*est. But afterwards, *Sebastocrator* was the second in honour, & *Cesar* the third, at such time

as *Alexius Comnenus* appointed his Brother *Isaacus* to be *Sebastocrator*: of whom *Zonaras* speaketh more at large. And last of all *Alexius Paleologus* being *Despotes*, was made next in honour vnto the Emperour, vnto whom he the same Emperour *Comnenus* hauing no Sonnes, betrothed his eldest daughter *Irene*, and graced him with the Title of the *Despotes*, as hee which should haue bene heire of the empire, if he had not before dyed.

Protosebastus had the first place & degree of honour from the emperor. And at length *Panhypersebastus* begā to be the most stately and maiestical name of all others, being a new title, of a new dignity, inuented by *Alexius Comnenus*, to graunte *Michael Taronitus* withall. *Eparcus* was also a name of great honor, as who should say, the cheefe of all the Princiual Prefidents. *Contostaulus* was General of the Auxiliary forces, which out of *France*, *Sicily*, and *Italy*, serued in the East. Wherof he was called *The Great Contostaulus*: and otherwise *Comestabilis*, which of the *Italians* is interpreted *Constable*. *Trungarius* was he, which had the command of a Fleet at Sea. But him which commanded the Army at Sea, they called, *The great Duke*, and in *Greek*, *Δούξ*, for distance sake, imitating therein the *Latines*. For he which led the Army at Land, was called *Egemon*; but hee which ruled at Sea, was called *Dux*. And ouer the Army at land, commanded alwayes, eyther the emperor himselfe, or the *Despotes*, or the *Sebastocrator*, or the *Cesar*, or the *Panhypersebastus*. And vnto this Great Duke whom they had as cheefe Admirall, they made subiect & all the *Drungars* of their Fleete, their Admirals, their *Proto-Comites*, and him the Great *Drungarius* himselfe, before whom they also appointed the emperors Statue on horse-backe (which they called *Contus*) to bee carried before him in their forces at Sea. They had also their Great *Logotheta*, whom we at this day call the Chancellor. Their *Logariastes*, whom the *Frenchmen* call *Controlleur*. And their *Protolator*, or *Marshall* of their Army. Their *Primicerios* also and *Primaugulios*, and many others of that sort, I willingly passe ouer, least in prosecuting of euery one, my discourse should grow too long and tedious. These were all honorable dignities, and that for the most part not

Protosebastus
Panhypersebastus.

Eparcus.

Contostaulus.

Drungarius.

Mega-Dux.

Egemon.

The Great
Logotheta.
Logariastes.
Protolator.

Primicerios.
Primaugulios.

so much for the necessity of their Offices or order, as so made by the fauour and good liking of the Emperor.

But whilst it seemed so good vnto the Emperours, so to appoint the seate of the Empire at *Constantinople* (where all things now lye swallowed vp of the Turkes) they left the westward of their Legions, and strengthened onely with Fortes, vndefended and subiect vnto the inuasions & fury of the barbarous Nations: vpon the fall and decay whereof, the ruine of the East Empire (at length) ensued also. *Italy* and *Affricke* was at that time governed by their *Exarchi*, *Toparchi*, *Comarchi*, *Carthulary*, *Spatharij*, *Gustalli*, and *Capitani*. But at length, when *Narjes* the Eunuch, and one of the *Romane* *Patricij*, was by *Iulianus* the Emperour, appointed Governour, he brought in them whom they called *Consulares*, *Præsides*, and *Correctores*. But after, that hee that *Narjes*, prouoked with the injuries and despightes of *Sophia* the Emperesse (and with anger enraged) had called in thither the *Longobardes* out of *Pannonia*, they became by little & little to vary, concerning the titles of Honour, and names of Dignity.

For *Narjes* being dead, *Longinus* (one of the *Romane* *Patricij* also) by the same Emperour chosen Governour or *Exarcha* in his stead in *Italy*, for the repressing of the *Longobards*, but a little before called forth by *Narjes*, and euen now about to come, ordained Dukes thoroughout the Prouinces (haply to the imitation of *Constantine* the Emperour, who is reported to haue provided by Law, that Countreyes and Townes should be assigned to Dukes, *Earles*, and olde *Captaines*, which hauing lōg serued, were to be rewarded for their good seruice done and past.) And vnto this purpose tend the words of *Guicciardine* himselfe, which I haue thought good hereunto also to adioyne.

By the translation of the Empire vnto *Constantinople* (saith hee) a way was opened vnto the power of the *Roman* *Bishops*; for the authority of the Emperours, daily more and more weakened and decreasing in *Italy* (both by their continual absence, as also for that they were still busied with warres in the east) the people also by little and little revolting from them, & the City of *Rome* it selfe, being at length oftentimes by the *Goths* and *Vandals* taken & sacked;

the authority of the Emperours began to decay and vanish away in *Italy*. But the barbarous people, at length againe driuen out of *Italy* by the power of the Emperours, the government began againe to be managed by Greeke Magistres (of whom he which commanded ouer the rest, was called *Hexarchus*, and had his seate at *Rauenna*) who appointed Governours ouer the rest of the Cities of *Italy*, which Governours they called Dukes. From hence, came the name of the *Hexarchatship* of *Rauenna*, wherein all places were comprehended, which had no Dukes of their owne, but were vnder the command of one *Hexarchus*. Not long after, a notable change and alteration of matters ensued from the *Longobardes*: For they, a most fierce and cruell people entering into *Italy*, possessed the country called *Gallia Cisalpina*, of whome it hath also taken the name of *Lombardie*. They added also vnto their Government *Rauenna*, with all the *Hexarchatship* thereof, besides many other parts of *Italy*, extending their armes as farre as *Picenum*, *Spoleum*, and *Beneuentum*, ouer which, they appointed Governours to rule and command, whome they called Dukes, &c. So the *Longobards* raging and roaming farre abroad in *Italy*, at length, with thirty of their Dukes, in vaine attempted to haue taken the Citie of *Rome*. And so it came to passe, according to the manner of warres, that the Titles of the dignities of the former empire being neglected, all things began to bee governed by the Generals and Commanders of the armies, viz. by such as they called Dukes, *Earles*, and *Princes*.

These people, *Charles the Great*, son to *Pippin* King of *France*, by the *Romans* called into *Italy*, hauing taken *Ticinum*, the Metropolitall Citie of the *Insulubres*, & there slain *Desiderius* (of a *Comitable* promoted to be King of *Italy*) ouercame and subdued, and was forthwith by the generall consent of all men chosen emperor of the VVest Empire: who as hee would haue the Empire it selfe to be called, *The French Romane Empire*, so euen in the beginning thereof he had a purpose to make it hereditary, and made the *Great men*, & such as were with *Honourable* Titles graced, to be altogether free: and bound them by oath, as men in Fee, holding onely of the King, and of the Emperour: so

Dukes, Earles, Princes.

The French Romane Empire.

Inuestiture.

Marquesses.

Lieutenants.

Consuls.

The Empire deuclued to the Frenchmen, vnto the Germanes.

Royalities.

that if by chance they should fall from their faith and allegiance, or dye without issue, hee then ordained those their dignities to be transferred vnto others: & that his ordinance was called *Inuestitura*, or an *Inuestiture*. The bounds and townes of his kingdom, he committed to be governed by Counties or Earls. The bounds & borders they called *Marches*, or *Marches*: whereupon, the Governours of the *Marches*, began to be called *Marchiarum* *Comites*, (or Counties of the *Marches*) and at length *Marchiones*, or *Marquesses*. And them who he set and placed in the Prouinces for the administration of Iustice, and the keeping of the people in their allegiance, were then called *Missi* (or *Men sent*) or otherwise *Legati*: that is to say, The Emperours Legats or Lieutenants. But such as the people afterward of them felues created, for the administration of Iustice, and the government of Cities, being two or more in number, being chosen after the manner of the ancient *Roman* Common-weale, were called *Consuls*. The *French Romane* Empire, with this successe made by *Charles the Great*, was left vnto his posterity almost hereditary: which in short time after also, vnder the Emperour *Charles the Grosse* (Nephew in the fourth degree vnto *Charles the Great*, & before, King of *Germany*) deuclued from the *Frenchmen* vnto the *Germanes*. Vnto whom also (within a few yeares after) Otto the Great, king of *Germany*, and he Emperour, also succeeded; who following the steps of *Charles the Great*, gaue such perfections vnto his beginnings, in bestowing and disposing of honours & dignities, as that he is not so much for his firname and noble actes, to bee compared with the most mighty emperours, as for his wholesome Lawes, and heroical Ordinances, of all posterity of right for euer to be commended. For this man, after the ancient manner of the *Longobards* and *French*, entertaining euery most valiant man into his wars, graced with Royalities such of them, as had done him worthy & faithfull seruice (and these Royalities were all manner of dignities, lands, & governments of Prouinces) which he according as he thought good, bestowed vpon such as had of him well deserved. And now men began more plainly to make a difference of titles and dignities. For the titles

of Dukes and Counties (being with the ancient *Romans* but the bare names of personall offices and charges) now receiued other customes: and a Duke (at first chosen for his vertues & noble acts) they now began so to call him of his Dukedome: as they did also a *Marquess*, of his *Marquisat*, and an Earle of his Earldome. And he which had the command of people, from some King, *Marquess*, or Earle, was called *Capitaneus* (or a *Capitaine*). But they which had such command from *Capitaines*, were called *Valufores* (or *Valufores*). And they which had it from these *Valufores*, were called *Valuini* (or *Valuines*). Whereupon this new beginning of Politicall Nobility, being far & wide disperfed through the kingdomes of the Empire, they at length were deemed rightly Noble, according to the manner and custome of euery place & Countrey, who eyther themselves, or their ancestors liued, so graced with thuse, or such like priuiledges.

And these be the things, which according vnto the variety and alteration of times, we haue read in the most approved Authors, concerning the titles of honors and dignities. In recounting of which, we haue thought this most especially worth the noting, that all the streames of Nobility (but especially the greatest & cheefest of them) came and issued all out of the Campe. Which degrees of honour and Nobility, before that wee compare them with ours, it shall not repent vs in distinct ranks, orderly to runne through the beginning of euery one of them.

And first to begin withall, They in *Campes* were called *Princes*, or *Princes*, (of whom at this day, we euery where make so great account) which serued in the first ranks, excelling others in strength and age; and which followed the *Spearemen*, diuided into fifteen bands or troops, so placed, as it were for a refuge & reliefe for them: to the end, that if in battails the *Spearemen* should bee enforced to retire, they might in safety flye vnto those *Principes*, as vnto principall men of more approved and assured seruice. Whereof *Castra Principalia*, the *Principall* *Tents*, and *Porta Principalis*, the *Principall* *Porte*, where those *Princes* or *Principall* men were wont to lye with their bands; are so often read of in *Liue*.

Dukes, Earles, Marquesses.

A Capitaine.

Valufores

Valuines.

Princes.

Next

Next vnto *Augustus* the Emperour, they which in the emperors name gouerned the *Roman* affaires, were called *Principes Senatus*, or Princes of the Senate. But afterward, the emperour would haue the place or title of a Prince, to bee a dignity next vnto a Kings, who amongst the ancient *Saxons* were called *Ethelings*, and with vs *Cyones*. But now it is as it were a generall name, diuersly giuen and attributed vnto many at once, and orderly comprehending in it all the greater sorts of dignities: yea in some places, according to the manner and custome of the places, the title and dignity of a Prince, is inferior vnto the title and dignity of a Duke, or an Earle.

Dukes or *Dukes* tooke their names from the Latine word *Ducendo*, as who should say *Ducitores* or *Leaders*; for that they marching before, led their followers. Whereof we read the Latine phrase, *Ducere bellum*, that is to say, to leade Warres for *Gerere bellum*, to make warre. And so *Hij bellum assidue ducunt cum Gente Latina*. These men make continuall war with the Latine Nation. And they which as *Dukes* or Generals were leaders of Armies, were wont to vse such Ensignes as the Consuls did: whereupon, the word *Ducatus*, sometime signified the Region or Country, ouer which the Duke commanded: and other while, the Military gouernment and commanding authority it selfe. Vnto which manner of men, for things by them honourably and valiantly in the warre achieved and performed, triumphall Ornamentes were sometimes awarded. Amongst the ancient *Germanes*, vnto a Generall or Leader of an army, were assigned twelue Counties or Earles to attend vpon him.

Marquesses were so called of a certaine iurisdiction bound vnto some certaine place. So he which had the command and gouernment of any frontier Territory or Sea-coast, was called *Marchio*, or a *Marques*: and they which receiued of the Fees, were properly accounted the *Palatins* of the king, or of the kingdom, as men standing with the Generals *Ad valvas Regni*, at the gates and entrances of the kingdom. Other some there bee, which goe about to deriue the word *Marchio* from *Marca* (a word of the *Celts*) from whence they deriue the word *Mar-*

chare in French, to ride: and the *Marchio* as a people so called, for that they excelled in good horse-manship.

Now of Counties or Earles, as there were diuers kindes, so of them amongst the ancient *VVriters*, are read diuers and sundry sorts and orders; such as among the rest were *Comites Sacri Palatii*, or Counties of the Sacred Pallace: *Archiatr* (or *Principall Courtiers*) and *Comites stabuli*, or *Constables*. For *Desiderius* from a *Consul*, by the *Longobards* chosen and appointed to be king of *Italy*, was slaine by *Charles the Great*. And it is elsewhere read, hee sent *Burchardus* the *Constable*, with his Fleet to *Corfica*.

There were also *Comites Militum*, or Counties of the Souldiers, of whom the *Romans* would haue alwayes two residing in the East, and were therof sometimes called *Comites Orientis*, or Counties of the east. And in breuel, there were Counties of Provinces: such as were the Counties of *Spain*, of *Brittaine*, and of the *Saxon* Coasts in *Brittaine*.

The *Gustafus* in *Italy*, and a County, seeme in ancient time to haue bene all one: There be some also, which beleeue a County in olde time to haue bene called *Comarchus*.

The name of a *Vicount* sheweth a beginning not to be doubted of: For he to whom the County in the Camp committed the authority of his iurisdiction, was called *Vice-Comes* or *Vicount*; as were in the ancient time the *Proconsul*, & the *Proconsul* his Lieutenant or Deputy.

But whereof the *Barones* or *Barons* were so called, is not yet wel knowne; For vnto the *Romans* as concerning their dignity, they were vnto us vnknewne: howbeit, that they shime it to be a Latine word, by that saying of *Cicero* to his friend *Atticus*, *Apud Patronum reliquosque Patronos te in maxima gratia possunt*: Hee brought you into great fauour with your Patron, and the rest of the *Barons*.

Other some obtrude vnto vs the greek word *Baro*, which signifieth *Grave*. But howeuer it commeth to passe, if credite be to be giuen to our most learned Lawyer *Bracton*, the *Barons* were still accounted for most valiant men, for hee would haue them to be called, *Robora belli*, or the strength of warre. And by the Lawyer *Baldus*, a *Baron* is defined to be a man ha-

Counties
Earles

Vicount

Barons

uing

uing from his Prince the power and authority of the greatest, middle, and lowest correcting of offenders. But sufficient it now concerning these matters, to haue sayde thus much, as purposing of the same, to speake more at large hereafter.

And let vs now come nearer vnto the matter, by comparing of ancient things, with others of latter time; to the intent, that by applying of those ancient things vnto this our Age and Time, the reason as well of the Names as of the Dignities themselves, may the better and more manifestly appeare.

Like as the *Empire* of the *Greekes*, was by the *Turkes* ouerthrowne and brought to nought, euen so also was the *Empire* of the *West*, by the cunning and ambition of the *Bishops of Rome*, rent in sunder and weakened. Which, how great it was, the very ruines thereof doe now scarcely declare. The maiestie whereof, is yet by the *Seauen Princes Electors* (of the *Germanes* called *Electores*) vnto the Ornament of the Christian world vpholden and maintayned. The *Septemviri* of *Germany*, the *Emperour Otto* the third, and *Pope Gregorie* the first, ordained in the yeare 960. Vnto whom afterwards the *Emperour Charles* the fourth engaged the revenues of the *Empire* (hauing promised vnto euery one of the *Electors*, an hundred thousand crownes) that he would appoint *Wenceslaus* his sonne, heire of the *Empire*. But the Money being not payed, it came to passe, that the *Patrimony* of the *Romaine Common-weale*, which was appointed to the vices and maintenance of the warres (and for that onely cause was subiect to alienation) was priuately distributed and diuided amongst them, vnto euery one of them apart, whereby the power of the *Empire* was afterward almost brought to nothing, the *Seauen Princes Electors* of *Germany*, keeping all vnto themselves, and compelling the *Emperors* by oath, that they should not reuoke the Lands and *Pawnes* before engaged.

And *Kings*, to whom it was a pleasant thing to be deliuered from another mans power and command, erected to themselves *Monarchies*.

But they which in most great Kingdoms hold the second place, next to the *Kings* and the *Kings sons*, are according

to the forme of the *Emperors* stur, called *Dukes*. The title of an *Archduke* is but one alone, belonging to the house of *Austria*, by the *Emperour Frederick* deuiled, to grace his nephew *Philip* withall, at such time as he was to marry *Iane* the heire of *Spain*.

The name of *Vaynode*, is a title of dignity onely in *Transilvania*, and *Valachia*. And so also is the *Doge* of the *Venetians*, who is also called a *Duke*.

And as in warres Counties or Earles were assigned vnto *Dukes*, so our Counties now at this day, are thought next in dignity to follow the *Dukes*.

For a *Marquesse* at this day, is nothing else in his owne proper signification, then a *Countie* vpon the Frontiers & Borders: which in the *Germane* tongue is more significantly called a *Marckgrau*: with whome a *Countie* is called *Graf*. And whereof come those honourable names of the *Psatzgrau*, *Landgrau*, *Marckgrau*, *Isingraue*, & *Burggrau*: that is to say, The *Countie* *Palatine*, the *Countie* of the Province, The *Countie* of the Borders, The *County* of *Rhene*, The *County* of the Castle or Garrison. And yet according to the diuers custome of places, *Marquesses* in some places are preferred, and goe before *Counties* or *Earles*.

The beginning of a *Vicount*, the very etymology of the name it self hath taught vs.

Barons are also euery where according to the dignity of their degree, power, & grauity accounted honourable. *France* hath also onely four peculiar Great and principall *Lords*, whom they call *Vidames* (viz.) *Chartres*, *Chalons*, *Amiens*, and *Gerbry*. So hath it pleased men according to the custome of places, vnto new forms of Honours and Dignities, to giue olde names. But nothing is euery where, and in all places so sincerely obserued and kept, as is that olde and generall diuision of People, into Noble and Vnnoble, with a certain difference of the Vnnoble sort among themselves, as of the Nobler sort among themselves also.

For such with easie exercises get their linings, such as excell in wit in the knowledge of Martiall affaires, in learning, in wealth, or in vertue: these men, in these times, are as it were the *Seminaries* of Nobility (as were in ancient time the *Gentlemen* whom they called *Equites*, among the *Romans*, the nursery of the *Senators*.)

S f Many

An Archduke.

A Vaynode.

A Doge.

An Earle.

A Marquess.

A Vicount.

A Baron.

Vidames.

Noble and Vnnoble.

The Seminary of nobility.

The Empire
decaying, the
Nobilitie be-
ganne to get
poorish: our
Counties and
Names.

The Seauen
Electors were
first in
Germany
about the
yeare 960.

ADuke.

All the vulgar
people are
bore and vn-
noble.

All Gentlemen
are alike No-
ble.

The differ-
ences of No-
bility.

Nobility, the
greater and
the lesser.

In some pla-
ces of Italy
there be he-
reditary
Knights.

In many pla-
ces also there
are Esquires
by birth.

Many noble & famous Gentlemen, haue also from Lawyers and Merchants disceded. And although some of the vulgar & common sort of the people, be among them of better account and reputation, then some others of them, yet in respect of the Nobility, they are altogether base and vnnoble: like as all free-borne men, which are not of the vulgar and common sort of people, are indifferently and alike noble, according to the French Prouerbe: *Je suis Gentilhomme comme le Roy*, I am a Gentleman as well as the King. *Il foy de Gentilhomme*: The faith of a Gentleman.

Yet it is to be knowne, antiquity and high functions, to haue their estimation in Politicall Nobility, as they haue in other things. And heereof as seemeth vnto me, are those distinctions of Nobility, named, and vnnamed: or of the greater and lesser Nobility, as some others would haue it. And *Named Nobility* I call that which is by hereditary succession graced with Titles and Fees. As a king taketh that his denomination of his kingdom: a *Duke*, of his *Dukedome*; an *Earle*, of his *Earledome*; and a *Baron*, of his *Barony*: who may also be called *Maiors Nobles*, or *The greater Nobility*, although not altogether so properly, for that that distinction of Nobility, indifferently comprehendeth all sorts of Noblemen, & the higher Magistracies (bestowed vpon men for teame of life only, or during the Princes pleasure.) The rest of the Nobility vnder the degree of Barons, may be called *Nobles Innominati* (or vnnamed Noblemen) or *Minors Nobles*, that is to say; the lesser Nobility.

And yet there are some of them which seeme to haue *Named Nobility*, although they be not in the same ranke and order to be placed: such as are Knights and Esquires. But forasmuch as the Titles of Knighthood and of Esquires, are not hereditary, they are accounted amongst the lesser Nobility.

The *Frenchmen* in the meane time, and we *Englishmen* also, doe by more knowne words, better discern the greater Nobility from the lesser, but not without a certaine injury and wrong done vnto the latine tongue, from which wee deriue our Nobility. For who is he which knoweth not the Latine word (*Nobles*) indif-

ferently to comprehend all such as are about the common and vulgar sort of men? Which word is in *French* or *English* expounded (*Noble*). By which word, the common sort of *Englishmen* calleth or noteth no man, vnder the degree of a Baron.

The rest vnder the degree of Barons, are in *French* called *Gentilshommes*, and in *English*, Gentlemen. Of which, such as are neither Knights nor Esquires, we call them but onely Gentlemen, without any addition; and in *French*, *Gentilshommes simples*, or plaine Gentlemen. Although it may be that some of these may can shew more Armes of their stocke, and denue their Pedigree further, then can some others of greater dignity, or euen the emperor himselfe.

Wherefore, in Politicall Nobility, being simply vnderstood, these plaine termed Gentlemen are not inferiour vnto the Princes themselves, but yet in honour and dignity much. For the titles of *Kings*, of *Dukes*, of *Marquesses*, of *Earles*, & *Barons*, are as it were the names of most honourable Offices, and by reason of such additions, one becommeth more famous and nobler then another.

These things being thus somewhat more at large and in general spoken, concerning Nobility, seeme as it were to open the way vnto the particular degrees thereof with vs. But the diuision of the orders & degrees of men, which our *English* Common-weale and Empire well beareth, at other times, by others sette forth, is exceedingly well set downe: who haue diuided the same into a King, into Nobility of the greater and of the lesser sort, Citizens, Men liberally brought vp, and Labourers. But forasmuch as I haue purposed to speake onely of the degrees of Nobility, and that the intention and scope of this worke tendeth no farther, I haue determined to entreat onely of the Kings, and of the cheefe named Nobility, whom it pleaseth vs to call, *The Peeres of the Kingdom*, *The Common Fathers of the Common-weale*, & in briefe, by one name, *Great Estates*, or *Noblemen*.

Yet in so great contentions of things, and inundations of forraigne Nations, where-with this our Island from the first inhabiting thereof, hath bene oftentimes troden vnder foote, and for a long time

What a distinction
and Nobility
is in the
French and
English
men.

Nobles
how diuers
they be
called.

A Tradition
winde the
late Nobility

most greuously afflicted: to write such a serious discourse, as to set downe, what were the beginning Titles of our Noblemen, with the orders and degrees of honours, seemeth a thing most difficult and hard.

Concerning which things (freely to confesse the truth) seeing that I haue not well satisfied my selfe; I dare not with too much hasty confidence to affirme much, especially seeing that heere, as well as elsewhere, the Victors haue still especially endeouored them-selues, not so much to oppresse the people by them subdued, as they haue done to innouate their customes, and to change their lawes. Seeing that it is by Nature ordered, that with the same fate where-with Monarchies and Kingdomes are ouerwhelmed, euen the Nations themselves, and Noble Families fall, and come to vtter ruine also.

For first, the *Romans* by subduing the *Brittaines*, the naturall Inhabitants of this Island, went about with their Legions to ouerthrow all things.

But the *Romans* about five hundred yeares more or lesse after, being againe transported into *France*, the *Saxons*, or rather *English-Saxons*, called in by the *Brittaines* vnto their aide, raised warre against their Hoasts, and thrust them quite out of their auncient Seates, and first of all others, gaue vnto the kingdom the name of *England*. And these people the *Danes* also for a space thrust out of the kingdom.

But at length, when as this kingdom began (as it were) againe to breathe vnder *Edward the Confessor*, a most holy King, and last of the *English-Saxons* race, he being forth-with dead without issue, gaue occasion to the *Normanes* to passe ouer. VVho at length preuailing, (*Harold* who with-stood them being ouercome) and the *English-men* being thrust out of their auncient inheritance, began forth-with to assigne the Landes and groundes in euery place vnto their companions and fellow-souldiours, and also to bring in the *Normane* customes and fashions.

Many things for all that, are yet extant in the most auncient Records, euen in the *Heptarchy* of the *English-Saxon* Kings, concerning those Noble-Men

which were Rulers ouer the Countreies of *Chester*, *Leicester*, and *Lincolne*, whom we reade to haue bene indifferently also called *Dukes*, and Counties of the *Mercians*. The *Danes* had also their *Heretoches*, and the Princes of their *Heretoches*. And *Edward*, the King and *Confessor* yet reigning, euen in the time next vnto the coming in of the *Normans*, in the charters and monuments of Churches, are found there to be *Ethelings*, *Chytops*, *Patricij*, *Consuls*, *Earles*, *Palatines*, *Dukes*, *Senators*, *Stalkers*, *Thayni*, *Theothani*, *Ministers*, and *Princes*. But yet with great inconstancy, of such their names and callings. For whom thou shalt reade to be called Counties, thou shalt else-where finde euen at one and the selfe-same time to be called *Dukes*. But the stile of *Cyto*, at first signified the Kings eldest Sonne, but afterwards, it was a title common to all them that were descended of the Kings blood.

The Titles of Countie and Consull signified the same thing, differing but in that *Comes* (or a Countie) was to be called a *Comitatus* (or of a Shire or Countie) and a *Consull* of *Consulendo*, or of giuing of Councell. A *Stalder*, and *The Governour of the Kings house*, to haue bene all one, it is out of diuers writings manifest. The *Patricij* and *Thayni* were Noblemen of the better sort; and I could almost affirme them to haue bene equall vnto our Barons at this day. Ministers and Princes, who in old Charters are set as lowest witness, seeme to haue bene names of one and the same signification, and alike signify Noble-men: but what degree of honour or Nobility they were of, is altogether vnknowne. Neither seeme these honourable Titles to haue bene forth-with together with the victory, by *William the Normane* changed. For these men whom King *Edward the Confessor* in his Charter, concerning the Priuiledges by him granted to the Abbey of *Waltham*, in the year 1062: taketh to witness by the name of *Counties Palatine* (whom he but euen a litle before had called *Dukes*) and by the names of Procurators, Chamberlaines, and Princes of his Court: the Normane himselfe, in the second year after his victory, in his confirmatory Charter granted vnto the same Abbey, doth by the same Stiles and Titles take to

St 2 witness.

witnesse also.

But, after that he had now confirmed the kingdome vnto himselfe in safety, the Counties whom he by his Royall Charter had rewarded with Counties and Lands, began to be one from another, distinguished, by the addition of the Title, of such and such a Countie. As witnesse *Alanus* Countie of *Richmond*; witnesse *Hugh* Countie of *Chester*; witnesse *Roger* Countie of *Shrewsbury* and *Arundell*.

VVherefore the *English Saxons* by little and little, eyther dead without issue, or oppressed, or thrust forth into exile, and to liuing in other places, all things were so framed vnto the *Norman* manner, as that of our *Nobilitie* at this day, there is not any which can so much as any little breathe of the Stock and Race of those most ancient *Saxons*.

These foundations of the auncient VVorthies and *Nobility* beeing layde by *William the Conquerour*; and oftentimes afterwards, by Successours, according to the diuerse occasions and occurrents of times, by little and little continued and augmented, beganne at length in the reigne of King *Henry the third*, and *Edward the first*, to shine forth, who hauing now vanquished the *VVelch-men* their Neighbours, and contending with the *Scottes* bordering vpon them, for Principallitie and Soueraignetie, entreating of all things concerning the Common-weale, with the three States of the Kingdome (which consisted of the *Nobilitie*, the *Clergie*, and the *Communitie*) they themselves in their Royall Maiestie sitting in Parliaments, appoynted vnto euery man a preeminence, according to the place of his dignitie: from whom, especially all the *Nobilitie* of our age, may seeme to deriue the diuerse and appoynted degrees of Dignities and Honours.

VVherefore a King, whom may with vs bee also called a *Monarch*, hauing in himselfe the supreme power, is of such great Maiestie, as that besides *GOD* alone, hee hath none his Superiour. Who from Equitie and Iustice seeking his chiefeist praise and commendation (when as any matter of greater weight or importance is to bee decreed and set downe, concerning the welfare and honour of the Common-weale) dothey-

her make new Lawes, before conceived by the three estates of the Kingdome, or else abrogateth the old; and free from all homage for his Empire, is with the sacred solemnities of his Countrey, with a royall Crowne, by his subiects crowned, whom afterwards we with great reuerence obserue and honour, both in the time of peace, as also in the time of war, as that (forasmuch as hee himselfe is the fountaine of all *Nobilitie*) he may for his onely pleasure and good liking, blesse and grace whom hee will, with Offices, Dignities, Honour, Nobilitie, and Riches.

Amongst the *Nobilitie* or Peeres of the Kingdome, the Prince is the chiefe, who is alwayes but one and himselfe alone, for hee is to be deemed the Kings eldest sonne, or heire apparent of the Kingdome, and hath of long beene graced with the Title of the *Prince of Wales*. The Kings sonnes in auncient times, before the coming in of the *Normans*, were wont to be called *Ethlinges*, that is to say, *Clytons*, (as more Noble than the rest, whom they in Latine called *Indylis*, or *Noble*) as *Edgar Clyto*, *Alured Clyto*, and others. Our Princes of *Wales* are now with vs, the same that the designed *Cæsars* were among the ancient *Romans*, as who should say, heires of the *Imperiall Maiestie*; and whereupon at this day, the *Germans* appoint him which shall be emperor, King of the *Romans*, and the *French* stile him that is to succeed in the Kingdome, the *Dolphin*: but the *Spaniards*, together with vs, call him which is to haue the kingdome after the death of the king his father, *The Prince, or Infant*.

The first that was by this name called after the coming in of the *Normans*, was *Edward*, the eldest son of King *Henry the third*, who (his Father *Henry* being dead) and hauing there vanquished *Leolin*, was the first that vntied the Principallitie of *Wales* vnto the kingdome of *England*: vnto whom also, *John the Scot* earle of *Chester*, being dead without heyres male (other lands and reuenues being assigned vnto the sisters of the aforesaid Earle) the king his Father had giuen the same countie.

At length King *Edward the third* gaue vnto *Edward* his eldest sonne (a most famous and renowned warrior) then

The Prince of Wales.

The 5th Prince of Wales.

then Prince of *Wales* and Earle of *Chester*, the Countie of *Cornewall* also, which hee then had made a Dukedome: and by this meanes it is come to passe, that afterwards our Kings eldest sonnes or heyres, were by the Kings royall Charters, with great solemnitie in full Parliament, created Princes of *Wales*, and Earles of *Chester*, (with the Countie of *Flint*, which belongeth vnto the Dignitie of the Sword of the Countie of *Chester*) but are called Dukes of *Cornewall*, euen from the first houre of their Natiuitie.

They which are accounted of the Nobility after the Princes of *Wales*, we call Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons. Aboue which, if I shall also place the most famous Fellowshippes of Knights, of our (by farre) the most honorable order, taking name of the Garter, I not shal haply seem to haue done amis: forasmuch as it maketh Knights, and sometime them of the Lesser Nobility, (excelling others in vertue and valour) almost equal, not onely vnto Noble-men at home with vs, but euen with Kings and Emperours abroad. But of them we are else-where to speake.

A Duke.

All these Noblemen (I say) in the beginning to haue beene Generalles and Leaders of Armies, or Gouvernours of Countreies, it is before declared. But afterward, as pleased the Emperours, to haue beene giuen them for terme of life: and at length strengthened with lands and fees, we see them to haue obtained a certayne hereditary perpetuity: wherefore, a Duke, who in auncient time was, as it were, the Constable of the Kingdome, and whose chiefe seruice was, to leade and conduct the Kings Armie in time of warre, now graced with Fees, and once authorized by the King, is become an hereditary Title. Our Kings descended of the *Norman* blood, so long as they themselves were Dukes of *Normandie*, graced no man with this Title of Duke, till *Edward the Third*; who first of all (as is before sayd) exalted the Countie of *Cornewall* into a Dukedome: vnto the example whereof, many hereditary Dukes were in like manner by our Kings created, howbeit that at this day we haue none.

A Marquisse.

Next vnto Dukes in order follow

Marquesses, who in auncient time were called *Gouernours* or *Marschalls* of the borders or Marches: a Title vnto vs, but in the time of King *Richard the Second*, verily vnknewne, who in the tenth yeare of his reigne, by his Royall Charter first created *Robert Vere* earle of *Oxford* (his Minion) Marques of *Dublin* the Metropolitall Cittie of *Ireland*. By which example, many others afterwards obtained the like Creations by Inheritance.

An Earle.

Concerning either the etymologie or the office of an Earle amongst the Auncients, I haue else-where briefly touched some things, and leaue the same to bee more at large by others entreated. Of Earles with vs, haue alwayes beene both of greatest authority and dignity, and of much greater antiquitie then either *Marquesses* or Dukes.

Neyther is it any let at all, but that an Earle may be called Earle of any Countie or place, from whence he receiueh no profit, neyther therein holdeth any iurisdiction. Indeed it is in auncient Charters, declared them in old time to haue bene Feod-men, and to haue beene rewarded with the third penny of the profit of that Prouince wherof they were called Earles; but now the maner is with vs, that the Titles of Earldomes, are according vnto the Kings pleasure conferred and bestowed, without any possession of the places at al: vnto whom, the King, in stead of the third Penny, is wont to appoynt a certayne summe of money, to be yearly receiued out of the Exchequer, or his Customs: as wee will hereafter more at large declare.

A Vicount.

Concerning the beginning of a Vicount with vs, there is no cause why I should from farre deuiue it; forasmuch as we had none of them before the time of King *Henry the sixth*. For he in the eighteenth yeare of his reigne, created *John de Belemonte*, or *Beumont*, a Vicount: Whereupon that which in auncient time was the name of an office, we now at this day do acknowledge it bee a certayne name and Title of Dignitie, as it were in the midst, betwene an Earle and a Baron; as wee doe a *Marquisse*; betwene a Duke and an Earle. This Degree of Nobilitie hath inuestiture from the Kings themselves, with certain solemne ceremonies,

Sf 3

as

A Baron.

as the other degrees of Nobility haue.

Now the last of all, aswell in order as specially in dignity, come fourth the Barons, whose conioyned power, compared with the rest, hath in the great affaires of the Common-weale alwayes bene the greatest. Of whose beginning yet truth it selfe doubtfully wauerech. *Lucas de Penna in Lib. Cude mancipij*, in his 16. book sayeth. *Quid Reges cum plures haberent filios nec omnes Reges posse fieri (quod regnum diuidi nequeat) prospicerent: amplius cuique dabant Castra cum iurisdictione & Imperio, unde Barones dicerentur*, id est, filij alij *excellentes*. For that Kings when they had many sonnes, which they well saw could not all be made Kings (for that a kingdom cannot be diuided) they gaue vnto euery one of them great Castles, with iurisdiction and command, whereof they should be called *Barons* (that is to say) Their sonnes, higher in degree then others. Other some will haue the word *Baro*, to haue bene deriued from the Greeke word *βαρος*, signifying gravity. But if it may be lawfull for vs with coniectures to contend, I deeme it not amisse, hereunto to ioine the curious conceite and iudgment of a certaine most learned man, and of great reading, who marking the great power and authority of Barons, supposeth them in the beginning to haue bene the Generals or Leaders of Nations & people, dispersedly roaming and stragling vp and downe without any certaine resting places, after the empire was rent in sunder, who equally diuiding the lands by force or leaue by them gotten, as it were by tutelary law gouerned the people, holding of them in fealty, and subiect to euery one of their iurisdiccions, eyther with a meere souerainty apart, as Monarchs, or vnder some other common Prince.

Whereof, *Radus* happily hath called a man of greatest, middle, and meane authority and command, *Baronem*, or a *Baron*. But they which were in power and authority in a manner like and equal, were before in Latine called *lares homines* (or like men) but of the *Frenchmen* and *Italians*, (speaking more contractly) *parhomines*, and *parhomini*, and thereof they might, saith he, bee called *Baroni* and *Barones*: for with a more easie pronounciation, they in their words easily admit *b* for *p*. And to giue more credite to this mat-

ter, he ioyneth thereunto the force of diuers Languages. For they whom the *Frenchmen* from the beginning, called *Barons*, we in the same sence in ancient time, called *Thaini*, and at this day in english, *Lords*, whom the *Germanes*, as it were by a circumlocution, doe more fitly call *free-herren*, which with vs truly signifieth *free Lords*: that is to say, *Lords* hauing free iurisdiccions and territories. But from whence this very word *Lord* is sprung (which is not so much peculiar vnto Barons as to all Noblemen in general) remaineth yet doubtfull.

Forasmuch as we after our manner and fashion, are wont to call all Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, and Vicounts, (and some of the greatest Officers and Magistrates of the kingdome also, although they bee not Barons) after the manner of Barons, *Lords*: some say it to be a primitive & original word of it selfe, sprung out of the Saxon word *hlaford*, which is interpreted *Lord*: Other some also, suspect it to haue bene a deriuatiue word, and to haue bene first brought out of *Burgundy*: for it is manifest, the emperor *Probus* to haue sent hither into *Brittaine* the *Burgundians*, whom he had overcome in the year 282. Who hauing heere seated and settled themselues, did vnto the *Romans* right good seruice, it at any time rebellion did arise or was stirred vp against them. And in that place they commonly call *Alloids*, which signifieth, *Free* and discharged from all homage and seruice; which manner of possessor or owner, is euen at this day called *Alloids*: whom we, resting almost vpon the same reason, do in english call, *A Lord*. Contrary vnto those *Alloids* or *Lords*, are the *Lewdes* or *Lewds*, as subiect vnto the *Alloids*, where of perhaps the word *Laydes* is vied amongst the *Scots*, whom they with vs call also *Lords*.

But as concerning words and etymologies, let euery man giue as he list: now forer the names be deemed of, it is for the most part of all men granted, that *free-herren* or *Lords* (call them whether you list) to haue in all places liued as *Free-borne* men, and of great esteeme, & I verily think them to haue bene the same, whom *Cæsar* calleth *Regulos* in *France*: where euen yet vnto this day, certaine of the most olde and ancient Barons, are reported

Thaini.

A Lord.

Hlaford in the Saxon tongue in English, Lord.

A Layde.

ported and reputed by a certaine right of their Baronies, to contend for precedence with the new Earles. But how full of authority and dignity the name of a Baron and of a Baronage is, shall very plainly & easily appeare, if wee shall eyther respect the antiquity thereof, as they which of ancient time haue hereditary Iurisdiction annexed vnto their honour and dignity, and whereof wee at this day retain a shew in our *Lords courts*, commonly called a *court Baron*: or looke into the most honourable and reuerend prerogative of the in the cheefest assemblies of the kingdome. For all *Dukes*, *Marquesses*, *Earles*, and *Vicounts*, haue their seates with the Barons, in the highest assembly of the kingdome, in Parliament, onely by the name of their Baronies; Inasmuch, that the greatest Duke sitting in Parliament (although he be placed according to the preheminece of his degree) yet holdeth his place only by reason of his Barony: neyther is it for any other reason granted vnto our Archbishops and Bishops (as it was in ancient time vnto some Abbots and other of like sort) to sitte there, but that they haue the possession and dignity of some Baronage or Barony annexed and ioined vnto their Bishoppricks; yea, the eldest Sonne of a Duke who soeuer, although he be commonly called an *Earle*, as also the eldest sonne of an earle, although by the flatterie of custome, and in respect of his blood he be called in Latine *Dux* or *Dominus* in French *Signeur*, and after our manner, a *Lord*, yet if wee shall consider the force of the Law, they are not to be numbered either amongst the earles or the Barons, but only to be accounted *Esquires*; neyther can they challenge any voyce or suffrage in the Parliaments of the Kingdome, so long as their Fathers liue. Howbeit, wee haue it often in experience (I confesse) that as often as the King shall see the eldest sonne or heyre of a Duke, *Marquess*, or of an *Earle*, as well in wisdom and counsell, as of yeres ripe and stayed, and whom he shall deeme worthie to bee present at the greatest assemblies of Parliament, him he promoteth vnto the height of that honour: and by a *VVritte of Summons* (as they terme it) his father yet being alie, according to the name & stile (if he be the sonne of a Duke) of his

Barony, or if he bee the sonne of a *Marquess*, or of an *Earle*, by the name whereof he was before called, and whereof hee was heire apparant, and into the inheritance whereof his father also before came.

This I say, sometime is done, and may be done, by the fauour of the Prince onely, whose prerogative is so indeterminate as that he may promote vnto honors, and admit into Parliaments whom hee pleaseth. As for example; it pleased our deceased Queen *Elizabeth* in the year 1575. by her *Writ of Summons*, to call *William Poulet*, Baron *St. John of Basing*, at this day *Marquess of Winchester*, (viz) the eldest sonne of *John Poulet*, *Marquess of Winchester*, and to assigne vnto him a place amongst the Noblemen of the Vpperhouse, due vnto the ancient Barons of *St. John*, vntill that their heires male sayling, the heire generall of the same family, had married with the stocke of the *Poulets*. This I say, the Queene might doe by her royall prerogative onely, the age and towardliness of the young Baron being respected and looked into, which he could no way by right haue challenged, his Father yet liuing.

Henrie Stanley, Earle of *Darby*, was by *Writ of Summons* called vnto Parliament, his father yet liuing, by the name of *Baron Strange of Knokin*, and placed in the same seate wherein the Barons *Strange of Knokin* were wont of ancient time to sit. The like we now of late haue also seene to haue bene done to *Gilbert Lord Talbot* (at this day Earle of *Shrewsburie*) sonne and heire to *George earle of Shrewsburie*, but of late deceased: which places they could not by prescript for me of law as yet challenge vnto them, for that their Fathers then alie, possessed both the dignities & reuennewes of the aforesaid Baronies. So that I say, they were onely by the fauor of the Prince promoted vnto such honour and degree, whilst that their fathers yet liued.

For wee rightly acknowledge no Barons, but them whom the Kings Royall Maieitie hath first by his Charter created, or else the Parliaments preheminece & dignity designed; who so called and once admitted, and in Parliament placed, are alwayes after to bee held and accounted Barons, and to be reckoned amongst the Nobility of the Baronaage of *England*, iurici-

For that vnto the most honourable the gite of honor, are no where open, so things which are once granted vnto any man by the Prince, are not to be againe returned vnto his lord or disgrace.

ther doeth it any where appeare, anie of them to haue bene afterwards reiected or degraded, except by chance their possessions were so far diminished, as that they were by no means able to maintayne so great an honour. For, as in ancient time the *Romane* Senators, which had waisted or decayed their Senators substance were cut of Senate remoued, euen so (I say) such are either of their own accord to absta in from coming into the vpper house of our Parliament, or else (I may say perhaps) are not thereinto admitted, although that they for euer still retain the stile and name of their Barony.

And these be they whom we acknowledge to be *Noblemen*: But how they bee now amongst themselves together, and seuerally apart, both in dignitie and preheminence distinguished, is out of the forme of their *Creations* or admissions to be better discerned: which things we will declare by the Letters Patents, or of *Summons*, giuen vnto euery one of them at the time of their *Creation*, (which Letters, we by two names call, viz: *Royall Charters*, and *Parliament Writts*) and by the ceremonies after our manner, ioyned into their Inuestiture, and the custome of their precedence, beginning first with the Baron himselfe.

For why, the name of the Baronage of England is right famous, and more honorable then the rest: resembling the ancient shew of a *Reuerend Romane Father*, re-gifted to be one of; counsell of estate, & of the *Senatory Dignity*; and with vs giuing an entrance vnto all the higher degrees of honor, as did that among the ancient *Romanes*.

In elder time, it was for a certain space giuen vnto none, but vnto men for their martiall prowesse renowned, vnto whom the ensigne of a Barony was also giuen; as was the right to weare a Ring of Gold granted vnto the *Romane Gentlemen*. But afterward, not onely they whom martiall prowesse had commended, but euen they also whom their Nobility of birth, their manners, fortune, or wisdomme hadde at home ennobled, were wont by the Kings *Writ of Summons*, to be called forth vnto the high assembly of Parliament. And at length also, King *Henrie* the 6. brought in the fashion to create some by this very name, by vertue of his *Royall Charter*:

which manner of forme and fashion, together with that other of calling by *Writ of Summons* vnto the Parliament, we onely at this day haue in vse, in forme following.

Letters of Summons, or Parliament Writts (as they call them) for the promoting of any one, or of whomsoever, vnto the Dignity of a Baron, in full Assembly of Parliament, are in a prescript appointed forme in this sort made: Changing onely such things as are of order to be changed.

ELIZABETH, by the Grace of God, *Queen* of England, France, and Ireland, *Defendresse* of the Faith, &c. Vnto her faithfull and well-beloued Henry Norris of Ricot Knight, greeting. Forasmuch, as Wee by the aduice and consent of our Councell, for certaine high and urgent causes, concerning the estate & defence of our kingdome of England, and of the English Church, haue appointed a certain Parliament of ours, to be holden at our Citie of Westminster, the eight day of May, next comming, and there to haue speech and conference with you, and with the Prelates, the States, and Nobility of our sayde Kingdome: Wee firmly enioyne & commaund you, upon the Faith and Allegiance wherein you are vnto vs bound, that the weights of the aforesaide businesse, and the imminent dangers considered, all excuse whatsoeuer set apart, you be there personally present the day and place aforesaide, to conferre with vs, & with our Prelates and Nobility aforesaide, concerning the aforesaide businesse, & there to shew your aduice. And of this, as you loue vs, and honour the safeguard & defence of Our Kingdome, and the Church aforesaide, and the good dispatch of the affairs aforesaide, in no wise faile you.

Witnesse Our selfe, the day of in the yeare of Our reigne the fourteenth.

An-

Another manner there is of creating of Barons by Charter: whereof this is the forme.

ELIZABETH by the Grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland, *Queen*, *Defendresse* of the Faith, &c. Vnto all Archbishops, Marqueses, Earles, Vicounts, Bishops, Barons, Knights, Governours, Free-borne men, and all our Officers, Ministers, and Subiects, whomsoever, vnto whom these present Letters shall come, greeting. Wee well perceiue and see the height and tipe of our Royall Dignity, not onely to be beautified, but encreased also, whilst the titles of honors, are by vs conferred vnto men for their vertues renowned, and in our most weighty affaires well experienced. For Wee thinke our Royall Crowne to be so much the more adorned and enriched, when as Wee call and promote graue and wise Men, especially such as are for the Nobility of their iustice famous, and for their wisdomme renowned and mighty, into part of our Royall carefullnesse, vnto the degrees of Honour and Dignity, and the government of the Common-weale. Wherefore, Wee considering the long seruite, which our well-beloued and faithfull Councillor, William Cecil, our principall Secretary hath many waies done, as well in the time of our Progenitors, Kings of this kingdome, as also his faithfull, and most pleasing loyalty towards vs at all times, euen from the first beginning of our Reigne, not onely in the notable and graue affaires of Councill, but beside also, hath not ceased daily to doe, in all other expeditions for our Kingdome in general: and also the circumspection, courage, wisdomme, dexterity, integrity, providence, care, and fidelity of him the saide William Cecil, towards vs, our Crowne and Dignity.

Know you therefore, that Wee of our speciall Grace, certaine knowledge, and meercion, haue set, giuen, and in our Countie of Northampton promoted, made, and created, and by the tenor of these presents, do set, ordaine, and create him the aforesaide William Cecil, vnto the state, degree, dignity and honor, of Baron of Burghley: and vnto the saide William, haue imposed, giuen, and granted, and by these presents, doe impose, giue, and

grant, the Name, Stile, and Title of the Baron of Burghley. To haue, and to hold, the same State, Degree, Dignity, Stile, Title, Name, and Honour, vnto him the aforesaide William, and the heyres male issue of his body for euer. Willing, and by these presents for vs, Our heyres and Successors granting, that the aforesaide William, and his Heyres male aforesaide, may successively teare and haue, and euery one of them may haue and beare the said Name, State, Degree, Stile, Dignity, Title, and Honour: and may be called and stiled, and euery one of them may be called and stiled by the name of the Baron of Burghley. And that he the saide William and his heires male aforesaide, shall successively in all things, be holden for Barons of Burghley: and shall so be used and reputed, & that euery one of them shall be used, holden, and reputed, as Barons. And that the saide William, and his heires male aforesaide, may haue, hold, and possesse, and their heires male also aforesaide, and euery one of them may as Barons, haue, hold, and possesse a seate place, and voice in our Parliaments and Councells, amongst other Barons, within our kingdome of England. And also the saide William, and his heires male aforesaide, may haue, enioy, and vse, and euery one of them, shall by the name of the Baron of Burghley, haue, enioy, & vse, all the Rights, Priuiledges, Preheminences, and Immunities, of right and lawfully belonging vnto the state of a Baron in all things; which other the Barons of our said Kingdome of England, in former times, in better sort, more honourably and more quietly, used and enioyed, or at this present doe enioy and vse: and this without any fee, great or small, to be therefore to our vse in any wise giuen paide, or made into our Housperry of our Chancery, or elsewhere, for that expresse mention of the certainty of the premises, or of any of them, &c. These being witnesses. The most reuerend father in Christ, Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate and Metropolitane of all England, our welbeloued & faithfull Councillor, Nicholas Bacon knight, Keeper of our great Seale of England, and also our welbeloued Councillors and Councillors, William Marquesse of Northampton, Henry Earle of Arundell, Thomas Earle of Suffex, President of our Councell in the North parts of our kingdome, Henry Earle of Huntingdon, Ambrose Earle of Warwick, Master of the Chancery, Francis Earle of Bedford, Robert Earle of Leicester, Master of our

House,

Horse, Walter Vicount Hereford, Aubonie Vicount Mountague: And also the reuerend Fathers in Christ, Edwin byshop of London, Nicholas byshop of Worcester, Edmund byshop of Rochester, William byshop of Chester: And also our wel-beloued and faithfull William Lord Lumley, Lucas Lord Mountney, Henrie Lord Cromwel, Thomas Lord Paget, Roger Lord North. And our welbeloued & faithfull Counsellors, Francis Knols knight, Treasurer of our household, &c. James Crofts Knight, Master Controller of our household, &c. Given vnder our hand at Westmonastery, the 25. of February, in the 23. yeare of our reigne. By the Queene her selfe, according to the aforesaid date, by the authority of the Parliament.

The rites and Ceremonies vsed in Creating Barons by Charter.

William Cicill Knight, attired in a robe and Mantle, and in this forme brought forth, the xv. day of Februarie, the xiii. yeare of the reigne of Queene Elizabeth, was in the royall Pallace at Westmonastery, in a great assembly of Courtiers, made Baron of Burghley. First, the Heralds go before, by two and two together, whom Garter alone followeth, carrying in his handes the Royall Charter; Henry Cary, Baron of Hunsdon, carried the Barons Cloake: after whome followed William Cicill Knight, in the midst, betwixt Edward Baron Clinton, on the right hand, and William Brooke Baron Cobham on the lefte: who entering into the Chamber of salutation (which wee commonly call the Presence Chamber) & making there obeysance thrice, approached vnto her royall Maiesty; where Garter first deliuered the Charter to the Earle of Sussex, then being Chamberlain of the Queenes house, who gaue the same vnto the Queene, and the againe deliuered the same vnto John Wolley Esquire, to be read: VVhere, at the word (*Inuestiimus*, or we haue inuested) the Queen put vpon him the Barons Cloake, and the Charter being read, pronounced him the sayde William Cicill, Baron of Burghley, and his heyres male after him, as is before declared.

VVhich thing being done, the charter

was againe deliuered vnto the Queene, who forthwith gaue it to the Baron to be kepte; who at length, after moost great thanks giuen her, for the honour by him receiued, in his honourable attire, with a great noise and sound of Trumpets, departed to dinner, euen in the same maner that he came in.

After mid dinner, Garter with the rest of the Queenes Heralds, comming neere vnto the Table, and hauing first altogether cryed aloud, *Largezse*, forthwith proclaimed the Queens stile in *Latine*, *French* and *English*, and so with-drawing themselves a little farther off, and againe repeating *Largezse*, he repeated the stile of the new Baron in these words: *Dis tres-noble Seigneur Guillaume Cicil Cheualier, Baron de Burghley*: and so hauing done their obeysance, and altogether crying twice *Largezse*, they departed.

The manner and forme of admitting of Barons by Rescript or Writ.

His (I say) is the manner of creating of the Named Nobility, by royall Charters: now a fewe things remaine, to shew how the newe Barons are by VVrits of Summons chosen into the Parliaments: and in what sort they being thither called, are there placed. The forme of the writ wee haue before shewed, and the forme of theyr Admission is this.

Henry Compton, Henry Cheney, & Henry Norreis Knights, were by writs, called to be present at the Parlement at Westmonastery, vpon Thursday the 8. day of May, in the 14. yeare of the reigne of Queene Elizabeth, vpon which day, after that the Nobles were set on their seats, these three attending without, were by turnes in this maner brought in, and admitted into the vpper house. Garter K. at Armes, came before bare-headed, hauing on his royall coat, whom two of the last made Barons, attyred in their Cloaks, robes, and Mantles followed, bringing in the knight that was to be in his new honour inuested, in the middle betwixt them. Him at length they bring vnto the Chancellor, vnto whome the Knight hauing made once or twice Obeysance, deliuereth his *Writ of Summons*.

mons to be read, wherein he declareth by what power & authority he is come thither: the Chancellor after the writ read with great courtesie welcomming him, dismisth the new Baron (in his Barons attire) to take his place, which place (Garter going before them) they shewe vnto him: but the writ is by the Chancellour deliuered vnto the Clarke of the Parlia-

ment to be laid vp.

In the like manner were the other two Knights afterward brought in and admitted, and in their due order in their seates placed. So they which entred into the Parliament but Knights onely, goe out thence and are so accounted Barons, and enioy the like honor with the rest of the Barons of the kingdome.

The habit wherein a Baron of England, is inuested.

BARO



CHAP. VII.

The Kings Charter for the Creating of a Vicount.

The Copy of the L. Patents of K. Henrie the VI. creating Jo. Beaumont, vicount of Beaumont.

HEnry, by the grace of God, King of England, and of France, Lord of Ireland, &c. To all Arch-Bishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Sherifffes, Gouernors, Bayliffes, Ministers, and other his faithfull Subjects, vnto whome, &c. *Greeting.* Know you, that we, when as wee see it to becomme our Maiestie, with principall honors to promote them, who with dutifull seruice dayly attend vs, especially in such things which proceed from our meere Prerogative & gracious bounty; and them chiefly, whom the remembrance of their fathers and former Ancestors hath ennobled, and the merites of their owne vertues haue with manifest obedience and loyalty graced: that vertue so rewarded, may in it selfe be strengthened, and withall allure many vnto vertuous actions.

Heereof it is, that wee considering the Noble discent of our most dearly beloved cosine *John Lord of Beaumont*, & the good seruices which his Ancestors faithfully performed vnto our Progenitours, together with the most acceptable Offices which he euen from his infancy, hath hitherto commendably done vnto vs, and yet dayly performeth, as he desireth hereafter to continue the same, and to doe vs so much the more better honour: VVee of our especiall Grace, in this our present Parliament, giue vnto the aforesaid *John Lord of Beaumont* our cosine, and the heires male of his bodie, the name of the *Vicount of Beaumont*; and do really inuest

him the faide *John*, with the Armes of the *Vicount of Beaumont*, and assigne vnto him in our Parliaments, Councils, and other assemblies, a place aboue all the other Barons in our Kingdome. Vnto whom as it shall be more fit, and as it is shewed in the very State of a Vicount aforesayde, wee of our meere motion and bounty, haue giuen and graunted for vs and our heyres, as much as in vs is, vnto the aforesaid *John* and his heyres, together with the Name, Armes, and place aforesaid, twentie Markes to be yearly receiued vnto him, and to his heires male yssuing out of his owne body, out of the former illues and profits, of our countie of *Lincolne* to bee paid by the hands of the Sheriffe of the sayde county for the time beeing, at the Termes of Easter and S. Michael, by equall portions. To haue & to hold to him and his heires aforesaid, the Name, armes, place, and twenty Marks as aforesaid for euer; for that expresse mention, &c. VVitnesse our selfe at *Red. Ing.* the twelfth of February, in the eighteenth year of our reigne.

By the Writ of our Primate Seale.



Here is so great a similitude and likeness in the Rites and ceremonies in creating of a Vicount, with those which are vsed in the creating of a Baron, as that but chaunging such things as are of necessity to be changed, a man would thinke them almost the very same. But this difference there onely is; that a Baron is conducted betwixt two Barons, whereas a Vicount hath an Earle on his right hand, and a Baron on his left (in case there want Vicounts) to conduct him, and is by halfe a gard vpon his shoulder aboue a Baron, as by the Picture following in the next Page appeareth.

The

The rites and ceremonies of creating a Vicount.

VICE-COMES



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CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

The Royall Charter for the creating
of an Earle.

The Copie of
the Letters
patents of Q.
Elizabeth,
creating Wal-
ter Deuereux
earle of Essex.



Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, Defenderre of the faith, &c. Vnto all and singular Archbishops, Dukes, Marqueses, Earles, Vicounts, Bishops, Barons, and all others, vnto whom &c. Greeting. Seeing that they whom the Diuine prouidence hath put and placed in a Monarchy and Royall Seate, that they being as it were the Lieutenants of him that heavenly Monarch, vpon earth, may well, vprightly, religiously, decently, and wholely rule, gouerne and maintaine, whatsoeuer is to their custody and gouernment by God himselfe giuen and committed: and that the Monarchs in their Monarchies, represent the same thing that the eyes do in the body, whose office it is to direct all the members of the body: Monarchs and Princes therefore as eyes of the Commonweale, ought diligently to intend, to looke about, and to search into all States and degrees of their Empire, without which wee must needes confesse, no ciuill administration, or politickall gouernement, to be possibly made or framed. And so necessary is the preservation of orders and degrees of men in great Empires, as that after they once see the Nobility of the States and Degrees broken, rent, impaired, or shaken, or (as many things happen after the manner of men) by death afflicted or weakened, they ought with all speed to amend, repaire, increase, and augment the same: so that others, whom both their owne vertues, and the glory of their Stocke and Ancestors hath ennobled, being called vnto Nobilitie and honour, the glorie of Degrees and States may for euer in the glorie and brightnesse thereof bee preferred and kept. Wherefore wee now seeing one honourable and glorious order of Nobilitie amongst the rest to growe few; and knowing right well our most famous and renowned Cousin Wal-

ter Vicount Hereford, Knight of our most Noble order of the Garter, Lord Feners of Charsley, worthily and valiantly to haue for vs behaued himselfe in that seditious tumult of wicked Traytors and Rebels, raised of most wicked and vagracious men in the North parts of our kingdom: In which tumult and power of armed Traytors, a most great and horrible danger was, not vnto our Kingdome onely, but euen vnto our person also intended: so that partly by his conduct, not onelie the cruell furie and rage of the Traytors and Rebels, was therein that place repressed, but many of the Rebels also were vnto our obedience reduced, and so to the state of our Kingdome before sore troubled, became againe to be well quieted and pacified.

Wee therefore, for these causes and things by him so worthily performed, willing to promote him the sayde Walter vnto the State, Honour and Dignitie, of the Earle of Essex: and for that the aforesayde Walter is descended of the Noble Stocke and Family of the Bouchiers, late Earles of Essex, & is by the common Law of our Kingdome, next heire vnto Henry Bouchier late Earle of Essex. Know you, that wee of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, & meere motion, haue erected, created & promoted the said Walter to be Earle of Essex, and also to the state, degree, dignity and honour of the Earle of Essex: and by the Tenour of these presents, do erect, create, and promote him to be Earle of Essex. And vnto the same Walter haue impos'd, giuen, and bestowed the name, stile, and title of the Earle of Essex; and by these presents, do impose, giue, and bestow the same. And him the said Walter, in such the state, stile, honour, and dignity of the Earle of Essex, by the girding vnto him of a sword, and the putting on of a Cap of Honour, and a Coronet of Gold, do grace, inuict and really ennoble by these presents. To haue and to hold the state, degree, dignitie, stile, name, and honour of the Earle of Essex aforesaid, with all and singular the preeminences, honours, and other such things whatsoeuer vnto the state of an Earle appertaining or belonging, vnto the aforesayd Walter, and the heires male issuing from his bodie for euer. Willing, and by these presents, granting for vs, our

heires,

heires & successors, that the said Walter, and his heires male aforesaid, shall the name, state, degree, dignity, stile, and honour aforesaid, successiue haue & beare: and shall by the name of the Earle of Essex aforesaid, be called, and stiled, and euery one of them shall be called & stiled. And that the said Walter and his heires aforesaid, shall in all things successiue be holden, vsed, and reputed, and euery one of them shall be holden, vsed, and reputed, as Earles of Essex. And the said Walter and his heires male, shall haue, hold, and possesse, and euery one of them shall haue, holde, and possesse a place in our Parliaments, and in the Parliaments of our Heires and Successours within our Kingdome of England, among the other earles, as earle of Essex; and in such sort, as the aforesayde Henrie Bouchier, late earle of Essex had, held, and possessed the same.

And the said Walter also, and his heires aforesaid, shall enioy and vse, and enioy one of them by the name of the earle of Essex, shall enioy and vse all & euery the rights, priuileges, preeminences, and immunities in all things orderly and of right vnto the state of an Earle belonging; and which other earles in all things, orderly & of right, haue before these times, in better wise more honourably and quietly vsed and enioyed, or do at this present enioy and vse.

And for because, that as the height of State and Honour encrease, so greater charges and burdens necessarily encrease also: and that hee the sayd Walter and his heires aforesaid, and euery one of them may the better, more seemely, and honourably maintaine & support the aforesaid state of the earle of Essex, and the burdens lying vpon him the said Walter and his heires: We therefore of our more abundant grace, haue giuen and granted, and by these presents doe giue and graunt, for vs, our heires and successors, vnto the aforesaid Walter, and his heires aforesaid, for euer, twenty pound of Fee, or yearly rent, to be yearly receiued, of the issues, profits, and reuenues, of our great and little Custome and Subsidie graunted vnto vs, or hereafter to be graunted vnto vs, our heires and successors, arising, growing, or comming, within the Port of our honorable Citie of London, by the

hands of our Customers and Collectors, or the Customer and Collectors of our Heyres and Successors there, for the time being, at the Tearmes of S. Michael, and Easter, by euen portions, to be euery year payed. By reason that expresse mention of the true yearly valour, or of any other valour or certainty of the premises, or of any of the, or of any other gifts or grants by vs, or any of our Progenitors, before these times made vnto the aforesaid Walter earle of Essex, in these presents appeareth not: or any Statute, Ordinance, Act, Prouision, Proclamation, or restriction to the contrary thereof, before had, made, set forth, or provided, or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoeuer, in any thing notwithstanding.

These being VVitnesses. Our faithfull Councillor, Nicholas Bacon knight, Keeper of our great Seale of england: and our most wel beloued Cousins, Edward earle of Oxford, Lord Chamberlaine of england, Reinold earle of Kent, William earle of Worcester, knight of the most Noble order of the Garter, Henry earle of Rutland, Thomas earle of Suffex, of our aforesaid order of the Garter knight, and President of our Councill in the North parts of our kingdome of england: Henry earle of Huntingdon, of the aforesaid Order, &c. Ambrose earle of Warricks, of the aforesaid Order, &c. Edward earle of Hertford, Robert earle of Leicester, of the Order aforesaid, &c. Thomas Vicount Bindon. And also the reuerend Fathers in Christ, Edmund Bishop of Sarum, & Edmund Bishop of Rochester, our Almoner, And also our wel-beloued and faithfull, William Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Chamberlaine of our House, of the Order of the Garter aforesaid, &c. William Lord of Burghley, our principall Secretary of the Order aforesaid, &c. Henry Lord Strange, Arthur Lord Gray of Wilton, of the order aforesaid: William Lord Sanders, Edward Lord Windsor, Thomas Lord Wharton, Robert Lord Rich, Thomas Lord Paget, John Lord Darcey of Chiche, Robert Lord North, Edmund Lord Chandos, of the aforesaid Order of the Garter, &c. Thomas Lord of Buckburff, William Lord Deleware, Barons, Francis Kneller knight, Treasurer of our House, James Crestes, Knight, Controullor of our House. And our well-beloued and faithfull

T 2 Henry

Henry Slakey Knight of the aforeſayd Order. &c. and *Lord Preſident* of our Council in the Marches of *Wales*: *William Cordell* Knight, Maſter of the Rolles of our Chancery, and others. Given under our hand, at our Mannour of *Greenwich*, the fourth day of May, in the fourteenth year of our reigne. 1572.

CHAP. IX.

The Rites and Ceremonies of creating of an Earle.

THe ſame *Walter Deuereux*, Baron *Ferrers of Chartley*, & *Vicomte Hereford*, hauing on an inner Gowne of purple like, and covered with a Robe of Liſtate, & a velvet Mantell of the ſame colour, and going in the middle betwixt the erle of *Suffex* on his right hand, and the erle of *Huntingdon* on his left, both of them in their Robes was conducted from the Queens Chappell vnto the Queens preſence. Next before him went the erle of *Leiceſter*, carrying a *Cap of Eſtate*, an *ls. Coronet of Gold*: & the erle of *Bedford* on the left hand, bearing before him a Sword, with the Hiltis vpward. Before theſe alſo went *Garter*, the chiefe *K. of Armes* with the Charter alone, and before him al the reſt of the *Heralds*, by two & two together. When they were now come vnto the *Chamber of Preſence*, after they had thence made their moſt lowe obeiſſance, with ſome little ſpace betwixt, they drew neare vnto the Queene then ſitting in her Chaire of Eſtate, where the aforeſaid *Walter* kneeled downe, the reſt ſtanding by. There the Charter was firſt deliuered vnto the Queene, who gaue it to *William Cecil*, Baron of *Burgheley*, who deliuered the ſame vnto *William Cordell* Knight, Maſter of the Rolles, to read it aloud. Where at theſe words (in the Charter) *Gladio cinctus* &c. the Queen put about his necke a Sword, hanging ouerthwart towards his left hand: and at theſe words *Coppa & Circuli aurei*, ſhe alſo put vpon his head a *Cap*, with a little *Coronet*. And afterward reading that which was left, pronounced him the ſaid *Walter* before *Vicomte Hereford*, now created erle of *ſſex*, for him and his heires male, as in

the Charter it ſelfe before ſet downe more at large appeareth. Theſe things being done, the ſame Maſter of the Rolles (in ſtead of the Secretary, for the helping of whom he had read the charter) deliuered it to the Earle of *Oxford*, Great Chamberlaine of England: but he deliuered it vnto the Queene, who alſo gaue the ſame vnto the Earle of *Effex* to be kept. But he after great thanks, with great humility giuen, withdrew himſelfe aſide among the other Noblemen ſtanding there by, expecting another, comming to be created earle. In like maner, & at the ſame time alſo, *Edward* Baron of *Clynton* and *Say*, and *Admirall of England*, was for himſelfe and his heires male, created earle of *Lincolne*.

Theſe things altogether finiſhed, they departed in the ſame order that they came in, with the Trumpets aloud ſounding, whom the *Heralds* received. *Garter* went before, whom the new Earles followed in the middle, betwixt the Earles of *Suffex* and *Huntingdon*. And being ſo attired in the Ornamentals of their creations, were conducted to dinner into a dining Chamber prepared for the ſame purpoſe. Where, after they had ſit ſpace, at the comming in of the ſecond courſe, *Garter* with the reſt of the *Heralds* entring into the dining Chamber, crying aloud, *Largeſſe*; he alone proclaimed the Queens ſtile, firſt in Latine, after in *French*, and thirdly in english: and hauing twice repeated the word *Largeſſe*, & withdrawing themſelues a little farther from the Table, proclaimed the ſtile of theſe laſt created Earles, in french and english in theſe words.

Du tres hault et Puissant Seigneur Gautier d'Enverux Comte de Effex, Vicomte Hereford, Baron Ferrers de Chartley, et Cheualier du tres noble ordre de la Jarretiere.

Of the moſt high and mighty Lord, *Walter of Enverux*, earle of *Effex*, *Vicomte Hereford*, Baron *Ferrers of Chartley*, and Knight of the moſt honourable order of the *Garter*.

Du tres hault et puissant Sir Edouarde Conte de Lincoln, Baron de Clynton et Say, grand Admirall d'Angleterre, et Cheualier de tres noble ordre de la Jarretiere.

Of the moſt high & puiſſant, *Sir Edward*, earle of *Lincoln*, Baron of *Clynton* & *Say*, great Admirall of England, & knight of the moſt noble order of the *Garter*.

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The habit and attire wherein an Earle of England is invested.



CHAP. X.

¶ The Kings Charter concerning the creating of a Marquesse.



Edward by the grace of God, King of England & of France, Lord of Ireland, &c. Vnto all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Sherifes, Governours, Ministers, Balives, and all his faithfull Subiects; greeting. Know you, that forasmuch as our Royall Maiesty, after most great victories obtained ouer our enemies, is by the power of Almighty God promoted vnto the Regall Dignitie, and our Hereditary Royall seate: and lest that so great glorie of our Name, should euen in the verie rising thereof, for want of Children, faile, it came most happily to passe, that we were in lawfull marriage ioyned vnto our best beloued wife, Elizabeth, Queene of England, of whom we haue raised certaine more strong stayes of our future Royall Posterity, that is to say, Edward our eldest Sonne, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earle of Chester, Richard Duke of Shrewsbury and of Yorke; with a notable encrease of other our Children also: which thing greatly both perswadeth and enforceth vs, euen from our heart, to giue the greatest thanks wee possibly can, vnto the most glorious and high GOD, Defender of our Royall right, and Reuenger of our wrongs; and with gracious fauours to prosecute, and with greater honour and fauour to grace and beautifie her the same our wife, hauing of vs best deferred, and all her Progeny. But to the intent that our first begotten Sonne aforesayd, and the rest of our best beloued Children, compassed about with the faithfull, trusty, and sure strength of their neare and deare friends, as it were with certaine walles, may the more strongly be defended; we will not passe ouer vnrewarded, Thomas Grey their Brother by the Mothers side; whose noble Stocke, exceeding towardlineffe, worthy valour, but most of all, whose honourable vertues, we with the sincere affection of loue embrace: for

why it seemes a thing most certain, them being brought vp in naturall society, and bound together with that sweete remembrance, them to haue dwelt in the same dwelling place before they were borne, to beare a certaine common and especial loue amongst themselves for euer: and that they who in so strait a degree of consanguinity & loue are ioyned together, if any one of them should bee of so small dignity and reputation, as that for poverty hee should not be able honourably to serue his greater kinsman when he ought vs to do: we thinke it not vnbecomming vs to provide therefore, so as shall best seeme vs. And therefore we willing that the sayde Thomas should bee promoted with a greater patrimony, and more notable Titles of honour and dignity, that so he may stand in better stead, and become a greater Ornament vnto vs, our Children, and the Common-weale: of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and merer motion, do ordaine, make, and create him the said Thomas, to be Marquesse Dorset: and also by these presents vnto the said Thomas, giue and grant, the stile, honour, state, title and dignity of Marquesse Dorset: and by the Girding vnto him of a Sword, and by the putting on of a Cap of Honour, do inuest him of the stile, title, name and honour of Marquesse of the place aforesayd; together with all the prerogatiues vnto the same honour and dignity appertaining and belonging. To haue and to hold the said name, stile, honour, state, title, and dignity of Marquesse Dorset, together with all the appurtenances, dignities, and other things whatsoever, vnto the state of a Marquesse of our kingdom of England, as well in our Sessions, Parliaments and Councells, and of our heires, or otherwise howsoever it be vnto the same honour and dignity appertaining and belonging, vnto the aforesayde Thomas and his heyres male issuing out of his body for euer. And also of our more plentifull grace we haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents do giue and graunt vnto the aforesayd Marquesse towards the supportation of the sayde name, stile, honour, state, title and dignity, 35. pounds of lawfull money of England. To be had, leuied & receiued yearly vnto the sayd Marquesse, and the same his heires aforesayd, (viz.) twenty pounds there-

there-

CHAP. XI.

¶ The Kings Charter for the creating of a Marchionesse.



HENRY by the grace of God, King of England, and of France, Defender of the Faith: & Lord of Ireland: to all and singular Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Sherifes, Governours, Ministers, and all Balives, & others his faithfull Subiects: Greeting. Know you, that forasmuch as a Royall Seate, & the height of regal dignity, with the greater State and Maiesty, consisteth in the multitude of persons of both Sexes, as well of men as women: and that the gouernment of our kingdom is so much the more, with the more excellent honour strengthened, by how much the more noble States, and higher Dignity of both Sexes are vnder it, or support it. VVee therefore vnto the premises directing our sight, and willing to establish our Royall Scepter with the encrease of Nobles, and especially such as are from Royall race descended. For a Royall Seate once placed, is with the presence of many Princes to be attended. VVherefore vpon this consideration, as well for the Nobility of her Stocke, as for the excellency of her vertues and conditions; and other the shewes of her honesty & goodnesse, worthily to be commended. VVee by the content of the Nobility of our kingdom then present, make, create, and ennoble; and by these presents make, create, and ennoble our Cousin Anne Rochford, one of the Daughters of our well-beloued Cousin Thomas, Earle of Wiltshire, and of Ormond: Keeper of our priuate Seale, to be Marchionesse of Pembroke: and also by The putting on of a Mantle, and the setting of a Coronet of gold vpon her head, as the manner is, do really inuest vnto her the Name, Title, State, Stile, Honour, Authority, and Dignity, and other the rest of the Honour, vnto the same belonging and annexed.

To haue and to hold the Name, Stile, Title,

thereof to bee had and receiued vnto the said Marquesse and the same his heyres, of the Fee-farme of the Towne of Dorset, by the hands of the Bourgeses of the faide Towne for the time being, at the tearmes of S. Michael, and of Easter, by equall portions. And the other fifteene pounds the remainder thereof, to bee had and receiued yearly vnto the faide Marquesse, and his heyres aforesayde, of all the Customes and Subsidies, to vs already granted, or to be granted, and of eyther of the, and of euery part, or of euery parcell of the same, comming and growing in that Port of our Towne of Southampton, by the hands of our Customers or Collectors, or of our heyres in the Port for the time being, at the aforesayde Tearmes by equal portions. For because that expresse mention of the true yearly valour of the premises, or any of them, or of any other gits or grants vnto the faide Thomas, before these times by vs made, is not in these presents made: or any statute, acte, or ordinance to the contrary, made, set forth, or ordained: or any other thing, cause, or matter whatsoeuer notwithstanding: and these things without any fee thereuppon, to our vse in any wise to be payed. These being Witnesse: Our most famous first begotten Sonne, Edward Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earle of Chester, and of Flint. The most reuerend Fathers, Thomas Cardinall and Archbishop of Canterbury, & George, Archbishop of Yorke. Our most renowned Brethren, George Duke of Clarence, and Richard Duke of Gloucester: and the right reuerend Fathers, Thomas Bishop of Lincolne, our Chancellor of England: and Thomas Bishoppe of Hereford. Our well-beloued Cousins, William Arundell, Henry Essex, Treasurers of England, and Anthony Rivers Earles. And the welbeloued and faithfull Clarke, our Elquire John Russell, Doctor of Law, & keeper of our priuate Seale: And also our welbeloued and faithfull Thomas Stanley, & William Hastings, Knights: with others. Given vnder our hand at Westminster, the XVIII. day of April, in the XV. yeare of our Reigne.

By Letters of our priuate Seale, and of the Date of these presents, before the Parliaments.

The Letters Patents when by King Henry the eighte graced Anne Rochford Daughter to Thomas earle of Wiltshire and of Ormond, with the Ticket Marchionesse of Pembroke.

Title, State, Honor, Authority, and Dignity of the Marchionesse of *Penbrooke* vnto the aforesaid *Anne*, and the heyres male yssuing of her body for ever. And to the intent, that the sayd *Anne* as becometh the name of the Marchionesse of *Penbrooke*, & the Nobility of her state may the more decently and honorably, maintaine and support the burthens to be laid vpon her, we haue giuen and granted, & by this present Charter doe giue, grant, and confirme vnto the said *Anne*, and her heyres aforesaid, thirty and five poundes yearly, to be receiued to her & her heirs aforesaid, of the firme rents, issues, reuentions, obventions, profits, and emoluments, of our Countie of *Penbrooke* aforesaid, arising and growing, as well by the hands of the Sheriffe of that Countie for the time being, as by the hands of the Bailiffes, Farmers, or other occupiers of our Countie aforesaid whosoever, at the Termes of *Saint Michael* the Archangell, and of *Easter*, by equall portions to bee payed. For that expresse mention of the true yearly valew, or of other giftes or grants by vs, vnto the aforesaid *Anne* in former times made, in these presents appeareth not, or any statute, act, ordinance or prouision to the contrary therof made, set forth, or provided, or any other thing or matter whatsoever, in any thing notwithstanding. These being Witnesse. The most reuerend Father in Christ, *Ed.* Archbishop of *Yorke*, and the Reuerend Father in Christ, *Step.* Bishop of *Winchester* our Secretary, and *John* Bishoppe of *London*, And also our wel-beloued cosins *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, our Treasurer of *England*, and *Charles* Duke of *Suffolke*, Earle *Marshall*, *Thomas* Earle of *Wiltshire*, Keeper of our private Seale: *John* Earle of *Oxford*, our Chamberlaine of *England*: and *George* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, Steward of our house: *Thomas* Audley Knight, keeper of our great Seale: *William* Sandes of *Fine*, Knight, Chamberlaine of our House: and *Walter* Deuerex of *Ferrers* Knight, Barons: *William* Fitz *Williams*, Treasurer of our house: and *William* Pantler, controller of our house, Knights: and others. Giuen vnder our hand, at our Castle of *Windsor*, the first day of September, and in the 24. yeare of our reigne.

The Rites and Ceremonies vsed in Creating of a Marchionesse.

THIS *Anne* the daughter of *Thomas* Earle of *Wiltshire*, and of *Ormond*, vpon a Sunday, viz. the first day of September, 1532. in the 24. yeare of King *Henry* the eighth, was at *Windsore* in this manner inueiled.

The King himselfe attended vpon with the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, the Marquesses, Earles, Barons, and other the Great estates of the Kingdome, together with the French Ambassador, and a name of the Priuy Counsell, went into the Chamber of *Salutation*, which they commonly call *The Presence*, and there fate him downe in his chaire of *Estate*. Vnto the which place the aforesaid *Anne* was conducted with a great traine of Noble Countiees, both men and women. The *Lords* went foremost, *Garter* K. of *Heralds*, first carrying the Kings Charter. After whom, the Noble Lady *Mary*, daughter to *Thomas* Duke of *Norfolke*, vpon her left arme, carried a robe of estate of *Cambion* Veluet, furred with *Ermiones*, and in her right hand a *Coronet* of *Gold*. Her, the aforesaid *Anne* followed, with her hayre loose, and hanging down vpon hir shoulders, attired in her inner garment (which they call a *Surcoat*) of *Crimson* Veluet, lined with *ermions* also, with strait sleeves, going in the middest betwixt *Elizabeth*, Countesse of *Rutland* on her right hand; and *Dorothy*, Countesse of *Suffex* on her left; whom many Noble Ladies & Gentlewomen followd. But she being brought towards the Kings Royall Seate, thither made her obedience, and coming vnto the King fell downe vpon her knees. The King gaue the Charter before delivered vnto him, vnto the Bishop of *Winchester* his Secretary to be read, which as he was reading aloud at these words *Montella in ductionem* (in the Charter) the King put vpon *Anne* the Marchionesse the Robe of estate, deliuered him by the Lady *Mary*; and at the wordes *Circuli aurei*, put also vpon her head a *Coronet* of *Gold*. At length, the Charter being read, the King gaue vnto her two Charters, viz. the one, of the creating of her to bee a Marchionesse, and to the heyres male yssuing out of her body for ever. And another, for the receiuing of a thousand poundes reuenew yearly, for the maintining of that her dignity. All which thinges at length performed, she gaue the King most humble thanks, and so hauing on her Robe of

Estates

State, and a *Coronet* vpon her head, with the Trumpets aloud sounding, departed.

THE Rites and Ceremonies for creating of a *Marquesse*, altogether agree with those vsed in creating of a *Duke*

changing onely such thinges as are of necessity to be changed, but that *Marquesses* haue a *Marquesse* and an *Earle* to conduct them at their creating: the rest of the difference is out of the portraiture beneath set, as followeth.

The Rites and Ceremonies in creating of a MARQUESS. MARCHIO



CHAP. XIII.

The Kings Charter for the creating of a Duke.

EDWARD by the grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, King: Defender of the Faith, &c. to all Archbishops, Bishops, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Sheriffs, Gouernors, Ministers, and to all Bishops, and other his faithful Subjects, &c. Greeting. Seeing that there is nothing which more becometh a Prince, then to shew himselfe bountifull and liberrall, especially vnto such as haue of him well deserued, & good seruices vnto him performed: wee therefore reuoluing in our minde, with how many, how great & worthy seruices our most deare and well-beloued Vnkle Edward, earle of Hertford hath honoured vs: wee haue therefore thought him worthy, whom wee should promote vnto an higher degree of honour and dignity: neyther can we but for such his great deserts towards vs, but in some part with due deserts againe requite him. Know you therefore, that wee of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, & meere motion, and by the aduice of our Councell, do create, ennoble, make and ordaine, him the aforesaid earle, to bee Duke of *Somerfet*. And by these presents, giue and grant vnto him the saide earle, the name, title, state, stile, honour, authority, & dignity, of the Duke of *Somerfet*: and him of that name, with the title, state, honor, authority, & dignity, & other honours to the same belonging & annexed, by the *girting vnto him of a sword, and by the putting on of a Cap, and a Coronet of Gold* upon his head: and the *deliuering vnto him of a golden Verge*, do really inuest. To haue and to hold the name, stile, state, honour, authority, and dignity, of the Duke of *Somerfet*, vnto our aforesaid Vnkle, and to the heyres male of his owne body, and of the body of *Anne*, now his wife, already begotten, and of the body of the same *Anne* hereafter to be begotten. And if it shall happen the saide Duke to dye without heyre male begotten, or hereafter to bee

begotten of his body, and the body of the saide *Anne* now his wife: VVee will and grant, that if by the death of him the saide Duke, the heyres male of his body, and of *Anne* now his wife shall decease or dye, then *Edward Seymour* Esquire, the saide Dukes Sonne of the body of *Katharine* the first wife of him the saide Duke deceased, shall be Duke of *Somerfet*, and shall beare, haue, hold, and enjoy vnto him the aforesaid *Edward Seymour*, and the heyres male from the body of him, the same *Edward* lawfully descended, the name, state, title, honour, authority, and dignity of the Duke of *Somerfet*, with all the honours vnto the saide Dukedome appertaining & annexed. And also by the *girting vnto him of a sword, and the putting on of a Cap, and a Coronet of gold* upon his head, and by the *deliuering vnto him of a golden verge*, shall be thereof really inuested. And if it shall happen the aforesaid *Edward* to dye without heyre male of his body lawfully begotten, then we will, and grant, that the heyre of the now Duke of his body lawfully begotten, by any other his wife which he shall hereafter marry, shall bee Duke of *Somerfet*, and shall beare, haue, and enjoy the same, vnto him & his heyres male, lawfully begotten. And also the state, title, honour, dignity, and authority of the Duke of *Somerfet*, with all the honours vnto the saide Duke appertaining & annexed. And also by the *girting vnto him of a sword, and by the putting on of a Cap, and a Coronet upon his head, and the deliuering of a golden verge* vnto him, shall therein be royally inuested. And that the same Duke and his heyres aforesaid, may according to the decency of the said name of the Duke of *Somerfet*, and the Nobility of his and their estate, more honourably beare themselves. And that the same *Edward* and his heyres aforesaid, if they shall chance to be Dukes of *Somerfet*, may the more honourably maintaine, and beare the state and honour of the aforesaid name of the Duke of *Somerfet*: and for want of such issue, that then the heyres male of the body of the saide Duke hereafter to be begotten of the body of any wife, which he shall hereafter marry, may in like maner more honorably beare the state and honour of the aforesaid name of the Duke of *Somerfet*: we haue giuen and graunted, and by this our present Charter,

Charter,

Charter, giue, graunt, and confirme, for vs our heyres and successours, vnto the aforesaid duke of *Somerfet*, a certaine annual rent of forty pounds, of good and lawfull money of England, issuing out of our Mannor of *Crikerum*, otherwise called *Crokhorne, Stokegersy, Wikefitzpane*, or of any of them, in our County of *Somerfet*, being late parcel of the possessions of *Henrie late Marquess of Exceter*, which came vnto the hands of the late most noble and inuincible Prince, King *Henry* the eight, our most renowned father, by reason of the attainder of the saide Marquess, of high treason attainted, and which now are in our hands. To haue, hold, and receiue the aforesaid yearly rent of forty pound, vnto the aforesaid duke of *Somerfet*, and his heyres aforesaid, at the Feasts of the blessed virgin *Mary*, and Saint *Michael* the Archangel, by equall portions, to bee yearly paid by the hands of the Receiuers, Farmers, Tenants, and other whomsoever, Occupiers of four Manors, Lands, and Tenements aforesaid, or of any of them, being parcel of them. And after that, for want of such issue, vnto the aforesaid *Edward*, and the heyres male of his body lawfully begotten. And for defect of such issue, to remaine from thenceforth, vnto the heyres male of the said Duke of his owne body begotten, by any other his wife, which he shall hereafter marry. And that these our Letters Patents, or the Inrolment of them, vpon the onely shewing of the same, or of the enrolement of them, shall be yearly, and from time to time, as well vnto our Chancellour, and our Councell of our Court of *Augmentation and Reuencion* of our Crowne, for the time being, as vnto all others our Ministers, Receiuers, and other our Officers, their heyres and successours whatsoever for the time being, a sufficient warrant and discharge in this part, for the deliuey and payment of the saide yerly rent of forty pounds, vnto the aforesaid Duke and his heyres aforesaid. And for defect of such issue, vnto the saide *Edward Seymour*, and the heyres male of his body lawfully begotten. And for want of such issue, vnto the heyres of the saide Duke, of his body lawfully begotten, by any other his wife, which he shall hereafter marry. And if it shall happen the saide yerly rent of forty pound, or any part or

parcel thereof to be behind & vnpaid at any of the aforesaid Feasts, in which it ought to be paid as is aforesaid: then we grant for vs, our heyres and successours, vnto the saide Duke, and his heyres aforesaid, and euery one of them: and for lacke of such issue, vnto the saide *Edward Seymour*, and his heyres aforesaid: and for want of such issue, vnto the aforesaid heyres of the saide Duke, whom he shall lawfully beget of the body of any other his wife whom hee shall hereafter marry, and to euery one of them, into the aforesaid Mannors, and euery one of them, and into all and euery the aforesaid Lands and Tenements, or any parcel of the saide Mannors, Lands, or Tenements, to enter, and there to distraine, & the distresses there fo by them, or any of them taken, to drive, leade, carry away, impound, and with them, and euery one of them to detain, vntill the aforesaid yearly rent of forty pound, together with the arrearages (if any there shall be thereof) shall vnto the aforesaid duke and his heyres aforesaid, or vnto the saide *Edward* or his heyres aforesaid: or the heyres of the saide Duke, or some one of them, be fully and wholly contented and payed, by vs, our heyres and successours, or the assignes of vs, our heyres, or successours. And for that expresse mention, &c. These being VVitnes. The most reuerend Father in Christ, *Thomas* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Primate and Metropolitan of all England; and our well-beloued and faithfull Councellour, *William Poules* Knight, Lord *Saint John*, Great Maister of our house, &c. *John Russell* Knight, Lord *Russell* Keeper of our priue Seale: and also our most well-beloued Cozins, *Henry* earle of *Arundell*, and *Francis* earle of *Shrewsburie*, &c. Given vnder our hand at the Tower of *London*, the sixteenth day of February.

The first of Edward the first by the King himselfe.

¶ The

CHAP. XIII.

The manner of Creating of a Duke.

In the year one thousand five hundred forty seven, the xvii. of the Moneth of February, and in the first year of the Reign of Edward the sixth of that name, The Nobility being called together and assembled into the Tower of London. Edward Seymour, the aforesaid Earle of Hertford the kings Viceroy, & Protector of the kingdom, with others promoted vnto the diuers degrees of Nobility, was in this wise created Duke of Somerset. He himselfe being appareled in an inner Robe of honour, the Herald went before him in their Heraldic coates, the chiefe of whom, Garter following alone, carried the Charter. The Earles of Shrewsbury and of Oxford, going together, the Earle of Shrewsbury on the right hand, carried a Verge of gold, & the earle of Oxford on the left, carried the Dukes Cap, with a Coronet of gold. Next vnto whom followed the Earle of Arundell, carrying a Sword with the hilts vpward. At length the earle of Hertford himselfe was conducted in the midst, betwixt the

Duke of Suffolke, and the Marquess of Dorchester: When they in this manner, attired in their Robes of honour, were come into the Chamber of Salutation (which they commonly call The presence Chamber) they after thrice obeysance made, went vnto the king, sitting in his chaire of Estate: where forthwith the earle kneeled downe, all the rest standing about him, Garter king of Heralds, deliuered the Charter vnto Baron Poyer, the Kings Secretary, who gaue the same vnto the King, and he deliuered it vnto him againe to be read aloud. And when he came vnto the words *investimus* (or we haue inuested) the king put a Dukes Mantle vpon the Earle: and at the words (*gladio cincturamus*) girt him with a Sword: at the words (*cappa & circuli aurei impositionem*) the King himselfe in like manner with his owne hand put vpon his head a Cap with a Coronet of gold vpon it: and at length, at those wordes (*virga aurea traditionem*) the King himselfe gaue into his hand, A verge of gold: which done, the Secretary read the rest, even vnto the end of the Charter: where in he pronounced him the said earle of Hertford, to bee Duke of Somerset: at which time, the King forthwith gaue the Charter vnto the Duke to be leapt: who after thanks giuen vnto the Kings Maie- tie for so great an honour and dignity received, in this sort attired, stood by the Chaire of Estate, whilst the Noble-men returned to bring in others, who were also to be created.

The

The habite and attire of a Duke.



CHAP. XV.

The Kings Charter for the creating of the Prince of Wales.

The Copy of the letters patents of King Henry the 6. creating Edward his first begotten Sonne Prince of Wales, and Earle of Chester.

HENRY by the grace of God, King of England, and of France, Lord of Ireland, &c. To all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Iustices, Vicounts, Gouvernors, Ministers, and to all our Balues, and faithfull Subiects, Greeting. Out of the excellency of Royall preheminance, like as beams from the Sun, do inferior honours proceed: neyther doth the integrity of the royall luster and brightnesse, by the naturall disposition of the light, affording light fro light, feele any losse or detriment by such borrowed light: yea, the Royall Scepter is also much the more extolled, and the Regall Throne exalted, by how much the more Nobles, Preheminences, and Honours are vnder the power and command thereof.

And this worthy consideration allureth and induceth vs, which desire the encrease of the Name and Honour of our first begotten and best beloued Sonne, *Edward*, in whom we behold and see our selues to bee honoured, and our royall house also, and our people subiect vnto vs; hoping by the grace of God (by coniecture taken of his gracious future proceeding to be the more honorably strengthened, that wee may with honour preuent, and with abundant grace prosecute him, who in reputation of vs, is deemed the same person with vs. VWherefore, by the Councell and consent of the Prelats, Dukes, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons of our kingdome, being in our present Parliament, we haue made and created, and by these presents make and create him the said *Edward*, Prince of Wales, and Earle of *Chester*. And vnto the same *Edward* we giue and grant, and by this Charter haue confirmed, the Name, Stile, Title, State, Dignity, and the honour of the said Principality and County. And him of the said Principality and County, that hee may therein in gouerning rule, and in ruling, direct and defend, we by a *Garland* upon

his head, by a ring of gold vpon his finger, and a verge of gold, haue according vnto the manner inuested him. To haue and to hold the same vnto him and his heires, the Kings of England for euer. Wherefore, we will, and straightly command, for vs and our heires, that *Edward* our Sonne aforesaid, shall haue the Name, Stile, Title, State, Dignity, and Honour of the Principalltie of *Wales*, and of the County of *Chester* aforesaid, vnto him and his heires the Kings of England aforesaid, for euer. These being witnesses. The reverend fathers, *John*, Cardinall and Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, Primate of all England, our Chancellor, and *William* Arch-Bishop of *Turke*, Primate of England; *Thomas* Bishop of *London*, and *William* Bishop of *Norwich*: our most wel-beloued Cousins, *Richard* Duke of *Torke*, and *Humphrey* Duke of *Buckingham*, our wel-beloued Cousins, *Richard* Earle of *Warwicke*, *Richard* Earle of *Sarisbury*, *John* Earle of *Wilshire*, and our beloued and faithfull *Raffe Cromwell*, Chamberlain of our house, *William Faulconbridge*, and *John Stourton* Knights Dated at our Pallace of *V Westminster*, the XV. day of *March*, and in the yeare of our Reigne, XXXII.

By the King himselfe, and his Councill.

CHAP. XVI.

Things required vnto the Creation of the Prince of Wales.

First, an honorable habite (viz.) a Robe of Purple Veluet hauing in it, about XVIII.elines, more or lesse, garnished about with a fringe of gold, and lined with *Ermins*.

A Surcoat or inner Gowne, hauing in it about XIII.elines of Veluet, of like Coulour, Fringe, and Furre.

Laces, Buttons, and Tassels (as they call them) ornaments made of purple silke & gold.

A girdle of silke also, to gird his inner Gowne.

A sword with a scabberd made of purple silke and gold, garnished with the like girdle he is girt withall, thereby shewing himselfe

himselfe to be Duke of *Cornwall* by birth, and not by Creation.

A cap of the same veluet that his Robe is of, furred with *Ermins*, with Laces and a Button, and Tassels on the crowne thereof made of Venice gold.

A garland or a little Coronet of gold, to be put on his head, together with his Cap.

A long golden Verge or Rod, betokening his gouernment.

A Ring of gold also to be put on the third finger of his left hand, whereby he

declareth his marriage made with *Equity* and *Iustice*.

All these things were almost with Royal sumptuousnesse prepared for *Edward*, Sonne to King *Henry* the eight, to haue beene created Prince of *Wales*, but prented by his Fathers death, hee was crownd King, sixt of that Name: yett the forme, with the Rites and Ceremonies belonging to the inuesting of the Prince into the Principality of *Wales*, you may perceiue, by that which is before declared.

PRINCEPS WALLIAE



CHAP. XVII.

Of the Crowning of the King.

Concerning Charters & Writs of Summons vnto Parliament, whereby the Kinges of England, onely upon their good liking & meere motion (as they use to say) are wont to conferre Named Nobility, wee haue already spoken: and now at length we are come vnto the rites and Ceremonies of the Coronation of the Kinges themselves, as they are after our manner with vs Crowned. Concerning which, a few things are now to be saide.



Nothing assuredly is more excellent then the Royall dignity, if we shall respect the Maiesty of the name of a King, either among the nations or in holie Scriptures. The Romanes in ancient time, appointed three Degrees of their greatest Dignities of all which, the Regall power was the cheefest and highest. Next after the dignity of a King was the Dictatorship, in the third place, followed the power which the Generall of their Armies had, whom they called Imperator. Hee that great Iulius Caesar, when after the victory of Pharsalia, had bene oftentimes by his army saluted Imperator, yet for all that, vied he not the name of Imperator, but Dictator. For why, the name of a King, after the time of Tarquinius, was for a great while growne into hatred, and become odious in the Citie. Howbeit, at such time as he was about to make an expedition against the Parthians, hee affected to bee called a King: affirming it to be contained in the Books of the Sybils, the Parthians not possible to bee conquered and subdued but by a King.

The Dictators most high power, was in all things like vnto the power of a King: and such as a man may say to haue bin e-

quall vnto the power of a King. This was (as Varro witnesseth) chaunged into a great Magistrate, whom they called Magistrum Civium (or Master of the Citizens) which manner of Governour of a Citie, the Germanes vsed to call, *Burgue Meistre*.

The name of Imperator or Emperors, was at first but an Office in an Army, and a bare Title; which yet at length became a dignity of greater State and Maiestie, then any of the rest; and yet at length so fell, as that the Maiesty and magnificence of the Christian world, is maintained onely by the power of Kings. Vnto foure of whom onely, it is written to haue bene proper in ancient time to bee anointed, viz. vnto the Kings of Ierusalem, of England, of France, and of Sicily.

The French writers report, the French Kings within the bounds of their owne kingdom, to be styled Imperatores or Emperors. Chassaneu also affirmeth, the king of England, to bee in England, a Monarke. And if the name of Christianissimi, or the most Christian king, bee glorious vnto the French kings, and the name of Catholici or Catholique vnto the kings of Spaine, the kinges of England haue also a stile whereof to reioyce, as (viz.) not in Title, onely to be styled Fidei Christiane & Catholice Defensores, or Defenders of the Christian and Catholique Faith, but euen with vndaunted Maiesty, to be of both acknowledged the great Champions and Protectors of the same. But concerning attributes or additions of Stiles and Titles, I list not for to strue. But, seeing that the kinges of England for their royall dignity, giue God the thanks onely; and that it is onely by the grace of God (as they vse to say) by hereditary succession, by them obtained: they hold it vnto them confirmed by the suffrages of the people, with the requisite forme and ceremonies of Coronation, Consecration, and Inuention. Which being of ancient time (the kingdom afore shaken with Danish wars) oite kept at Kingston vpon Thames, is now vsually holden and made at Westminster, a city ioyning vnto the city of London, in forme following.

The

The ancient forme of the Coronation of the Kings and Queenes of England.

Inprimis. The King to be newly crowned: the day before his Coronation, shall be brought forth in royall Robes, and shall ride from the Tower of London, to his Pallace of Westminster with his head vncouered, being accompanied on horsebacke with his temporall Lords, his Nobles, the Commons of London, and other his seruants.

The seate of Estate.

Item. Let there be provided against the day of Coronation, in the Kings great Hall at Westminster, a Chaire of Estate, fittingly provided with hangings of silke and embroidery, with Cushions and Carpets of Arras accordingly.

The Scaffold.

Item. Let it be provided, that a Stage or Scaffold bee erected in the Church at Westminster, with steps on eyther side: let it be orderly futed with Cloathes and Carpets on all parts, and likewise on the floore.

The Royall Throne.

Item. Let it bee provided, that vpon the said Scaffold, there bee erected a Throne or Chaire, wherein the King is to sit: Let it bee accordingly futed with rich furniture, and Cushions of cloth of gold.

The Abbot of Westminster.

Item. It is to be obserued, that the Abbot of Westminster for the time being, by the space of two or three dayes before the Coronation of the King or Queene, shall instruct them what duties they are to performe in the celebration of their Coronation; as also to prepare their consciences, before the receiuing of the Sacred unction. And if the Abbot be dead, sick, or absent in some remote Country, or lawfully hindered; the shall one of the Monks of the saide Monastery (nominated by the Couent of the same Church) supply the office of the said Abbot in this case.

Of the Kirtle and Surcoat.

Item. Vpon the day of the Coronation, the King that is to be crowned, shall be placed in the foresaid Chaire of Estate, in the foresaid Hall (but being first bathed:) and after his bathing, a Kirtle and Surcoat of Veluet shall be prepared for him, open on the breast, betweene the shoulders and blades of his armes: Let his open Kirtle and Surcoat bee fastened together with loops of siluer: and vpon the Kirtle let him be clothed with other royall Robes, and let him bee thod with Sandals.

Procession.

Item. Let a solemne Procession be prouided by the Abbot and Couent of VVest: from the fore-saide Church to the Kings seate, in the fore-said Hall. In which procession, there shall be arch-bishops, Bishops, and other Prelates. Then the King shall descend, and so follow the Procession into the Church at Westminster, and he shall goe vpon blew cloth spread vpon the ground, from the foresaid Chaire to the Stage (or seage) erected in the fore-saide Church. And in the said procession shall be sung such like Hymnes, as are accustomed to bee sung in the reception of Kings and Queenes.

The Crosse, &c.

Item. The Crosse, Sword, Scepter, and Royall Mace (ensignes of honour) shall be borne in the procession, by the Abbot, Prior, and Senior Monks of Westminster into the Pallace, and there shall they be surrendered to diuers of the Lords, to be borne before the King to the Church.

The Barons of the five Ports.

Item. The Barons of the five Ports shall carry a rich Canopy vpon siluered staves ouer the King or Queenes head, in the fore-saide procession vnto the saide Church.

The Abbot of Westminster.

Item. The Abbot (or the Monke supplying his place) ought alwayes to be neere about the King and Queene to giue instructions.

Vv3

The

The Arch-bishop ought to demand the good liking of the people.

After the King hath a little reposed himselfe in the Chaire or Throne erected vpon the Scaffold, then the arch-bishoppe of Canterbury, shall goe vnto the fouresquares of the Scaffold, & with a loud voyce, aske the good liking of the people, concerning the Coronation of the king. Meane while the king shal stand vp in his Throne, and turne himselfe vnto the fouresquares, in like manner, as the Archbishoppe speaketh vnto the people. And after the said demand, the Anthem *Firmetur manus tua, &c.* shall be sung.

The Orffertory of the King.

The anthem being ended, the king shal descend from the Scaffold, vp to the high Altar, the Bishops leading him: whereupon he is bound to offer a Mantle, & one pound of gold: therein fulfilling his commandement, who said; *Non apparebis vacuus in conspectu Letui.*

The King prostrateth himselfe.

The Offering being finished, the king boweth himselfe vpon the Pavement, before the Altar, being before prepared by the Kings Officers, with cloaths and suitable cushions of velvet, vntill the Arch-Bishop ha' made ouer him the Prayer, *Deus sit illi, &c.* And then ought a Sermon to be preached vnto the people.

The King taketh his Oath.

The Sermon being ended, the king approacheth vnto the Altar to take his oath, which he ought to performe vpon the sacrament of our Lords body. Then let the Hymne, *Veni creator spiritus*, be solemnly sung. Which being begun, the King shal prostrate himselfe before the high Altar, vntill the Letany and Preface bee wholly sung ouer him. Which being finished, let the king arise and sit in his chaire, therein reposing himselfe a while.

The anointing of the King.

After this, let the King arise from his chaire, and goe vnto the Altar, and there shall he put off his Robes (except his Kirtle and Surcoat) and there let him receiue Vnction, the Quier meane while singing; *Inseruent Salomonem*; with the prayer following. Then let him be anointed in fieu

places, (viz.) in the palmes of his hands, on his breast, betwene his shoulders, on the blades of his armes, and on his head, with holy oyle, in forme of a crosse; and afterwards making the signe of the crosse vpon his head with the Churline, the fastenings and Mantle being first opened. Item, after the foresaid Vnction, and wiping with linnen cloaths (which ought afterwards to bee burnt) let the opened places for the anointing be closed again by the Abbot of Westminster, or his Deputy.

The Abbot of Westminster shall take off the Kings Cap.

After the anointing of the kings head, let it bee covered with a linnen Cap, because of holy vnction, and so let it remain vntill the eight day after the vnction: vpon the which day, the Abbot of Westminster or his Deputy, shall come vnto the king, and take off the aforesaid linnen Cap, and shall wash & mundifie the kings head. After the said washing, the Abbot of Westminster, or his assignes, shall put vpon the King, royall habiliments, viz. a *Sindon* fashioned after the *Dalmatin* fashion, with hose and sandals: and then let these royall Robes bee sacred by the arch-Bishop: as *Patet in Libro.*

The King shall be clothed with a Mantle by the Abbot.

These Offices being finished, the aforesaid king shal be arrayed by the Abbot of Westminster, or his assignes, with a long Cloake or Mantle, woven with faire Imagery of gold, before and behind, with his Buskins, Pantofles, and Spurs fitted to his legges.

The setting of the Crowne vpon the Kings head.

After the King is thus arrayed, then let the Crowne be placed vpon the kings head by the arch-bishop, and afterward let a Ring be put on the Kings hand by a Bishop.

Of the Sword.

After this, let the Royall Sword bee blessed, and the said King shall receiue it from the Bishop, and shall gird himselfe with the said sword, and receiue the Bracelets: afterward, let him bee clothed with a Royall

Royall cloake.

The offering of the Sword.

After this, let the King offer the said Sword vpon the Altar to God: which the worthiest earle then present is to redeeme for one hundred Shillings; and to carry it naked before the King. The price whereof pertayneth vnto the sayde Altar.

The receiuing of the Scepter.

After this, let the King receiue a paire of linnen Gloues, & after that the Scepter, with the Crosse in his right hand, and the Mace in his left. Then being blessed, he shall kisse the Bishops, by whom (as also by the residue of the Nobility) he shall bee honourably conducted to his Royall seate, the Quier singing, *Te Deum laudamus.*

The Prelates, and the residue shall make their homage.

After this, let the Prelates and Lords make their fealty and liege homage to the Lord: ing: and then let Masse begin. Item, whilst *Gloria excelsis* is singing, the King shall be censured by a Deacon: and at *Credo*, he shall kisse the Booke.

The offering of Bread and Wine.

Whilst the Offertorie is singing, let the King approach to the Altar, & make his offering of Bread and Wine: and after that let him also offer a Mark of gold: which being done, the King shall a little bow downe his head, whilst the Arch-bishoppe doth blesse him with two Orisons, which being finished, let the King be brought back to his Throne or estate.

The kissing of the Pax after the Agnus Dei.

The kisse of the Pax after the *Agnus Dei* being receiued: let the King descend from his Estate, and humbly approach the Altar, and there receiue the body & blood of our Lord: which being receiued, the Abbot of Westminster shall minister vnto him wine out of a stone Chalice, pertayning to the King, and then immediately the King shall returne to his estate.

Masse being finished, let the King descend from his Throne, and goe vnto the high Altar, and let the Archbishops, Bi-

shops, and Nobilitie go before him to the Shrine of Saint Edward, where the King shall be arrayed with other Robes; all which shall be offered vpon the Altar of Saint Edward.

The taking off the Robes.

The great Chamberlaine (viz.) the earle of Oxford, shall vnclotte the king of the foresaid Robes in a withdrawing place neare to the Shrine: which Robes, as they are particularly taken from the King, so shall they be laid vpon the said Altar by the Abbot.

Another Crowne.

The King attired in other honourable apparell, shall approach vnto the Altar of Saint Edward, where the Archbishop shall put another Crowne vpon his head.

The King returneth to the Pallace.

The said King being thus crowned, & carrying in his hand the Regall Scepter, from the Shrine to the high Altar, and from thence to the scaffold, then shall he descend thorow the midle of the Quier, by the same way as hee came into the Church, the foresaid earles carrying the Swords before him, returning with great glory vnto the Kings Pallace to dinner.

The delivery of the Scepter.

Dinner being ended, and the King withdrawne into his chamber, the Scepter shall bee deliuered to the Abbot of Westminster, or his deputy, by the Kings owne hands, to be kept in the said church of Westminster.

¶ *The Coronation of the Queene.*

And note, that in the Coronation of the Queene, Procession shall be celebrated: and if she be crowned with the king, then ought she to be annointed vpon the Crowne of her head, and on her breast: and if she be crowned alone, then ought shee to be annointed vpon the Crowne only crosse-ways with the Churline.

The Kings Oath vpon the day of his Coronation.

The Archbishop of Canterbury shall demand the King, saying: *Plesseth it you*

to confirme and obserue the Lawes and Customes of ancient times, granted from God by iust and deuout Kings vnto the English Nation, by Oath vnto the said people, especially the Lawes, Customes and Liberties, granted vnto the Cleargie and Laity, by the famous King Edward? The King answering that he will performe and obserue all the premises. Then shall the Archbishop reade vnto him the Articles whereunto he shall sweare, thus saying, *Thou shalt procure vnto the Church of God, vnto the Cleargie, and people, firme peace, and vnto in God, according to thy power: He shall answer, I will performe it.*

Art thou pleased to cause to bee administered in all thy iudgements indifferent and upright iustice, and to vse discretion with mercie and veritie. He shall answer, I will doe it.

Art thou pleased, that our upright lawes and customes be obserued: and doe thou promise, that those shall bee protected and maintained by thee, to the honour of God, according to thy strength. He shall answer, I grant and promise.

The petition of the Bishops.

The Admonition of the Bishops vnto the King followeth; and must be read by one, (viz.) by the Bishop of Lincolne: *Lord King, wee desire your pardon, that you would vouchsafe to defend to euery one of vs, and to the Churches committed vnto vs, our Canonically Priuiledges, with equitie and iustice, as a King in his Kingdome ought to doe vnto euery Bishop, Abbot, and Churches committed vnto him. Hee shall answer thus*

The Kings answer.

With a willing and deuout heart, I promise vnto you, and I pardon euery one of you, and the Churches committed vnto you. I will confirme the Canonically priuiledges, minister equitie and iustice, and will defend them by Gods fauour, as farre as I am able, euen as a King ought with vprightnes to do, vnto euery Bishop, Abbot, and the Churches committed vnto him.

The Oath of homage made vnto the King.

I become your man liege of life and limbe, and troth, and yearely honour to you shall beare asenit all men that now liue. So helpe me God and Holy doome.

Item, that the Arch-bishop of Canterbury, shall first make his fealcie, then the Bishops, and afterwards all the Nobles of the Kingdome.

CHAP. XVIII.

A briefe Description of the pompe and Ceremonies at the Coronation of Edward the sixt, King of England: according to the ancient manner, used in the Consecration of the Kings of England.



Henrie the eight, the most inuincible K. of England, being dead, who departed out of this life at Westminster, the 28. day of January, 1546. and 38. of his reigne. Edward Seymour, erle of Hertford, King Edward his Vncle, accompanied with most of the Nobilitie of the whole Kingdome, forthwith went to Enfield (in the Countie of Middlesex) vnto Edward, now at length (by right of succession vnto his Father Henry) King of England, France and Ireland. Whom the Munday following (viz.) the last of January, he with the great applause of the Citie, and of the people by the way as hee went, was brought from thence vnto the Tower of London.

The same day the Heralds from an high Stage set vp in the midst of Westminster hall (with a great found of Trumpets) out of a Royall Charter, sealed with the great Seale of the kingdome, proclaimed the death of the aforesaid King Henry the eight, and the Inauguration of K. Edward the sixt to come. Which Charter was dated the 31 day of Iannarie, and the first yeare of King Edward.

Vpon Friday following (viz.) the 4. of February, it was through the most famous places of the City of London, by the Heralds proclaimed and notified, that whosoever they were which by right of Fee, were bound at the Coronations of Kings, to performe their Offices or Seruices, should vnto the Kings Commissions therefore appoynted, in the White hall,

hall, the vij. of February exhibite their petitions: who according to the ancient custome of the kingdome, should determine vnto euery man their rights and seruices, against the twentieth of the same month, the day appointed for the Coronation of the King.

Vpon Thursday (which was the first day of February) the Nobility and States of the Kingdome assembled into the Chamber of Presence (as they call it) euery one of them in order one by one, did their reuerence and duty vnto the King, sitting in his Royall Seate, kissing his hand, and saying; *Long liue the Kings Maiesty.*

After that the Chancellour declared vnto him the Will of his dead Father, and the Names of his Executors: and that for lacke of yeares, he was not yet himselfe able to gouerne his Kingdome (for now hee was but going vpon the tenth yeare of his age) he told them, that the Earle of Hertford his Vncle, was by common suffrages chosen Tutor of his person, and Protector of his Kingdome. VVhich when the King had approved, that the erle refused not that charge, they altogether, and oftentimes doubled and redoubled; *Long liue our King Edward: and, God saue our King.*

The next day (viz.) vpon Friday, the Noble men meeting together in the Starre-chamber, there bound themselves by Oath vnto the King: at which time and place also the Maister of the Rolles, and the chiefe Officers of the Chancery, were sworne truly and sincerely to enrolle the VVill and Testament of the aforesaid King Henrie the eight, being dead.

The Sunday following, the King by his Vncle the Protector, was after the accustomed manner made a knight, who by and by after with the same Ceremonies created the Maior of London, and certaine others, knights.

But vpon the Monday, the Commissioners hauing well considered of the matter, and hauing read the Suters Petitions on both sides, gaue sentence concerning Seruices, after the manner to be performed at the time of the Coronation, of which in their place and order more is to be hereafter said.

The VVednesday following, was

wholly bestowed in the magnificent performing of the rites and ceremonies of the Funerall of King Henrie the eighth. VVhich done, they entred into consultation concerning the Coronation of the new King. And first of all, for the greater solemnitie of the pompe, the Earle of Hertford was graced with the Title of the Duke of Somerset. At which time others also, with other honourable Titles, were with great solemnity honoured also.

After dinner, the Knights of the Garter assembled together into the Kings Chamber, where the King attired in the ornaments of that Order (as of right he should, highest) and with ioyned voices, chose the Marquesse Dorset, the earle of Darbie, and others, into the fellowship of that Order.

At length, vpon Saturday (viz.) the 19 day of February, the king with a most magnificent pompe, went through the midst of the City, from the Tower of London, vnto the Pallace at Westminster, the great Ordinance both out of the Tower, and the Shippes, on euery side thundering.

And in this order they went.

First, all the Kings Messengers by two and two together.

After them the noblemen of lesser note, or Gentlemen by two and two together also.

The Sergeants of the forraigne embassadors, by couples.

The Trumpettors with great noyse founding on both sides.

The Gentlemen, keepers of the Kings person (whom we call *Esquiers* for the Body.)

Knights (which are called knights, Bar-chellours.)

The greater Chaplaines.

The yonger sonnes of Noblemen mounted vpon great Horses.

The Senators or Aldermen of London.

The Clerks of the Council.

The Kings Secretaries.

The keeper of the sacred Records, commonly called, the Maister of the Rolls.

The Knights of the Bath.

The

The kings Councillours.
 Knights Bannerets.
 Knights of the order of the *Garter*, which were not by dignitie Barons.
 The sonnes of vicounts.
 The yonger Sonnes of earles and Marquesses.
 Barons.
 Earles eldest Sonnes.
 Vicounts.
 Bishops.
 Mar. usses eldest sonnes.
 Dukes yonger sonnes.
 Earles.
 Dukes eldest sonnes.
 Marquesses.
 Dukes.
 The Controller or Censor of the Kings house; and the Venetian Ambassador.
 The Treasurer of the Kings house; and one of the Ambassadors of the Protestant Princes.
 The kings Almner; and another of the Ambassadors of the Protestant Princes.
 The lord William Paget Secretary, with the duke Phillip.
 The Admiral of *England*, with one of the Ambassadors of *Scotland*.
 The keeper of the priuate Seale, with another Ambassador of *Scotland*.
 The gouernour of the Pallace, or great Master of the Hall, with the *Baron de la Garde*, a Frenchman.
 The Chancellour of *England*, with the French Ambassador.
 The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with the Emperors Ambassador.
 Two noble Courtiers representing the dukedoms of *Normandy* & *Aquitaine*, attired in Purple roabes, with caps of honour, with their Cloaks cast crosse of purple veluet, furred with Minener, Garter king of Armes, in his Heraldic coate, and the Maior of the Citie of London, carrying the Mace of his Maioraty.
 The Sergeants at Armes, & the Heralds on both sides.
 The Constable of *England*, who for that time was the Marquesse *Dorset*, carried the Sword: on whose right hand went the earle of *Warwicke* as Chamberlaine of *England*; and on his left hand the earle of *Arundell*, supplying the place of earle Marshall.

The Duke of *Somerset* Protector of the kingdome, went a litle before the king toward the left hand.
 The King himselfe went vnder a Canopy or Thole, borne by sixe Knights, (the footmen going about him) before which, two Gentlemen Vihers went with white Straues.
 Next after came the master of the Horse, with a royall Palitrey richly furnished.
 After came nine Pages of honor (whom we call Hensch-men) bare headed, and mounted vpon great Horses, whom Sir Francis Brian their Captayne followed.
 Then followed the gentlemen of the priuy Chamber.
 The gentlemen Pensioners, with their Polonian Partisans, guarded on both sides from those Courtiers which represented *Normandy* and *Aquitaine*, euen to the Guard.
 Then came the Captaine of the Guard, with his band of the Yeomen of the Guard.
 The Seruants of the Noble-men and Gentlemen shut vp the troope, going in order according to the honour and dignitie of their Lords and Masters.
 In this order they came thorough the middle of the City vnto the Pallace at *Westminster*: The Pageants in the meane time, with diuerse shewes euerly where set forth, and the Orations made, &c. I for breuitie sake purposely omit.
 Vpon Sunday, the twentieth day of February, at nine of the clocke, the King was carried downe the Riuer, from the Pallace vnto the Hall at *Westminster*, where first in the Chamber of the Court of Augmentation (which now is called the Court of Wardes) he attired himselfe in a Roabe of Purple veluet, with a long trayne, furred with Ermin. His inner Gowne was of the same kind of veluet, furred with Minener, and fringed round about with Gold. These were called Parliament Roabes, but vpon his head he did weare a Cappe of blacke Veluet. The Noble-men in like manner also being attired in their Roabes of honor, attended vpon the Kings Maiestie, from thence to the Marble Chaire set

in

in *Westminster* Hall, and from thence vnto a Royall Throne set vp for him in *S. Peters* Church at *Westminster*. But the way whereby he went, was by the Kings Almner all couered with blew Cloth.

And in this order they set forward.

All the Gentlemen went by two & two together.

All the Esquires by two and two also. The Secretaries of the Latine & French tongues.

The Senators or Aldermen of London. The chiefe Porter or Vsher alone.

Three Crosse.

They of the Quier of the Church of *Westminster* in their Coapes.

The Subdeacon of the Kings Chappell, with the singing men of the same.

The Bishops in their Pontificalibus.

The Chancellour of the Augmentation, and the Venetian Secretary.

The Gouernour of the Wardrobe, with the Duke Phillip.

The Controller of the Kings house, with an Ambassador of *Scotland*.

The Treasurer of the Kings house, with another Ambassador of *Scotland*.

The Almner, with the Ambassadour of France.

Secretary Peter, with another Ambassadour of France.

Secretary Paget, with the Emperors Ambassadour.

Garter King of Armes, and the Maior of the City of London.

The Earle of Rutland carrying Saint Edwards Spurres, and with him the Earle of Huntingdon, carrying S. Edwards Staffe.

After that, three drawne swords; the first whereof was borne by the Baron of *S. John*, great Master of the Kings house: the second, by Baron *Russell*, keeper of the Priuate Seale: the third, which is called *Cortaina* was carried in the middle betwix the other two, by the earl of *Darby*.

A Sword was also carried before in the Scabberd vnder drawne, vnto which vpon the left hand was ioyned the Earle of *Arundell*, as Earle Marshall in stead of the Protector.

The Duke of *Somerset* Protector of the Kingdome, carried the Crowne, whose right side the Duke of *Suffolke* with a

Globe and Crosse of gold enclosed, & his left side the Marquesse *Dorset*, with the Royall Scepter.

At length the Kings Maiesty went vnder a Thole or Canopy, which the Barons of the five Ports (by an ancient right) did beare; supported on the right hand by the Bishop of *Durham*, and on the left by the Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

The Earle of *Warwicke*, as great Chamberlaine of England, held vp the Kings traine: whom the Marques of *Northampton* assisted on the one side, and Baron *Seymour* of *Sudley*, Admirall of England, both of them of the Kings priuy Chamber.

The Gentlemen of the priuy Chamber. The Noblemen of the kingdome, attyred in the Robes of honour, euerly one of them according to his place and ancientesse: whom the Gentlemen Pensioners, the Captaine of the Guard, & the Yeomen of the Guard themselves did follow.

The King in this order being brought to Saint *Peters* Church, was placed in the Chaire of Saint *Edward* the King, in the middle of a Throne, seven steppes high. This Throne was erected neere vnto the Altar vpon a Stage, arising with steppes on both sides, couered with Carpets and hangings of Arras. Where, after the King had rested a litle, being by certaine Noble Courtiers carryed in another Chaire vnto the foure sides of the Stage: he was by the Archbishop of *Canterbury* declared vnto the people (standing round about) both by Gods and Mans Lawes to be the right and lawfull King of England, France, and Ireland; and proclaimed that day to be crowned, consecrated, and anointed. Vnto whom he demanded, whether they would obey and serue, or not? By whom it was againe with a loud cry answered; *God save the King: And euer line his Maiesty*.

This being done, he was againe placed in the Chaire of the Throne, the Quier singing of an Anthem: The King from thence descending vnto the Altar, there offered his Cloake, and certaine Money, (viz.) XX. Shillings, and afterward lay downe flat before the Altar, the Archbishop saying certaine Prayers; as *Deus fidelium*, &c. And afterward in formall words, swore an oath vnto the King before

fore the people.

There the king being againe prostrate, the Archbishop againe kneeling downe, beganne the Hymne *Veni Creator spiritus*, &c. and said other Prayers over the King: two other Bishops beginning the Litaney, which at length ended, the King arose and came againe vnto his throne: and from thence was brought to a returning place (commonly called a *Transe*) where having put off all his former garments, hee was by the Chamberlaine of England apparelled agayne with other, (viz.) a Crimson Coate, open vpon the backe and the breast, the shoulders and the Elbowes, with a linnen Cappe vpon his head, wrought with gold. The Chamberlaine in the meane time, from the Stage proclaimed vnto the people the Kings geard dward.

The King brought back againe out of the *Transe* vnto the thronce, and from thence vnto the Altar, vnder a cloath of golde (the strings of his Coate and Shirt being opened) was by the Archbishop with formall prayers vnto God, vpon the Palmes of his hands, vpon his breast, betwixt his the shoulders, in the ioynts of his Armes, and Crowne, with hallowed oyle and churline anointed, the Quire in the meane time singing the Anthemie *In excelsis Deum*, &c.

After this anointing (the oyle being lightly wiped off) the openings of his coate and shirt were agayne by the archbishop closed, who put vpon his hands a paire of Linnen Gloves, and a Linnen Cappe, (brought thither by the great Chamberlaine,) and so brought backe vnto the *Transe*, was with a Royall Roabe againe reuelled.

At length returning againe vnto the Altar, hee there offered vp the Sward wherewith hee was girt, to be afterwards with five pound in money redeemed. The royall Ornaments were after that consecrated. The King sitting before the Altar, the Archbishop and the Protectour brought vnto him three Crownes.

The first was the Crowne of Saint Edward the King.

The second was the ancient Crowne of the Kings of England.

The third was of all the richest, made for that day, and for that purpose (and fit for the Kings head) which being all

by turnes, with the great sounding of Trumpets, and the applause of the People, put vpon his head: the Quire also singing *Te Deum laudamus*, &c. The Archbishop put a Ring vpon the third finger of the Kings right hand, at which time hee was likewise by the Maister of the Jewells bedecked with Bracelets and other most rich and most precious Jewells.

The Earle of *Shrewsbury* delivered the Scepter into the Kings hand.

The Archbishop delivered vnto him Saint Edward the Kings hilde Staffe.

The Earle of *Rutland* offered vnto him a paire of golden Spurs.

The Duke of *Suffolke* gave vnto him the golden Globe.

The Earle of *Oxford* delivered him the other Royalties.

Hee in this manner attired with all Royall Ornaments (viz.) apparelled with a royall Roabe, and crowned with a Crowne vpon his head, carrying in his right hand a Scepter, and a golden Globe in his left, being brought vnto the Thronce, hee satte downe in the Chaire of S. Edward the King. Where first the Duke of *Somerset* Protector of England, vpon his knees in formall words did his due homage and fealty vnto the King and his heires, the kings of England: whom the Archbishoppe of *Canterburie* followed and kissed the Kings knee. The same againe did all the rest of the Nobility, which could so doe. But such as stood about (and with the shortnesse of the time excluded, could not come ne) the Protectour vpon his knees pronouncing their homage, holding vp their hands, cryed out with loud voyces together, Long live EDWARD the sixth our King.

Divine service at length being done by the Archbishop and two Bishops, the King at the offering time came downe vnto the Altar, where in the pater of S. Edwards Chalice, he offered an hallowed little Crosse or Cruet of Wine, and a pound of gold: and then having bowed downe his head, the Archbishop payde certaine Prayers, and blessed the King, and so returning vnto his Thronce, there kissed the King.

Last of all, hee being brought vnto the Altar, the Archbishop taking the Crowne

Crowne from off his head, layde it vpon the Altar. From thence the King going into the Trauers, delivered his royall Ornaments vnto the Deane of Westminster to be layde vpon the Altar: and in his inner purple Gowne (commonly called a Surcoat) furred with Ermins, with a Crowne vpon his head, returning vnto Westminster Hall in the same order wee before saide; staved a while in that chamber (which we call the Court of Wardes) vntill the Tables were royally furnished. The stately furniture of the Hall at that time, the multitude of Tables, the variety of dishes and sauces, and the delicate magnificence of the feast, I willingly passe over.

Yet this it is worthy to remember, that the Earles of *Oxford* & *Huntingdon* held water vnto the King, which the Earle of *Huntingdon* before tasted.

The Earle of *Rutland* held the Towell.

The Marquesse of *Northampton* was the Carver, & before tasted the Dishes.

The Earle of *Suffex* was Sewer of the first course, and placed it vpon the Table.

Before the coming in of the first course, the Marquesse *Dorset* at that time Constable of England, with a little silver staffe (the signe of his office) and the Earle of *Arundell* with the rod of the Marshallship, mounted vpon trapped horses, al in cloth of gold came riding into the Hall.

Four swords were all the dinner time carried before the King.

The Ambassadors of forraine Princes, the Bishops and Noble-men, the Maier of the City of London, the Barons of the five Ports, &c. were in their order set at Tables in the same Hall.

After the second course, the kings champion (surnamed *Dimock*) a knight in complete Armour, mounted vpon a great Horse, couered with a Caparison of cloth of gold, and attended vpon with an Herald in his Coat of Armes, came into the Hall: who euen at the first, with a proud gatewent vnto the King, and with great reuerence made to him his lowe obedience. Afterward praucing his carrying Horse, by a trumpet sounding four times in the Hall, challenged to combate him whosoever he were, that should deny Edward the sixth of that name, to be the true, vndoubted, and lawfull King of England, France, and Ireland. And so often he cast

downe his Gantlet vnto the ground, as a pledge of his challenge so made: which when no man would take vp, the Herald delivered it vnto him againe: which done, the King did drinke vnto him in a Cup of gold, which he thankfully accepted, and challenging the Cup due vnto him as his Fee, so departed.

Last of all, Garter king of Armes, with the rest of the heralds, having made thrice obeysance before the King, all (aloud, in formall words proclaimed the kings stile, in *Latine, French, and English*, in this sort; *Largeesse, of the most Soueraigne, and most invincible Prince and King, Edward the sixth, by the grace of God, of England, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith: and of the Church of England and Ireland, next vnder Christ in Earth supreme head: chiefe of the most Noble order and Knight-hood of the Garter.* Which same stile, when he had in *Latine and French*, and so in three other places of the Hall beside repeated, they oftentimes altogether crying our aloud, *Largeesse*, so departed.

A little before the ende of the Feast, the Maier of London (as the manner is) in a Cup of gold, gave a Cuppe of spiced Wine (which we commonly call *Tocras*) vnto the King to drinke; which after hee had tasted of, hee gaue the Cup vnto the Maier, as due vnto him for his fee.

The rest of the time was spent in creating of Knights of the Bath, and of other Knights, and in appointing of Luffings & Tiltings: All which, as not appertaining to my purpose, I omit; as also the variety of musique, the diuers kindes of shewes, & other things in number infinite, which wonderfully graced & set forth the magnificence of this coronation: of all which things, let them say more at large, which saw cyther the same, or the pompe of the Coronation of the most Soueraigne Queene Elizabeth, with the wonderful happinesse of her Reigne, and the applause and ioyfulnesse of the people on every side.

Xx

CHAP.

CHAP. XIX.

The memorable and famous Coronation of our most gracious Lord King James, and our Soueraigne Lady Anne his Wife, the 25. of Iuly, 1603.

¶ The Coppy heereof was deliuered to his Maieſty, by the Lord Archbiſhop of Canterbury; who faithfully obserued the forme, ſet downe in the ancient Booke kept among the Regalia at Westminster.



HE King and Queene came from Westminster bridge, to the West doore of the Minster Church.

They receiued into the Church with an Hymne or Anthem. They chaffe along thorow the body of the Church, and ſo vp to the Stage, and do there take their places in their ſeueral Seeges Royall.

The King thiewed to the people, and they are required to make acknowledgment of their allegiance to his Maieſty, by the Archbiſhop: which they do by acclamations.

The ſecond Anthemie is ſung.

The King and Queene deſcend from their Thrones, and going to the Altar, there offer: the King a Pall, and a pound of gold: the Queene likewiſe offereth.

A Prayer is ſaide by the Archbiſhop.

A Sermon by the Biſhop of Wincheſter. After the Sermon, the King is moued by the Archbiſhop to take his Oath.

The Oath miniſtred by the Archbiſhop, and taken by the King, there is ſung, *Come Holy Ghoſt, &c.*

A prayer by the Archbiſhop: when that is done, *Letany* is ſaide or ſung by two Biſhops.

The Archbiſhop beginneth the Ceremony of the anointing, with the thankſgiving, *Liſt up your hearts, &c.*

After which, the King comming to the Altar, putteth off his vpper garments.

The Kings vnder Garments are ſo to bee made, as the places to bee annoynted,

may (by the vndoing of certain loops) bee made open.

The Archbiſhop annoynteth his Maieſty

(Palmes.
Breath.

Vpon the Betweene the Shoulders,
Bending of both Armes.
Crown of the head.

Then a Linnen Coife is put on his head, the Quier means while ſinging the Anthem.

Prayer made by the Archbiſhop.

The Inueſtiture.

Then is the King inueſted with the Robes of King *Edward the Confeſſor*, by the Abbot of Westminster.

With the Tunicke.
Cloſe Pall.
Tuffini Hoſen.
Sandals.

Spurs put on by a Peere.

Then is the Sword deliuered his Maieſty by the Archbiſhop and Biſhops, and alter girt about him by a Peere.

After, the A-mill or Collar is put on by the Abbot of Westminster.

Then the vpper Pall or Mantle Royall.

His Maieſty to bee crowned with the Crowne of King *Edward the Confeſſor*.

The fourth Anthemie.

A Ring to bee put on the fourth finger, on the left hand: after which done, the King putteth on the Linnen Gloues, & goeth to the Altar, & taking off his ſword, there offereth it.

Which ſword ſo offered, the cheefe Peere is to redeeme; and hauing redeemed it, to draw it, and leaue it to drawne by his Maieſty all the ſolemnity.

A Rod with the Doue to bee borne in his left hand.

A Prayer or bleſſing is pronounced by the Archbiſhop.

Then the King graciously vouchſafeth to receiue to his kiſſe the Archbiſhop or Biſhops that were aſſiſting to his Coronation.

The Inthronizing.

After this, the King is ledde backe to his Throne, with all ſolemnity, the Quier ſinging, *We praife thee O God, &c.*

The King is inthronized by the Archbiſhop, in the Throne Royall.

The

The Peeres do their homage to the King, ſo ſitting in his Chaire Royall.

And after the homage done, they all put their hands vp and touch the Crowne on the Kings head, as promiſing for euer to ſupport it.

The Queenes anointing.

¶ The ſolemnity of the Kings Coronation, and inthronizing beeing performed, the Archbiſhop leaueſh the King in his Throne, and goeth to the Altar.

The Queene, who hath all this while repoſed her ſelle in her Chaire beneath, ariſeth and commeth to the ſteps of the Altar, and there kneeleth downe.

A Prayer ſaide by the Archbiſhop.

The queene ariſeth from her prayer, the cheefeſt Lady taketh off the Coronet fiſt, and after openeth her breaſt.

Then the queene kneeleth downe againe.

The Archbiſhop fiſt powred the anointing Oyle on the crown of her head. Then he annoynted her on the breaſt.

A Prayer by the Archbiſhop.

Then the cheefe Lady attendant, cloſeth the queenes Robe at her breaſt, and after putteth on her head a linnen coife.

The Queenes Crowning.

That done, the Archbiſhop puts on the fourth finger of the queenes left hand a Ring.

A Prayer by the Archbiſhop.

The Archbiſhop taking the Crowne in his hands, and laying it before him on the Altar, ſaith a prayer.

The prayer done, he ſets the Crowne on the queenes head, after that hee ſaith a prayer.

The deliuey of the Queenes Scepter & Rod.

After the prayer, the Archbiſhop deliuered fiſt the Scepter into her right hand the Rod of Tuory with the Doue into her left hand, both which being done, he ſaith a prayer.

Which prayer being ended, the queene ariſeth and goeth from the Altar, and is led by two Biſhops vp to the Stages, and paſſing by the King in his Throne, ſhee doth, *Inclinare Regi eius Maieſtatem (ut dect adorando.)*

Which hauing done, ſhe is ledde to her Throne, on the left hand, and ſome-what lower then the Kings, and is placed or inthronized in it.

After this, the Archbiſhop beginneth

the Communion.

Whereas after the { Collecteds, }
{ Epistle. } read by the Archbi.
{ Goſpell. }

The Nycen Creede.

Offertory is ſung by the Quier.

Whilt the Offertory is ſinging, the king and queene deſcend from their Throne, and come downe to the Altar. The King maketh his Oblation; fiſt of Bread and Wine: ſecondly, of a marke of gold. The queene after him offereth likewiſe.

After which, the Archbiſhop pronounceth the bleſſing ouer them: that ended, the king and queene are brought back to their chaires hard by the Altar. The Archbiſhop proceedeth with the Communion. After the Archbiſhop hath communicated himſelfe, and thoſe which aſſiſted him, the king and queene come vnto the ſteps of the Altar, there to receiue the holy Sacrament.

The Archbiſhop miniſtred the body, the Abbot the Cup. That done, the king and queene are brought backe to their Throne about the Stages.

There they ſtay till the Communion be ended. After which, they both goe into the Chappell of King *Edward the Confeſſor*, there they put off the Crownes wherewith they were crowned.

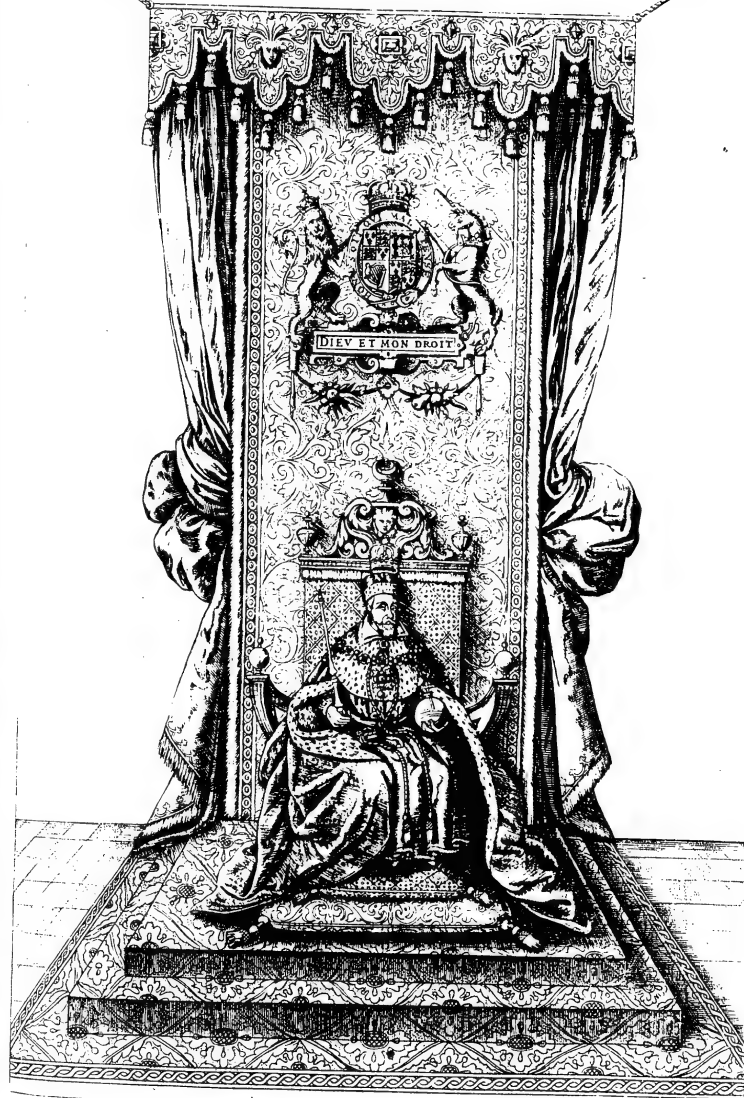
They withdraw themſelues into their Trauers. The King putteth off King *Edward's* Robes wherewith hee was inueſted.

Hee is arraid with his owne Robes royall, by the great Chamberlaine of England. Then comming forth, the Archbiſhop puts on the king & queenes heads the Imperiall Crowns, which they are to wear. The King taketh *S. Edwards* Scepter in his hand, and the queene hers. The traine is ſet in order, and they returne the ſame way they came.

After the king and queene returne to the Pallace.

The Scepters are deliuered vnto the Abbot of Westminster, to be kept there among the reſidue of the Regalia.

REGIA MAIESTAS



Huberto I have described what manner of men the named Noblemen haue bene with us. The forme of their Charters and Rescripts I haue set downe, with what Rites and Ceremonies they are after our manner and fashion created: and the Maiestie of the Coronation of the Kings themselves, we haue declared. Here now a great field is opened vnto me to speake of the right of the Nobilitie, and of their Priuiledges; but forasmuch as they rest rather vpon Customs, then vpon positive Lawes, I haue of a set purpose omitted many things, proceeding but so farre as the Statutes of the Kingdome may be my warrant and safety.

CHAP. XX.

A Statute and Act of Parliament, made in the one and thirty yere of Henry the eight, concerning placing of the Lords in the Parliament chamber, and other assemblies and conferences of Councell.



Orsomuch, as in all great Councils and Congregations of men, hauing Degrees and Offices in the commonwealth, it is very requisite and conuenient, that an order should be had and taken for the placing and fitting of such persons as are bound to resort to the same, to the intent that they knowing their places, may vse the same without displeasure or let of the Councell: therefore the Kings most royall Maiestie, although it appertaineth vnto his prerogative Royall, to giue such honour, reputation, and placing to his Counsellors, and other his Subiects, as shall be seeming to his most excellent wisdom, is neuertheless pleased and contented for an order to be had and taken in this his most high Court of Parliament, that it shall be enacted by the authoritie of the same in manner and forme as heereafter followeth.

First, it is enacted by the authoritie aforesaid, that no person or persons of what estate, degree, or condition soeuer he or they be of (except onely the Kings children) shall at any time heereafter attempt or presume, to sit or haue place at any side of the cloth of Estate in the Parliament Chamber, neither on the one hand of the Kings highnes, nor on the o-

ther, whether the Kings Maiestie be there personally present, or absent. And forasmuch as the Kings Maiestie is iolly and lawfully Supreme Head in earth vnder God, of the Church of England, and for the good exercise of the said most royall dignitie and office, hath made Thomas Lord Cromwell, and Lord Priuie Seale his Vicegerent, for good and due administration of Iustice, to be had in all causes and cases, touching the Ecclesiasticall Iurisdiction, and for the godly information and redresse of all Errours, Heresies, and abuses in the said Church. It is therefore also enacted by authoritie aforesaid, that he the said Lord Cromwell, hauing the said Office of Vicegerent, and all other persons which heereafter shall haue the said Office of the grant of the Kings highnes, his heires or successours, shall sit and be placed, aswell in this present Parliament, as in all Parliaments to be holden heereafter, on the right side of the Parliament Chamber, and vpon the same forme that the Archbishop of Canterbury sitteth on, and aboute the same Archbishop and his successors, and shall haue voice in every Parliament to assent or dissent, as other the Lords of the Parliament haue.

And it is also enacted, that next vnto the said Vicegerent, shall sit the Archbishoppe of Canterbury, and then next vnto him on the same Forme and side, shall sit the Archbishoppe of Yorke: and next vnto him on the same side, the Bishop of London; and next to him on the same side and Forme, the Bishop of Durham; and next vnto him on the same side and Forme the Bishop of Winchester; and then all the other Bishops of both Prouinces of Canterbury and Yorke, shall sit and be placed on the same side after their ancencies, as it hath bene accustomed.

And

Chap. 20. XXXI. yere of Henry the eight.

And forasmuch as such other Personages, which now haue, and hereafter shall happen to haue other great Offices of the Realme; that is to say, the Offices of the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President of the Kings most honourable Councell, the Lord priuie Seale, the great Chamberlaine of England, the Marshall of England, the Lord Admirall, the Grand-Master or Lord Steward of the Kings most honourable household, the Kings Chamberlaine and the Kings Secretary, haue not heerebefore bene appointed and ordered for the placing and sitting in the Kings most high Court of Parliament, by reason of their Offices. It is therefore now ordained and enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President of the Kings Councell, and the Lord Priuie Seale, being of the degree of Barons of the Parliament, or aboute, shall sit and be placed aswell in this present Parliament, as in all other Parliaments hereafter to be holden, on the left side of the Parliament Chamber, on the hither part of the forme of the same side, aboute all Dukes, except onely such as shall happen to be the Kings Sonne, the Kings Brother, the Kings Vnkle, the Kings Nephew, or the Kings Brothers or Sisters sonnes.

And it is also ordained and enacted by authority aforesaid, that the great Chamberlaine, the Constable, the Marshall, the Lord Admirall, the great Master, or Lord Steward, and the Kings Chamberlaine, shall sit and be placed after the Lord priuie Seale, in manner following: that is to say, every one of them shall sit and be placed aboute all other Personages beeing of the same estates or degrees, that they shall happen to be of; that is to say, the great Chamberlaine first; the Constable next; the Marshall third; the Lord Admirall the fourth; the Grand-Master or Lord Steward the fifth; and the Kings Chamberlaine the sixth.

And it is also enacted by authority aforesaid, that the Kings cheefe Secretary being of the degree of a Baron of the Parliament, shall sit and be placed afore and aboute all Barons, nor hauing any of the Offices before mentioned. And if he be a Bishop, that then he shall sit and be placed aboute all other Bishops, nor hauing

any of the Offices afore mentioned.

And it is also ordained and enacted by Authority aforesaid, that all Dukes not afore mentioned, Marquesses, Barons, Viscounts, and Barons, not hauing any of the Offices aforesaid, shall sit and be placed after their Ancency, as it hath bene accustomed.

And it is further enacted, that if any person or persons, which at any time hereafter shall happen to haue any of the said Offices of Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord President of the Kings Councell, Lord Priuie Seale, or cheefe Secretary, shall be vnder the degree of a Baron of the Parliament, by reason whereof, they can haue no interest to giue any assent or dissent in the said house, that then in every such case, such of them as shall happen to be vnder the degree of a Baron, shall sit and be placed at the vppermost part of the benches, in the midst of the said Parliament, either there to sit vpon one Forme or vpon the vppermost benches, the one of them aboute the other, in order as is afore rehearsed.

Be it also enacted by Authority aforesaid, that in all trials of treasons by Petres of this Realme, if any of the Petres that shall be called heereafter to be tryers of such treasons, shall happen to haue any of the Offices aforesaid, that then they hauing such Offices, shall sit and be placed according to their Offices, aboute all the other Petres that shall be called to such trials, in manner and forme as is afore mentioned and rehearsed.

And it is also enacted by Authority aforesaid, that as well in all Parliaments, as in the Starre-Chamber, and in all other Assemblies and Conferences of Councell, the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord President, the Lord priuie Seale, the great Chamberlaine, the Constable, the Marshall, the Lord Admirall, the Grand-Master, or Lord Steward, the Kings Chamberlaine, and the Kings Secretary shall sit and be placed in such order and fashion, as is afore rehearsed, and not in any other place, by authority of this present Acte.

CHAP.

The Parliamentarie Pompe.

CHAP. XXIII.

(Viz.) *The forme and manner of the going of the States vnto the Parliament, seriously collected out of diuers examples. Wherein I thought good, especially to propound that most stately going of Queene Elizabeth, in the xxij. yeare of her reigne.*



On Sunday (the xxij. day of November) in the Chamber of Prefence (as they doe terme it) it was proclaimed that the Noble-men and States, and to all others which were bound to attend vpon the Queenes Maestie, the next day to be holden at Westminster, should bee ready at nine of the clocke before noone, to giue their attendance, the Queene then lying in her royall house called Saint James, neare vnto Westminster. The next day at the appointed houre, the Noblemen put on their Parliament Robes in the Countsell chamber, and the Bishops theirs likewise, in another chamber next vnto the chappell: from thence they, by the Garden going into the Parke, mounted on horse-backe, attended the coming forth of the Queene. About eleuen of the clocke the most gracious Queene, attired also in a Parliament Roabe, at the going out of the Garden, mounted in a Chaire of Estate, like vnto a Chariot or Horfletter, carried betwixt two white Horses. This Chaire was on enery side open, but that behind a couering hanging forth aboue, semicircle-wise, was with two hile pillars of Silver supported: vpon the top whereof, stood on high a Crowne of golde: and vpon two other pillars at her teetes, stood a Lyon and a Dragon glistring with golde, made with wonderful cunning, supporting the Queenes Armes. This Chaire (which I might rather call a Throne) being altogether cunningly garnished and gilt, was most magnificently bedeckt with cloth of Silver (as

they call it) and with Cushions of the same. Wherein, as in that the Queene had placed herselfe: directly two and two in this order set forward.

First went the *Maitrises* or *Mellengers* of the Kings Court.

Afterward the Gentlemen of last note. Squiers.

Squiers of the body.

The Clarkes of the Chancerie.

The Clarkes of the Signet.

The Clarkes of the priuate Seale.

The Clarkes of the Countsell.

The Masters of the Chancerie.

The Knights Bachelours.

Knight, Bannerets.

Trumpets here and there sounding.

Seruaunts or Sergeants at Law.

The Kings Sergeant in an vnined purple Gowne or Hood.

Him followed *John Popham* the Kings Attorney, with *Thomas Egerton* the Solicitor.

Two Heralds.

The Iudges of the Exchequer, whom we call *Barons* of the Exchequer.

The Iudges or Iustices of the Court of the Common Pleas, and of the Kings Bench,

Edmund Anderson chiefe Iustice of the Common Pleas, together with *James Mawoo* chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, both knights.

Christopher Wray, chiefe Iustice of the Kings Bench, or of England, & *Cuthbert Gerard* Maister of the Roles, knights both: but this man ridde in a Velvet Gowne; but afill the rest of the Iustices, as the Barons of the Exchequer, rid in Gownes and Hoothes of Skarlet, lined with a white furre called Miniver.

The younger sonnes of the Nobility according to their dignitie.

The Treasurer of the Kings Chamber.

Knights of the Bath.

The eldest sons or heires of the Nobility.

Knights of the Priuy Countsell.

Knights of the order of the Garter, or of the Garter.

Francis Walsingham knight, principall Secretary.

Francis Knolles Treasurer of the Queenes house, together with *Henry Croft*, Controulour of the Queenes house, both Knights.

Edward Norris, the third Sonne of *Baron Norris*, carrying the Queenes Hat and Cloake, thus vp this ranke.

Two Heralds, whom the Barons followed by two and two together.

Barons.

Henry Baron Norris of Rycot.

Henry Baron Cheney of Tuddington.

Henry Baron Compton,

William Cecil Baron of Burghley. But he went in another place, because hee was Treasurer of England.

William West, Baron de la Ware.

Thomas Sackville Baron of Buckhurst.

John, Baron S. John of Bletesho.

Henry Cary Baron of Hunsdon. He was absent because he was Gouvernor of Barwicke.

Giles Bruges Baron Chandos.

Roger Baron North of Carthelage.

Charles Baron Howard of Effingham.

He went in another place, because hee was Chamberlaine vnto the Queene.

Thomas Baron Darcy of Chiche.

Thomas Baron Paget.

Edmund Baron Sheffield of Buxterwick.

Charles Baron Willoughby of Parham.

Robert Baron Rich of Leze.

Philip Baron Wharton of Wharton.

William Baron Eure of Wilton.

Henry Baron Cromwell of Vcombe.

Lewes Baron Atordant of Turney.

Thomas Baron Burgh of Gainsburgh.

Henry Baron Wentworth of Nettlested.

Fredericke Baron Windesore of Bradenham.

William Baron Faux of Harroden.

William Baron Sandes of Vine.

John Baron Darcy of Menill.

Cuthbert Baron Ogle of Bothall.

William Baron Montjoy.

John Baron Sturton.

John Baron Lumley.

Edward Baron Dudley.

Henry Baron Scroope of Bolton.

He was absent, for that he was Gouvernor of Carlile.

Arthur Baron Gray of Wilton.

Edward Baron Stafford, of Stafford.

William Brooke Baron of Cobham.

Gregorie Fynes, Baron Dacres of Herstmonceux.

Edward Parker Baron Morley.

Henry Baron Barkley.

Peregrine Bertie Bar. Willoughby of Eresby.

Edward Baron Zouch of Haringworth.

George Touchet Baron Audley.

Henry Neuill Baron of Abergaunmy.

Two Heralds going before the Bishops.

The Bishop of Gloucester.

The Bishop of S. Asaph.

Bishop of Chester.

Bishop of Carlile.

Bishop of Peterbowen.

Bishop of Landaffe.

Bishop of Hereford.

Bishop of Cicester.

Bishop of Litchfield.

Bishop of Bath.

Bishop of Rochester.

Bishop of Worcester.

Bishop of S. Davids.

Bishop of Bangor.

Bishop of Lincolne.

Bishop of Sarisbury.

Bishop of Norwich.

Bishop of Excester.

Bishop of Ely.

Bishop of Winchester.

Prelate of the Garter. Bishop of Durham.

Bishop of London, Chancellor to the Bi-

shop of Canterbury.

These three Bishops, (viz.) the Bishops

of London, Durham, and Winchester, by

force of Acte of Parliament, made the

xxxi. yeare of King Henry the viii. goe

next vnto the Arch-bishops: but all the

rest take thei places, according to the an-

cientnesse of their elections. Every Bi-

shops Gown was made of Scarlet cloth,

made after the fashion of Barons, and

hoods of the same, lined with Miniver, &

hanging downe behinde them.

Henry Vicount Howard of Bindon.

Anthony Browne Vicount Montacute.

Two Heralds after whom the Earls followed.

Edward Earle of Lincolne.

The Admiral was sicke.

Robert Earle of Suffex, was absent,

because he was vnder age.

Robert Earle of Leiceister, went in ano-

ther place, for that he was for this turne

Steward of the Queenes Houle.

Edward Earle of Hereford.

Henry Earle of Penbroke.

Francis Earle of Bedford.

Henry Earle of Southampton.

Ambrose Earle of Warwicke.

William Earle of Bathe.

Henry Earle of Huntingdon, was ab-

sent, because he was President of Yorke.

Henry Earle of Suffex.

George Earle of Cumberland.

Edward

Edward Earle of Rutland.

William Earle of Worcester supplied the place of the Marshall, being absent.

Henry Erle of Kent, went in another place because he carried the Sword.

George Earle of Shrewsbury, was absent being sicke.

Henry Earle of Northumberland, Then prisoner in the tower of London.

Edward Earle of Oxford, went in another place, because he was high Chamberlaine of England.

Phillip Earle of Arundell.

An Herald or King of Armes.

William Marquesse of Winchester: Hee in another place carried the *Cap royall*.

Heere were places fit for Dukes: all whose parliament robes (a thing worth the noting) differed nothing from the Barons, but that they wore the guardes vpon their shoulders, three or foure fold. For although all Dukes, Marquesses, and Earles, in their creations are attired with garments of Silke and Veluet, which are called Roabes or garments of Honour: yet in Parliaments they vse the same that Barons doe, made of Skarlet, with certayne differences of white Furze, for as fringes or edgings on their shoulders: for that there they al sit by reason of their Baronies, and according to their dignitie take their places.

Thomas Bramley Knight Chancellour of England; with *William Cicill* Baron of *Burghley* ridde together. But the great Seale of England, was by one footman carried before the Chancellour: but hee himselfe was attired in a Gowne of black Veluet lined with Sables.

John Whitgift also, Arch-bishoppe of *Canterbury*: with *Edwin Sands* Arch-bishop of *Torke* followed next after them.

Clarenceux King of Armes.

Two Sergeants at Armes with silver scepters, which we call Maces, gilt.

Garter chiefe King at Armes, in his Heralds coate, hauing the chiefe gentleman vther on his right hand.

The Marques of *Winchester* did beare the *Cap royall*, vpon whose left hand the Earle of *Worcester* carried the Rod of the Marshallship of England, in stead of *George* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, then earle Marshall, who was then in the Parliament Chamber, although he was not heere present, for that he was sicke of the Gout.

The Earle of *Kent* after them carried the sword, on whose right hand went the earle of *Oxford*, then great Chamberlaine of England, and on his left hand the Earle of *Leicester*, *Seneschall*, or Steward of the queenes house.

The queenes Maiesty carried in a chaire as we haue before said. She her selfe decked vp in a purple Robe, furred with *Ermine*. But her inner Garment was of purple veluet also, more straighter vnto her body, turned vp at the hand, with the same furre.

Foure Quiries of the Stable (whom in French they call *Esquires*) and the Footmen in their rich Coates were attendant about the queene: and without them all along in a ranke, waited the Gentlemen Pensioners with their *Partisans*.

After them followed the Earle of *Darbie*, Master of the Horse (instead of the Earle of *Leicester*, who at this time supplied the place of the Steward) leading a spare horse of state: by whom on the left hand rode *Charles Howard*, Baron of *Effingham*, Chamberlaine of the queenes house, both of them attired in their Parliament Robes.

After these followed also *Christopher Hatton*, Knight Vice-Chamberlaine, with many Noble women, Ladies, and other Noble Courtiers.

In this order and Royall pompe, the queene came vnto the South gate of *S. Peters* Church at Westminster, where the Bishop of *Sarisbury*, the Kings Almoner, and Doctor *Goodman* Deane of that Church, with the *Prebendaries*, and all the quier receiued Her in their Coapes. Without the Porch was set a Forme, furnished with Carpets and Cushions, at which the queene vpon her knees, receiued of the Deane the golden Scepter of *S. Edward*, which he layde vpon the Cushion before her: and hauing receiued a little Booke of the Deane, vnto her selfe softly prayed. Afterward she came into the Church, vnder a stately Canopy of Cloth of Silver, which fixe Knights supported.

The Marchionesse of *Northampton*, and the countesse of *Oxford* bare vp the train: Baron *Howard* of *Effingham* being Chamberlaine supporting her: *Christopher Hatton* Vice-Chamberlaine going on the other side, but not supporting her. But forasmuch

forasmuch as the Queenes robes made of rich silke and *Ermine*, were too weighty and chargeable for her well to beare, the Earle of *Arundell* on the right hand, and the Earle of *Penbrooke* on the left, held them vp from her shoulders.

Before the Lord Chancellour and the Lord Treasurer, went the singing men and Quiristers, singing of Psalmes, and when the Queene was now come vnto the royall withdrawing or retyring place (commonly called the *Trauerse*) prepared for them vpon the right hand of the Quier, neare vnto the Communion Table: the Noble-men tooke their places vpon Formes, beneath the *Trauerse*, but the Bishops fate themselves downe beneath the Pulpit, on the north side of the Quier.

The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, after a psalme sung, made a sermon, the sword and cap of Honour beeing in the meane time borne before him.

The sermon with a psalme ended, the Queene on foote vnder a Canopy, went vnto the south gate of the Church, carrying in her hand the Scepter, dedicated to King *Edward* the Confessor. In which place, these restord it vnto the Deane of *Westminster*, of whom shee had before receiued it, to be againe layd vp.

It is worthy note, that whilst the Queenes Maiesty was hearing diuine seruice in the Church, the Earle of *Leicester* (for that time Steward of the Queenes house) went vnto the Lower Parliament house, to be there present at the answer of the Rescripts, (which our Lawyers call the Returne of the *Vittes*) before sent forth for the summoning of the knights of the shires, and for the Burgeses of the townes thither, and met the Queene coming vnto the vpper Parliament house.

The Queene being come thither, first retired her selfe into her owne priue Chamber, where resting her selfe a little, the Noble-men in the meane while, had in due order placed themselves in the vpper house: and at length the Queene her selfe came forth, the Sword, the Cappe, and the Rod of the Marshallship of *England* being borne before her, and the other Officers going before her, shee went vp into the Royall Throne, the Nobilitie of the Kingdome sitting downe about her.

In the middle of the vpper house lie great Sackes of cloth filled with wooll: vpon the vppermost whereof sitteth the Chancellour, and vpon those which lie towards the sides of the house, sit the Maister of the Rolles, the *Queenes Secretary*, the Judges, the Barons of the *Exchequer*, and certayne Lawyers, aswell *Ciuitians* as Common Lawyers. Vpon the lowest of all, sitteth the Clarke of the Parliament house, with the Clarke of the *Crowne*, behinde whom the other Clarks write, resting vpon their knees.

When the Queene was set, and that they of the neather house (*viz. the* Knights of the Shires, and the Burgeses of the Cities) were let in, the commanded the Lord Chancellour, standing on the right hand by her, to make his Oration: who turning himselfe vnto the Nobilitie, and the rest there present, declared vnto them, in her Maiesties name, that this assembly of Parliament to be for three causes called (*viz.*) For the glorie of Almighty God, and the furthering of true Religion: For the health and preservation of her royall Maiesty, and the welfare of the Common-weale. Which after that hee had aloude and most eloquently at large declared, turning his speech vnto the Knights and Burgeses, standing on an heape together below: hee willed them to make choyse of their Prolocutor, and to giue notice of him so chosen, to the Lordes of the Priuy Counsell from whom they should expect what the *Queens* pleasure and answer was concerning him so chosen, to be afterward presented.

When the Chancellour had ended his speech, the Clarke of the *Parliament* rising vp in French, and with a loud voice proclaimed the names of them, which as Delegates had the power within certain dayes to understand of the affaires aswell of the Kingdomes of *England*, *France*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, as of the Dukedoms of *Normandie* and *Aquitaine*; and to heare and examine the requests and petitions of them of the islands and parties beyond the Seas.

Which things being done, the Chancellour prorogued the *Parliament*, the *Queene* descending from her Throne, and retiring into her Priue Chamber, there put off her parliament robes: which when

when the Barons had in like manner also done, they in order (with the Sword, the Cappe of Honour, and the Rod of the Marthallship carried before her) attended her vnto her Barge, wherein shee from thence was downe the Riuer carried backe vnto her Pallace (called *White Hall*;) through which she passed into the Parke, where she mounting vpon a most couragious Horse, the Nobility, States, and most honourable men and women attending her, shee happily returned vnto her Pallace of *S. James*, from whence she before came.

Vpon Thursday following, the day appointed for the presenting of the Prolocutour, the *Queene* about three of the clocke in the after noone, by the Parke came from her royall house of *S. James*, vnto her pallace of *White Hall*; and when she had in her Chamber put on her *Parliament* robes, she went to her Throne, the Sword, the Cappe, and the Rodde of the Marthallship, being after the wonted manner carried before her: The Lord *Chamberlaine* going on the right hand of the Sword, and the Lord Steward on the left, with the Lord *Treasurer*, *Garter*, the *Vishers*, & the Sergeants at Armes going before them. At length, when the Noble men were set downe, the *Chancellour* on the right hand, and the high *Treasurer* of *England* on the left hand, stood beside the *Queene* without the barres.

Then at length, the Knights of the Shires, and the Burgesses of the Cities being admitted in, brought in their most learned Lawyer (viz.) *John Puckering*, who standing at the barre, and hauing thrice made most lowe obeisance, sayd what he might, to shew himselfe vnfit to vnder-take so great a burthen, requesting most earnestly, that they would make choice of another *Prolocutor*, vnto whom the *Queene* by the *Chancellour* made answer, That shee liked exceeding well of the choice of him already made, and that she ratified the same.

Which done, the *Prolocutor* framed himselfe to another manner of speech, wherein hee particularly rehearsed what great benefits were redounded vnto the Commonweale, by the most wise gouernement of her royall Maiestie: he declared her singular vertues, her very naturall and motherly care ouer her Sub-

jects: But especially in that she had then called together the Estates of the Kingdome, there to consult and consider of the most weightiest affaires of the Common-weale, earnestly admonishing the Bishops to provide for the Ecclesiasticall and Church matters: the Nobilitie and the rest to bee carefull of the profite and welfare of the Common-weale. In the conclusion of his speech, he most humbly requested, that the auncient Rights and Priuiledges of the Lower house of the Burgesses, (viz.) of freely deliuering of their speech and minds, and of being free from Arrests, as well themselves as their Seruants, during the time of the parliament, might be kept whole and vntouched. And if that in any thing not well by them vnderstoode, they should happen to offend, he requested leaue aswell for himselfe as for the rest, to haue access vnto her royall Maiestie.

His Oration at length ended, the *Chancellour*, by the *Queene* commanded, and in some poynts, by her instructed, highly commended the *Prolocutors* Oration, and in the *Queenes* name graunted the leaue he had requested.

Which things being so on both sides dispatched, the *Queene* rose and retired herselfe into her private Chamber, put off her Parliament robes, and so attended vpon with the Nobilitie, came downe: and at the West side of the Parliament house, mounted into her chaire of Estate, a very royall one; and from thence with a great traine of Noblemen and honorable Ladies attending her (the Earle of *Kent* carrying the Sword before her) shee by Torch-light through the Parke, returned vnto her Pallace of *Saint James*, from whence she before came.

The manner of sitting in the Upper house of Parliament, is in this Platforme following in the next Page, most truly and lively described.

CHAP.



Millis, Prolocutorum & Burgessum, (quos vocant) sedit, qui Comitem Parliamenti, auiorem totiusque Prolocutores conducentes.

CHAP. XXII.

The manner of restoring of renewed Nobilitie before lost.



HE maners and formes of creating of Noblemen, with their Rites and Ceremonies, by *Charters and Rescripts*, or *Writs of summons*, we have before described. Now heere at length I have thought it good, to ioine heereunto the manner of restoring of dignities & honours before lost. Such as have by their owne or others fault, lost their honorable stiles and titles, are wont to bee vnto the same by petitions, exhibited vnto the Kings in full Parliament restored: which I would say, to be a confirmation of renewed or restored Nobility. Whereof the request of *Margret*, daughter to *George Duke of Clarence*, in Parliament, in the first yeare of King *Henry* the eight, (to omit others) may serue for an example. Whereby she is restored vnto the Stile, State, Name, Title, Honour, and Dignity of the Countesse of *Sarisbury*, fro which *Edward* her Brother Earle thereof, had by his guilt fallen. The Petition it selfe is longer then is necessary to be heere inserted. It is in English extant in the Records, & is shut vp with these words.

Which petition being read, and to the full vnderstood, and consented vnto by our said Lord the King, by the aduice and assent of the Lords spirituall and temporall, and of the Comynalty in the aforesaid Parliament being: and also by the Authority of the same Parliament, it was vnto the same Petition thus answered.

*Sic sit facte come il est desire.
Be it done according as it is requested.*

CHAP. XXIII.

Customes.



Haue said *Politically Nobility*, shall subiect vnto the dispositions of Princes, and change of time; to rest alwayes vpon the customes of Nations.

For first of all, it is manifest, dignities which were but the bare names of personal Offices, to haue at length become hereditary and successory: and yet with diuers Lawes circumscribed.

For although women in *Germany* born of Dukes, Earles, or Barons, are according to the manner of the Empire styled and called Dutcheffes, Countesses, and Baronesses; yet by the Law of the Imperiall grant, the Principalities themselves, with the Fees thereto belonging, descend vnto the Males onely, who sayling, they reuert vnto the Emperour. Which thing, the most great Dukedome *Carinthia*, prooueth to be so. For *Ericus* the last Duke being dead without heires male, the dukedome by the Lawes returned againe vnto the Empire: which *Lewes* the Emperour afterward bestowed vpon *Albert Duke of Austria*.

Sigismund the Emperour also, the right line of the dukes of *Saxony* being extinct, gaue the dukedome in the yeare 1423. vnto the Marquesses of *Bismia*; and the Marquisat of *Brandenburg*, vnto the *Burgraues* of *Noriburge*: whose successors enioy now at this day enioy the same.

The same we reade to haue beene done in *Italy*: For *Venceslaus* the Emperour in the yeare 1490. graced the *Vice-county* of *Milaine* with the Title of a Dukedome: but so as that for want of heires male, it should together with that Dignitie, bee made a part of the Imperiall patronony. And in the remembrance of our Grandfathers, we reade of certayne (as well at *Naples* as else-where,) to haue bene by the Emperour *Charles* the fifth created; but yet alwayes with that common Lawe of Reuerſion, that so soone as the

last

last of the male descent should dye, they should be made Imperiall dignities. Yet heere by the way we must remember, that the Emperours did not at all times doe all things according to the vttermost of the greatesse of their power; but sometime by a new beneficiary or bountifull covenant, being requested so to doe, suffered those titles of honours to descend vnto the daughters (no heires male remaining) mitigating the extremity of the law, by wise mens interpretations thereof, regard being still had, eyther of the Commonweale, or of some former agreement, or of the time present.

In *France*, *Rennatus Choppinus*, disputing of the Royall *Demaine*, maketh a distinction of dignities. For he affirmeth all Military and masculine dignities, by the Law *Salique* to be annexed vnto the Fees Royall, neyther by any meanes, by meere Law, to come vnto the Women, although that the heyres male faile; except by speciall and expresse words it bee before otherwise provided: which hee saith, himselfe to haue seene and read. Yet in the

meane time he affirmeth, private *Principalties* not to be denied to women: which hee manifesteth by the example of the County of *Arminack* by a womans right deuolued vnto the King of *Nauarre*, as by many others also.

And to mee, now writing and running ouer some few things concerning our owne affaires, it fortuned a certaine most ancient writing to come vnto my hands, taken out of the ancient *Saxon Lawes*, and lent me by *William Lambert*, a great admirer of reuerend antiquity, and a most earnest restorer thereof. Which writing, although that both in tongue and character it meere found *Saxon* like, yet seemeth it in some things, to fauour of the *Danish* maters, as also of the ancient lawes eyther of the *Britons* themselves, or of the *Saxons*, shaken and rent in sunder, vnder the rule and government of the *Franes*.

But the writing it selfe written in the *Saxon* tongue, translated into English, word for word, & into Latine, according vnto the true sense and meaning thereof, here following is contained.

hio peshilumon Englaſagum ꝥ leod ꝥ lagum for beſepincðum, And þa
æt was sometime in the Cn. lth Lawes, that the people and lawes were in reputation. And then
Tempus erat olim cum Anglicis, legibus & populo suis ubique conſtabat honor. Qui ex

þaſon leod ꝥ tæan þeopðſceþeꝥ ꝥ ꝥða, ælc be hþmæðe. Eoꝥl ꝥ Ceoꝥl ðegn ꝥ
were the wiſeſſ of the people woꝥſhip woꝥþe, each in his degra. Ceoꝥl and Choele. Theþen and
populo ꝥ uðetis ſimi erant, in honore ſuerunt ſuo quifq; ordine. Comes & Colonus. Thynus &
ſ opulentes
ſ ignobilitates.

ðeoden ꝥ And ꝥif Ceoꝥl geþeah ꝥ he hefoe fullice ꝥif hða ageneꝥ lande, Cþican ꝥ
Underþegn. And if a Choele ſo thiued that he had fully ſine hþcs of his owne land, a Church &
Sub-thynus. Quod ſi Colonus ita rē feciſſet ut haberet plenē quinq; hidas propria tꝛꝛæ adē
ſacram

Cýcenan, belhuy ꝥ buþhgaꝥ ſetl ꝥ rundeþno we on Cýnget healle, þonne þæꝥ he
a kitcher, a Welhouſe and a gate, a ſeat and a ſeueral office in the Kings þall, then was he
Coquinan, Campanile, & Portan, ſocum itē et peculiere munus in Rezius Aula, tunc erat de-

þannon forð ðegen nihtweꝥþeopðeꝥ And ꝥif ðegn geþeah ꝥ he þeode Cýnge
thencefoꝥ; the þheþne right woꝥþe. And if a þheþne ſo thiued that he ſerued the King
inceps pari cum Thyno dignitate. Si uero Thynus ita proneꝥtus erat ut Rege ſernierit,
ꝥ

Yy 2

7 his paterne pad on his hippe, 3if he honne hepe Degu de him pillige
and on his miffage o' iourney rode in his houhold, if he then had a Therne that him followed.
Et nunciu eius effec & equitauerit in familiâ, si tunc etiâ Thynum sibi famulantē habuerit,

De to Cynger ut fan Fif hida hapoe 7 on Cynger petl his hlaypoe Denode 7
whooto the Kinges expedition sine Hyges had, and in the Kinges Pallace his Loyd serued, and
qui ad Regiam expeditionem 5. hylas habuerit, et assis, in Regia aula Domino seruerit, terque

Spisa mio his xpende gepopa to Cyngre he moyt piddan mio his popte his h'ayr po
thrice with his erande had gone to the king, he might afterward with his fozz Dath his Loydes
eius nunciu ad Regem venerit, hic deinceps data fidelitate Domini personâ sustinere poterat

applan at in iuglican neodan; And pif Degu geSeah 7 he peande to eople honnepzr he
putt play at any neode. And if a Therne so thiured that he became an Cacle, then was he thence-
si opus fuisset. Quid si Thynus ita excoctum erat ut Comes euaserit pari erat deinceps

piddan an eople nisttepeopde. And 3if Wayrepe geSeah 7 he fepoe ppiSe open
tooth an Carles right woorthy. And if a p'archant so thyned, that hee passed thire ouer the
Comite dignitate. Et si Mercator ita rem fecisset, ut tēr wāstū mare sua peritū

pfo Se he h'agenum chape, he p'f honne piddan Degne nisttepeopde; And 3if leon-
waide Sea of his olone Craft, he was thenceforth the Thernes right woorthy. And if a schol-
traicerit, paritunc erat cum Thyno dignitate. Quod si Literarum studiosus litte-

ner geSeah p'p'p' lare 7 he had hepe 7 penode Xpe, he p'f honne piddan nabe
lee so thyned through learning, that he had degre and serued Chyri, he was thenceforth of dignity
ris progressum facisset, ut ordines habuerit & Christo inseruerit, erat deinde reuerendum

7 nuinde p'p' micely p'p'p' Se p'p' p'p' to geb'rede, buton he forporhte 7 he p'f had no
and peace so much woorthy as thereto belonged, unless he forfeyted so that he the use of his re-
et immunis quantum ad locum euasisset, nisi ita excidisset ut suo munere uti non

te notian ne moyt e;
græ ne might.

potuisset.

These

The name of
a Baron from
whence and
when it came
into England.

These ruines or rubbishes of antiquity,
make shew of a perpetuity of Nobility, e-
uen from the beginning of this lland, but
times are changed, and we in them also.
For King Edward the Confessor, last of the
Saxon blood, coming out of Normandy,
bringing then in the Title of a Baron, the
Thynes from that time began to grow
out of vs; so that at this day men remem-
ber not so much as the names of them.
And at length, that name of Baronage
began to be both in dignity and power to
magnificent about the rest, as that in the
name of the Baronage of England, all the
Nobility of the Land seemed to be com-
prehended. As for Dukes, they were (as it
were) fetcht from long exile, and againe
renewed by King Edward the third. And
Marquesses & Vicounts, were altogether
newly brought in by King Richard the se-
cond, and King Henry the first.

But our Kings descended of the Nor-
man blood, together with the Crowne of
the Kingdom, granted an hereditary &
successory perpetuity vnto honourable ti-
tles, such I meane as are the Titles of Earl-
domes and Baronies) without any diffe-
rence of sex at all. Which thing I thought
good to make manifest, by the examples
of the more ancient times. In the recko-
ning vp whereof that I may the better ac-
quit and discharge my selfe; in the very
entrance of my speech, there be 3 things,
whereof I would haue the Reader by the
way, to be especially forewarned. First,
concerning the disposition and inclinati-
on of our Kings, in the creating of the no-
bility. Secondly, of the custome of trans-
ferring of honours and dignities by Fa-
milies. And thirdly, of the force of time, &
the change and alteration of things. For
why, our Kings (who only and alone, doe
in their kingdom beare the absolute rule
and sway) are with vs efficient causes of
all Politicall Nobility. The Titles of Na-
med Nobility, by our custome, haue this
naturall and common together with the
Crowne it selfe, that the heyres male say-
ling, they deuolue vnto the Women, ex-
cept in the first Charters it be by expresse
words otherwise provided; and yet so, as
that regard is alwayes to bee had of the
time, which is euery where wont to beare
sway in the formality of things.

In this manner William the first, King
and Conqueror, Harold being overcome,

hauing obtained the Soueraignty, accord-
ing to his pleasure bestowed dignities &
honors vpon his companions and others,
(viz.) some of them so annexed and com-
ioyned vnto the Fees themselves, as that
euery yet at this day, the possessors thereof,
may seeme to be ennobled, euery with the
possession of the places onely. As our Bi-
shops at this day, as also certaine ecclesi-
asticall Abbots and Priors; who by rea-
son of the Baronies ioyned vnto their Bi-
shoppricks, enjoy the titles and preemi-
nence of Barons in the highest assemblies
of the kingdom in Parliament. Other-
tyme of the dignities and honors, he gaue
and granted also, together with the lands
and fees themselves. As he gaue to Hugh
Lupus his kinsman and a Norman, the earl-
dome of Chester. *Ad Conquirendum &
tenendum sibi & heredibus, adeo libere per
gladium sicut ipse Rex tenait Angliam per
Coronam.* To conquer and hold it to him
and his heyres, as freely by the Sword, as
the King himselfe helde England by the
Crowne. With the Earldome of Rich-
mond hee graced Alanus Rufus, his Ne-
pew, and then Earle of Britaine in France
and his heyres: *Ita libere & honorifice ut
eundem Edmuns Comes antea tenuerat:* so
freely and honorably as Earle Edmun had
before holden the same. And the Earl-
dome of Arundel, which Harold possessed,
he granted with a fee vnto Roger of Mont-
gomery. The first two of which honors (the
heyres male sayling) by women either ones
passed into other Families, but the latter
Earldome, Robert the Sonne of Roger
being attainted of treason, returned
vnto King Henry the first, who gaue
the same in dowry vnto Queene Adeliza
his Wife.

The succeeding Kings more sparing-
ly, bestowed such dignities to bee holden
of them in Fee, granting only for the bet-
ter and more honourable maintenance of
their stocke and honour, the third part
of the Pleas of the County (as they terme
it) which they in their Charters called
Tertium Denarium, or the third penny. So
that hee which receiued the third penny
of any Prouince, he the same man by the
same ancient Law of succession, was cal-
led Earle of the same Prouince: and so
by custome the women, the heyres male
sayling.

And if any Earle or Baron dying without Sonne, had many women his heires, howsoever order was, either by covenant, or by way of partition taken, concerning the Lands and possessions, according to the common Lawes of the kingdome, yet the dignity and honour, a thing of it selfe indisuisable, was full left to be disposed of, according to the Kings pleasure. Who in bestowing thereof, for the most part respected the prerogative of birth.

By which right, King *Henry* the third, after the death of *John* the *Scot*, dead without issue (other lands and reuenues being by agreement giuen vnto his three Sisters) vnto the Earldome of *Chelster*, with the honor thereof vnto the Crown. This is also manifest in the Earldome of *Arundell*: which (after *Robert* of *Belisime*, Sonneto the afore said *Roger* of *Montgomery*, driuen out by *Henry* the first) King *Henry* the second bestowed vpon *William* of *Albini*, Queene *Adeliza* his Mothers Husband, and by a new Charter, confirmed it in Fee, together with the inheritance to him and his heires, with the third penny of the Pleas of *Suffex*, whereof he created him Earle. But *Hugh* the great, Nephew of this *William* the first, being dead without issue, all the inheritance of the Earldome was diuided among his foure Sisters. Whose dignity and honour for all that, together with the Castle of *Arundel*, was by *Edward* the first, at length giuen to *Richard Fitz-Alan* (viz.) the Nephewes Sonne to *John Fitz-Alan* and *Isabel*, the second of the afore said Sisters.

Now let vs passe from *Henry* the third, vnto *Edward* the first his Sonne. When as for a time a great dissention was betwixt him and certaine of his Nobility (viz.) *Gilbert* of *Clare* Earle of *Hertford* and of *Gloucester*: *Humfrey* of *Bohun*, earle of *Hertford* and *Suffex*, and Constable of England, and *Roger Bigod* Earle of *Norfolke*, Marshall of the kingdome, and that all those Noble-men, at length had lost their Earldomes and Offices, they being reconciled vnto the King, afterward by new Charters received the same againe in this manner.

The first of them, received the same vnto himselfe & *Joane* the same kings daughter his second wife, for tearme of both their liues, and to the Children to bee by them two begotten (his two Daughters

by his first wife being excluded.) This *Joane* (called *Joane* of *Acon*) bare vnto her husband *Gilbert*, a Sonne called also *Gilbert*; but shee the second time, secretly married vnto one *Radulph*, of *Mont Hermer* (without the King her Fathers knowledge) in her owne right, made also the same *Radulph* Earle so long as shee liued. But the at length being dead, *Gilbert* her sonne, by the afore said *Gilbert*, succeeded againe into the Earldome, *Radulph* his Father in Law being yet aliue. In the very same manner he restored the Earldoms and Office of Constableship vnto the afore said *Humfrey* of *Bohun*, vnto whom also he gaue in marriage *Elizabeth*, another of his Daughters, widdow to *John* Earle of *Holland*: and vnto the third, he restored the Earldome of *Norfolke*, and the office of the *Marescall*, with a yearly encrease of a thousand Markes; yet vpon condition, that the heires male of his body to be begotten, sayling, both of them should returne againe vnto the King. At length, this *Roger* dyed without issue, in the xxxv. year of him the said *Edward* the first viz. in the last yeare of his reigne: and King *Edward* his Son, the second of that name, by a new Creation & Charter, gaue the Earldome and the Marshallship vnto *Thomas* of *Brotherton* his Brother, and his heires male.

These things wee haue thus propounded, thereby to shew, how according to the diuers dispositions of Princes, & changes of times, it hath by little and little varied in the first bestowing of dignities and honours. Of which thing (that new Law) and to them of ancient time vnknewne, made by King *Edward* the first himselfe, seemeth afterward to haue bene of no small weight and moment, whereby, hee fauouring certaine priuate men, more carefull of their owne surname, then of their posterity, it was thought vnto him good, & so decreed, to make Fees to belong to men only. That law I say, which I would in Latine call *Genitilium Municipale*, & which the Lawyers commonly call *lex Tallatium*, and *Tallabile*: or the Law of cutting off: for that it cutteth off successions before generally, and restraineth them vnto the particular heyres of Families: which seemeth also to haue giuen an occasion of change in the giuing and bestowing of dignities and honors.

For

For euer since that time, in the creating of any new Earle, it is begonne to be altogether by expresse words in all Charters provided, that it shall bee but for terme of life onely, or descend vnto the heires males alone, the Women being quite excluded. And this I need not by examples to prouee; for why, the thing it selfe proueth the same. But the force and efficacy of this Lawe of *Entaile*, (or of cutting off) I haue thought good thus in few words to declare.

The Lands and Fees of the earledome of *Oxford* (*Robert* Earle of *Oxford* and Duke of *Ireland*, being condemed of treason) by that Law came to *Albericus Vere* vncle to *Robert*, who therefore in Parliament, requested of the King, the Title of the Earledome also, and obtained the same. This is also most manifest, by the example of the Earldomes of *Arundell* and of *Surrey*, ioyned together in the family of *Fitz-Alan*. For *Edmund Fitz-Alan* Earle of *Arundell*, married the onely sister and heire of Earle *Richard*, and of her begot *Richard*, happy with his twice marriage. Vnto this *Richard*, the sonne of *Edmund*, and his heires male by *Alenor* of *Lancaster* (his second wife) begotten, and to be begotten, the Castle, Honour, and Lordship of *Arundell* were entailed in the one and twentieth yeare of *Edward* the third. And afterward (viz.) the same yere, Earle *John* his brother being dead without issue, enriched also with the encrease of the Earledome of *Surrey*, he was called Earle of *Arundell* and *Surrey*. Of *Alenor Richard* begot a sonne, called *Richard*, at length Earle of *Arundell* and *Surrey* also: and *John Fitz-Alan* his second sonne, in the right of his wife, called *Baron Maltreuers*. This *Richard* had *Thomas*, his onely Sonne, dead without issue; and foure Daughters his Co-heires (viz.) *Elizabeth*, *Joane*, *Margaret*, and *Alice*, who diuided the Earledome of *Surrey* amongst them. Howbeit the dignity therof was granted to *John Mowbray* duke of *Suffolke*, begotten of *Elizabeth* the eldest sister; who by the ancient custome of Succession challenged vnto himselfe the Earledome of *Arundell* also. But *John Baron* of *Maltreuers*, Nephew to the first *John Fitz-Alan*, and Baron of *Maltreuers*, by his sonne *John* opposed himselfe against this man, and withstood

him, challenging vnto himselfe the possession of that caitle and demaine of *Arundell*, as fallen vnto him by the good right of the Law of *Entaile*.

For *Thomas* the last Earle being dead without issue (as is afore said, he alleged the demaine of the Castle nor to belong vnto the Sisters, but to descend vnto his heires male and kinsmen, of whom hee himselfe was nearest of kinne vnto the said Earle *Thomas*: of which Fee, seeing by Law he held the possession, he affirmed the Title of honour and dignitie more sily to agree vnto himselfe then to lie in vaine, and to no purpose hidden in the Duke himselfe. Which thing, although hee could not obayne, yet *John* his sonne, a most famous warrior, after the death of his Father, with the applause and good liking of all men, obtained by Acte of parliament, in the eleuenth yeare of King *Henry* the sixth. Of whom also, for his great deserts and most noble vertues, he was the yeare after, rewarded with the dukedome of *Thurania* in *France*. And this *John*, both Earle and Duke, being dead, *Humphrey* his son, in short time after dead without issue (notwithstanding his sister) left the earledome of *Arundell* entailed vnto *William* his vncle, in whom afterward it took such root, as that we haue seene it in the male line, to haue brought forth most famous and renowned Earles, euen vnto this our age.

And what wee haue sayd concerning Earles, the same be it said also of Barons created by Charters. But in Barons created by Relcripts or Writs of Summons yet resting vpon most auncient custome, not so.

For in them (one onely excepted, sent forth to *Henry Bromflet*, wherein it was provided him, that same *Henry* and his heires male of his body lawfully begotten, only to be Barons of *Fe/ty*) women, the heires male failings, were not in ancient time forbidden or embarred, but that they might be accounted, and by name siled honourable, with the preeminence of the dignity and calling of Barons. And after they had borne a Childe, according to the auncient fauour of our Lawes, and the reuerend custome of the Kingdome, graced their husbands also with the same honour; & with the same by inheritance ennobled

ennobled their children; yea, even without the possession of those places, from whence the names of such dignities and honours may seeme first to haue risen. For Fees and locall possessions, circumscribed by the Lawe, are translated and carried from one family to an other, and vsually enrich their Lords and owners the possessours thereof: but yet of themselves, neyther bring nor take away Nobilitie, either Dative or Native. By Examples to manifest these things were but needelesse; for why, all the most auncient Baronies, and the more auncient sort of the Barons at this day, are in this poynt on my side, and giue voices with me. Now, if any man studious of these things, by chance meeting with some things of other nature, shall more curiously dispute against these matters, vnto him I would oppose, eyther the force of time, or the carelesnesse and lacke of looking vnto. But, Customes are still like themselves, neyther are we to detract from the authoritie of Kings, who although they haue such supereminence, and vnderminate prerogative, as that they may seeme sometimes to haue of fauour graunted, some things beside the Lawes; yet shall it not appeare them requested, to haue done, or yet suffered any thing to be done, contrarie vnto the Customes of Stockes and Families. So they sometime not regarding the solemnities of Ceremonies and Charters, haue onely by their becke (that I may so say) suffered dignities and honours to be transferred, as in *Ranulph Blundeuill*, Earle of *Chester*, and of *Lincolne* to be scene. For the Earledome of *Chester*, he permitted after the manner, to descend to *John* the Scot his Nephew, by *Maud* the eldest of his Sisters. But the Earledome of *Lincolne*, (the King thereunto consenting) hee yet aliae deliuered vnto *Hawisia* another of his Sisters, now married to *Robert Quincy*, by his deede, in the fuenteenth year of the reigne of King *Henrie* the third, in these words following.

Ranulphus Earle of *Lincolne*, vnto all men present, and to come, which shall see this present Writing, greeting. I would haue it to come vnto the generall knowledge of you all, mee to haue

giuen and graunted, and by this my present writing, to haue confirmed to the Lady *Hawisia* of *Quincy*, my most deare Sister, the Earledome of *Lincolne*, (viz.) as farre forth as it vnto mee belonged, so that the may thereof be Countesse. To haue and to hold the same of my Lord the King of *Englan*, and his heires, vnto the said *Hawisia* and her heires, freely, quietly, fully, peaceably, and wholly by right of inheritance, with all the appuriances, and liberties vnto the aforesaid Earledome belonging. And that this present Writing may stand in force for ever, I haue thought it good to frame and strengthen the same, by the setting of of my Seale. These being witnesses.

Hawisa with this her brothers writing in this manner endowed, was forthwith Countesse of *Lincolne*, who yet liuing, presently gaue the same to *John* Laide her sonne in lawe. So also I may not passe ouer *Hugh Courtney* the first of that family and name, in the time of King *Edward* the third: for he, when hee had for many yeares after the death of *Isabell de Fortibus* (whose sole heire hee was) quietly possessed the lands and Fees of the earledome of *Denfbire*, without eyther the Title or Inuestiture of an Earle, and that at length contention arose betwixt him and the Kings officers of the Exchequer, for the repayment of the third penny, for that hee as yet vsed not the Stile of an Earle, hee hauing written Letters supplicatorie vnto the King, then busied in the warres in *Scotland*, receiued answer; That taking vnto himselfe the Name and Dignitie of an Earle, hee should cause himselfe, from that time forward, to be named and called Earle of *Denfbire*, in these words.

The King to his welbeloued and faithfull, *Hugh of Courtney* the Elder, &c. Greeting, &c. Whereas you, as appeareth by your Petition exhibited before vs and our Councell, haue of long bene sued for the repayment of eightene pounds, sixe shillings and eight pence, of the yearly Fee of the Earledome of *Denfbire*, which *Isabell de Fortibus*, late Countesse of *Denfbire*, whose heire you are, and the heires of her the said Countesse, and yours, Earles of *Denfbire*, yearly

yearly receiued by the hands of the Sherifes of that Countie that were for the time being, and which you likewise after the death of the aforesaid Countesse, as her heire for a certaine time receiued: And for that they haue bene from you detained, because you haue in no wife named and tiled your selfe an Earle: as by the Certificate of the Treasurer, and of the Barons of our Exchequer, by our commandement made in to our Chancerie, more at large doth appeare. Wee, for that the inheritance which was the aforesaid Countesses, and the inheritance of her Predecessours, and yours, the Earles of *Denfbire*, vnto you descended by hereditary right, and that you at this present hold the same inheritance; willing in this part to prouide, as well for our owne Dignitie, and the equitie of our Kingdome, as for your honour: will and command you, in requesting you, that in taking vnto you the name and honour of an Earle, you from henceforth cause your selfe to be called Earle of *Denfbire*, knowing that wee will make the aforesaid Fee to be yearly paid vnto you, as it hath bene wont to be paid vnto the Earles of *Denfbire* your Predecessours. Witnesse the King at *New-castle* vpon *Tine*, the two and twentieth day of February, & in the ninth yeare of our reigne.

Last of all, we haue scene this same not long since, in *Phillip Howard* confirmed. For hee, after the most auncient right of the Earledome of *Arundell*, tooke vnto himselfe the Title of *Arundell*, the *Queene* onely consenting therunto, and approving the same; no forme of Charter repeated, or of any forme of his Creation being therunto ioyned.

Whereto it seemeth also to appertain, that our most auncient Earles were of auncient time wont (according to the diuersitie of the places) where they for the most part chose to dwell, to be called by diuerse Titles of Dignities. For *Reynold* who was Earle of *Conuall*, for his continuall dwelling at *Frislon*, was oftentimes called Earle of *Erison*.

Robert of Ferrars the younger, Earle of *Ferrars* in *Normantie*, and of *Derbie* in *Englan*, sometime wrote himselfe Earle

of *Tutbury*, a Castle (vide licet) in the Borders of *Staffordshire* built by his Progenitors. *Baldwine* and *Richard of Ricars*, were sometime called Earles of *Exeter*, and sometimes Lords of the *Ile of Wight*, for their continuall dwelling in the same places; when as yet in the meane time, they were both Earles of *Denfbire*. *William* also of *Albiniac*, Earle of *Arundell* and *Suffex*, the first of that name, in the Letters of agreement betwixt king *Stephen* and king *Henrie* the second, set himselfe thereto a Witnes, by the name of *William* Earle of *Cirester*, for that he there oftentimes dwelt. Adde heereunto also if you please, the Earle of *Penbrooke* to haue bene called the Earle of *Strigulia*, of the Castle of *Strigulia*, built by *William Fitz-Osborne* Earle of *Hersford*, and the Seate of the Earles of *Penbrooke*.

These things (I say) were of olde and in auncient time, but now at this day, not so. For such is the force of time, and change in altering of the forms of things, as that it eating out of the olde, bringeth still in new. So vnto Earles, whom we said in auncient time to haue bene rewarded with the third penny of the Province whereof they were earles, to maintain their Honour and Dignitie, a certaine summe of money is at this day yearly payed them out of the Exchequer, and they enjoy the Titles of such places, as wherein they haue not any iurisdiction, administration, or profite at all. Barons also, who as the Fathers and Senators in auncient time among the Romans, were chosen by their *Seueritas*; were in like manner wont to be esteemed and valued by Knights Fees (for why, hee which had and possessed threene Knights fees, and a little more, was then to be accounted among the Barons) are now, more sildome times chosen for their vertue, their great wealth, and large possessions.

Neither is there any let, but that a man may hold and still retaine the name and Title of a Barony, the head of which Barony (as they tearme it) he hath afterwards sold or alienated to some other common person.

In briefe, our Kinges royall maiesty is alwayes like it selfe, constant, and the same; which hauing regard to the vertue, stock, wealth,

wealth, and substance of any man (whereby hee may with his Councellor seruice, profit the Common-weale) may in euery place freely giue and bestow Dignities and Honours, sometime chusing moe Barons then one, out of one & the same family, the custome of the succession of the former and more auncient Baron, beeing still kept whole, and not in anie hurt: as we see, *Edward* the sixth wisely to haue done in the familie of the *Wiltoughbies*, which family (that for breuitie sake I should not reckon vp moe) beside the most auncient Barony of the *Wiltoughbies* of *Eresby*, brought forth another Barony also of *Parham*. Wherefore wee acknowledge our Kings to bee the Fountaines of Politicall Nobilitie, and vnto whom we may with thanks, referre all the degrees of Honours and Dignities; wherefore I may not, without cause, seeme to reioyce on the behalfe of our Nobilitie of *Britaine*, which hath alwayes so had Kings themselves, Authours, Patrons, Gouernours, and Defenders thereof, that when Lands, Fees, and Possessions, subiect to Couenants or agreements, are still tossed and turneoyled with the stormes of the Iudiciall Courts, and of the Common Lawe; it is onely vnto the Kings themselves beholden, and resteth vpon heroically orders and institutions, proper and familiar vnto it selfe. So that

*Per titulos numerentur aut semperq; renata
Nobilitate viri: et prolem sua sequantur:
Continuum propria seruantia lege tenorem.*

By Titles great, mens Aunccestors
were knowne still as they came,
And so their owne posteritie,
do still enjoy the same;
And flourish long without decay,
with euerlasting fame.

For the Noble-men, for deciding of
sutes concerning their Honours, and for
the giuing vnto euery man that which of
right belongeth vnto his Farme and Digni-
tie, haue their Tribunnall or proper
Martiall Court, which they are wont to
call, The Court of *Chivalry*: whereof,
when wee shall come vnto the Order of
Knight-hood, wee shall say somewhat
more.

The Court of
Chivalry.

CHAP. XXIII.

Noblemen of the lesser sort.



He named Noble men which our Country of England beareth, and in honour excell-
ing, I haue with as much breuitie as I could, declared, and in painting of it forth, propo-
sed it vnto the eye: with what Lawes also they are created, and with what orders of successions they after our manner liue, I haue in few wordes briefly shewed. Now if I had vnto these also ioyned the Fellowes of the Order of the Garter, I might well seeme to haue ended this Treatise, beeing about to haue written nothing at all, of those whom wee call *Noble men of the lesser sort*, or Vnnamed: but the earnest and continuall craving vpon of certaine of my friends, ouercame mee. Wherefore, seeing that it is neyther altogether strange from our purpose, and may be done without straining of the Methode of that I haue taken in hand, both the place, and the requests of my friends haue inuited mee by the way to ioynne heereunto these few things heereafter following:

The Noblemen therefore of the lesser sort, are in three sorts or ranks diu-
dely comprehended.

The first ranke or order, is of Knights: The second is of Esquires: The third, of them we call onely by the name of Gentlemen.

Those whom the Frenchmen simple call *Gentilshommes*, and wee in English Gentlemen, wee thus distinguish into three sorts:

First, hee which deriueth his Stocke with Armes from his Aunccestors, is by blood a Gentleman.

Secondly, hee which beareth Armes onely, although he be not yet by Stocke a Gentleman, is yet called a Gentleman, and giueth Gentry vnto his Sonnes.

Third-

Three de-
grees or rank
of Noblemen
or Gentlemen
as he is called
by birth.

Plaine Gen-
tlemen, with
aunicall coat
of arms.

Esquires.

Doctore.

Thirdly, hee which is of reputation onely for his learning, or for some Of-
fice or function which hee beareth, is onely for himselfe, is in common esti-
mation accounted a Gentleman; al-
though he had a common person to his
Father, and leaue his Sonnes common
persons also.

An Esquire, who sometime is also called *Scutifer*, or a *Shield-bearer*, and in an-
cient time *Homo ad Arma* (or a Man at
Armes) in French *Escuire*, and in En-
glish a *Squire*, or an *Esquire*, is next vnto
a Knight: as hee who in ancient time
following a Knight, by his side bare his
Armes, as a most faithfull elow-soul-
dier with him, from whence perhaps,
they whom wee at this day in our Kings
houses, account Squires for the bodie,
seeme to haue taken their beginning.
But that which at first was by institution
a militarie Office, is now become a de-
gree of dignitie: whereof, Antiquitie it
selfe, and the custome of our Kingdome
hath brought forth vnto vs foure kinds.

The first doth comprehend all the
younger iounges of Barons, and of other
Noble-men, and their first begotten
Sonnes also; who together with their
being sit borne, make the dignitie of
Esquireship successorie, so long as their
issue male faileth not.

Another kinde (and that most aunc-
ient) is of them, which are borne the
eldest Sonnes of Knights, and their el-
dest Sonnes also.

The third is of them, which of aunc-
ient time graced with Armes belonging
vnto their Stocke and Family, are the
first begotten and chiefe of their house
and Stocke. And these by a certayne pre-
rogative of being the eldest or first born,
goe before all the rest of the Gentlemen
of the same Family aside descended, and
are accounted Esquires.

The fourth kind respecteth the com-
mon-weale, and the Kings house. For
they which beare publicke Offices in the
Common-weale, are of Gentlemen in
reputation made Esquires. Such as are
the Iudges, the Kings Attorney, and
Prolocutor: the Sergeants at Law, and
other Officers of like sort belonging vnto
the Exchequer.

Vnto these also wee may especially
ioynne, if not preferre, such as proceede

Doctore of Diuinitie, or otherwise in
other professions in the Vniuersities. For
Doctoreship is a Title of Dignitie more
noble, then they which are Gentlemen
but by their Stocke onely: vnto whom al-
so after our manner, in the Kings Com-
missions concerning the publike affaires,
so much praeminence is giuen, as that
they may well seeme in dignitie, to bee
compared with Knights.

In the Kings house also, the Appari-
tors, commonly called Sergeants at
Armes, Heralds, and all seruing in the
Kings Court, whom for the praemi-
nence of their Offices, we also call Ser-
geants, are made Esquires with chaunces,
(viz.) with a Collar made of Silver and
blacke S S put about their neckes by the
Kings themselves.

Knights (in French called *Cheualiers*)
are with vs called either Knights Barne-
rets, Knights of the Bath, or Knights
Bachelors.

Other there be of the Garter also, but
of another sort, then that they are to be
comprehended in a kind, to be compared
with these as in due place is to be shewed.

■ *Banneret* is a degree of Honour,
esteemed the last amongst the greatest
(I meane *Nobilitum maiorum*) or the first
with those of the second ranke. Three
formes of creations I haue obserued, as
sometimes vnder the Royall Standard
displayed: the person hauing the lower
end of his Pennon cut off into a square
(such as Barons vse) receiueth that Ho-
nour: Or as *Edward* the third enioyned
William de la Poole by Patten, *Vi statum
& honorem tenet et continuet Banne-
retus, To him and to his heires*: Or as *Ni-
cholaus de Grey* was declared, by Writ
of King *Edward* the second, to be, *De fami-
lia Regis inquam Bannerettus*; thereby
meaning, both Precedencie and Salary
accordingly.

The two other Knight-hoods *Bachel-
lors*, and of the *Bath*, admit this difference
betweene them, that to the one from ec-
clesiasticke grace of the Soueraigne (to at-
tend himselfe or Queene in their inaugu-
rations, or his Childrens creations) there
is annexed a Ministeriall duetie to their
knighly dignities; the other, nothing be-
ing left but their bare Stile and proper
Merite; and therefore they are eyther in
the Record, mentioned by none o-
ther

Knights.

Bannerets.

Sir Rob. Carr.

Kl. Frank. 13.
Ed. 1.

Ex com. Gor.
de 13. Ed. 2.

*Inglethorpe (Crest)
a Lion passant guardant
a Chief.*

ther name then *Milites simplici*, yet had in former ages (as well as other degrees of honour) many worthy and religious ceremonies, as also peculiar robes at their Creations (as appeareth copiously both in story and record.) But they by injury of times, and promiscuous admissions (which somewhat declined their reputation) had bene fully lost, had not the other preferred the memory and use of such venerable order.

As for right of precedency betwene these two; or whether such temporall service enlarged to the one more then the other, inuiceth a perpetuall priority or no, I leave it to the discussion of those, to whom in due of place, and depth of Judgement, it properly belongeth.

No man is borne a Knight, but men vpon their knees receiue that Dignity (which is not but together with life lost, or taken away) of the King, or his Lieutenant generally; hauing regard eyther to his stocke, his vertue, or his fortune, or his aches done at home or abroad; lightly striking him that is so to be created, vpon the shoulder with a drawne Sword. The Prince speaking these words in French; *Soyez bon Cheualier d'oresenuant au nom de Dieu*: (Be from hence-forth a good Knight, in the name of God.) And they which are so made Knights, hauing killed the Sword, and this word (*Sir*) being added vnto their names, for tearme of their liues, are euery where (after the French manner in calling of their Kings) distinguished from other men; *Sir John Norris*, *Sir Francis Drake*. A dignity indeede of it selfe so found, apparant, & full of honor, as that it euery where becometh most great Dukes and Earles: and which euery Kings themselves haue not disdained kindly to thank one another for. For so we reade our King *Henry* the second of that name, to haue made *Malcolme* King of the *Scots*, Knight at *Turwin* in *France*, for his good seruice at *Thelouise*, in the year 1159. And *Alexander*, the Sonne of *William* King of the *Scots*, being not 14. years old, to haue receiued the order of knighthood in *England*, in the year 1212. *Hugh Perre* restored vnto the Earledome of *Oxford*, was by the King made Knight. *Henry of Lacy* also in the right of his Wife, and by the resignation of his Mother in law, promoted to be Earle of *Lincolne*, recei-

ued the third penny of his Earledome from the time he was made knight, about ten yeares more or lesse before he was created Earle. Beside that, the ancient Register of the Church of *Abingdon* thus recceth.

Richard Earle of *Chester*, with his mother *Ermentrude*, lodged in the Towne of *Abingdon*; *Farrinus* the Abbot, and the Countesse his Mother, earnestly calling vpon him, confirmed for wel done, whatsoever was done concerning the Land of *Wimondisleie*, and with his writing strengthened the same. Which writing, he appointed to be sealed with his Mothers Seale, for he being not yet knighted, all the Letters by him any whether directed, were closed with his Mothers Seale. And for this cause it is, that it is noted, the writing to be signed rather with the seale of the Countesse, then of the Earle himself. Of which writing, this is the forme; *Richardus Comes Cestrie, & Ermentrudis Comitissa Mater eius, Nigillo de Oylly, &c.* *Richard* Earle of *Chester*, and *Ermentrudis* the Countesse, his Mother, to *Nigill* of *Oylly, &c.*

This same thing doe also the ancient formes of the Parliament writs testifie. For it is manifest, Kings haue bene wont to summon the Nobility of the kingdom vnto their Parliaments. *Iohanni Marchioni de Montacuto Cheualier* (vnto *John Marquesse of Montacute* Knight: And *Henricus vis. Henrico Vicecomiti Bourchier Militi* (*Henry* the viscount *Henry* Count *Bourchier* Knight.) 1. *Edward* 4. &c. Which manner of calling, although it hath begun of long to grow out of use in others of the Nobility, yet eyther in calling out of new Barons, or in summoning of the olde, it is still right seriously obserued: as *Gulielmo Brooke de Cobham Cheualier* (vnto *William Brooke of Cobham* knight.) And *Gulielmo Cecil de Burghley Militi* (to *William Cecil* of *Burghley* knight) when as they both were commonly knowne and called Barons or Lords of *Cobham*, &c. of *Burghley*: so that a man would almost say, the order of knights to bee the Seminary of the Baronage of *England*.

I let passe in the meane time, with how great solemnity of the kingdom, and charges of the Subiects, Kings in ancient time were wont to conferre and bestow this Military honour and dignity vpon their

*vis Militi
r. The count
of Chualier*

their eldest Sonnes, (viz.) the Princes of *Wales*, and with what luster and magnificence, Emperours and Kings ioyned in league together, (by a certaine mutuall and as it were natural power of monarchs among themselves, in bestowing Nobility according to the Lawe of Nations) haue dismissed one anothers Subiects & Ambassadors, graced with this Dignitie. I list onely heereunto to ioine an auncient forme, with the Rites and Ceremonies thereof, out of an old Chronicle of a certayne namelesse writer; *Anno* (saith he) 1316. *Dominus richardus de Rodney factus fuit Miles apud Keynsham die translationis Sancti Thomae Martyris in praesentia domini Almarici Comitis de Penbroke, qui cinxit eum gladio, & Dominus Maurinus de Barkley super pedem dextrum posuit unum calcar: & Dominus Bartholomaeus de Badelismere* (Baron & viceroy) *supposuit aliud super pedem sinistrum in Aula, & hoc facto, recessit cum honore.* In the year 1316. Lord *Richard* of *Rodney*, was made Knight at *Keynsham*, vpon the day of the translation of *Saint Thomas* the Martyr, in the presence of *Almaricus* Earle of *Penbrooke*, who girt him with the Sword: and the Lord *Maurice* of *Barkley* put one Spurre on his right foot, and the Lord *Bartholomew* of *Badelismere* (both of them Barons) put the other Spurre vpon his left foot in the Hall; and this done, he with honour departed. But now according to the manner of the time, we liue after another fashion; and in this, as in other things, the change and alteration of things hath taught vs, what an alteration of things the long continuance of time is able to make. So in thinking of the beginning of Knights, and as well of the antiquitie of the Order of Knighthood, as of the preheminance thereof aboue other dignities and honours, I can scarce relesue my selfe, but that this name of olde should seeme to make shew vnto me of some (I wot not what) magnificent and maiestical things contayned in the same, and more excellent then Nobility it selfe: and mounting (as it were) into the royall Thronoes, sitteth as it were a Iudge in the Iudgement seate, and the Protectour of all ciuill Nobility. For the deciding of suites concerning honours, and for the preservation vnto euery man the right of his fame or dignity, the natu-

rall tribunall Seate or Court for the Nobilitie, is euery where called *Militaris*; that is to say, the Martiall or Military Court, and commonly, the Court of Chualier: the forme wherof with vs is this. The appoynted place for the holding thereof, is the Kings Hall: wherein the Constable of the Kingdome, and the Marshall of *England* sit as Iudges, where any Plaintiffe, either in case of dignities or of Armes, or of any other sute or controuersie concerning Nobility and Honour, may sue the Defendant. But the forme wherein the Constable of *England* was wont to call the Nobility and Gentry vnto his Countor Iudgement seate, was on this sort:

Iehan filz de Fey Constable d'Angleterre, &c.

Iohn the Kings Sonne, Constable of *England*, and Varden of the East-marches toward *Scotland*, to our welbeloued *Cozin*, *Sir Rafe Neule*, Earle of *Westmerland*, and Marshall of *England*, greeting. We command and charge you that you came to come and appeare before vs at *Westminster*, the ninth day of May next coming, before *Monsieur Edward Hastings*, to answer to *Monsieur Reynold* Lord of *Grey*, and of *Rutheyn*, concerning that which he shall then charge him with in our court of Chualier, concerning the full vsing and bearing of his Armes, and to that the Lord *Grey* saith, and as it shall be more fully declared at the same day; and further to doe and receiue that which the Lawe and the custome of our said Court shall in this part require. Returning before vs at the aforesaid day with this our Precept, al that you shall therein haue done. Given at *Westminster* vnder the Seale of our Office, the first day of May, in the reigne of my most dread Lord and Father King *Henry* the fourth, after the Conquest, the eight.

Iehan filz. frere, e Vceilem Roys, Duc de Bedford, &c.

Iohn, Sonne, Brother, and Viceroy to the Kings, Duke of *Bedford* and *Arundell*, Earle of *Richmond*, and of *Kendall*, and Constable of *England*, vnto our welbeloued *Cozin*, *Iohn* duke of *Northfolke*, Marshall of *England*, greeting. We command and charge

charge you, that you cause to be arrested, and to come before vs or our Lieutenant at *Wexminster*, vpon the 15. of *S. Hillarie* next comming, *William Clopton* of the Countie of *Suffolke* Esquire, then to answer before vs or our Lieutenant in the Court of Chiuallrie, to *Robert Eland* of the Countie of *Lincolne* esquire, to that which he the said *Robert* shal then charge him with by the way of Arms, as hauing set and put to the Scale of his Armes to a false and forged writing, done to the hurt and danger of him the said *Robert* an hundred pounds, and more then that, as he saith. Returning before vs at the sayd day, with this our *Mandate*, all that which you shall haue therein done. Given vnder the Scale of our Office, the 23. day of November, in the fixeteenth yeare of the reigne of our Lord the King, & since the Conquest of *England*, the hundred.

The forme of the prosecuting of the action, is on both sides tryed, by the looking into of Letters Patents, auncient Charters, and of Euidences (as they tearme them) and by Witneses. All things are (for the most part) acted by their Aduocates, in Writings, in Latine or in French. At length the definitive Sentence, according vnto equitie and right, and our owne heroycall custome, and not after any strange maner, sealed with the publike Scale of the Office is openly read, and afterward is deliuered to the Earle Marshall, to be put into execution. If any thing chance to be vnprovidedly done, or vnaduisedly in the suite ouer-slipped on eyther part, it is lawfull for them to appeale vnto the king, who is wont to referre the whole matter vnto the Bishops, and other Ecclesiasticall persons, vnto the learned Lawyers, and others of most vpriight life, to be diligently againe examined & expounded. And euen in this very manner it was argued, adiudged, and appealed, betwixt *Reynold* Baron *Gray* of *Ruthen*, and *Edward Hastings* Knight, concerning the Armes of the *Hastings*, in the reigne of King *Henry* the third. Likewise, betwixt the Barons of *Louell* and *Morley*, for the Armes of the familie of *Burnell*. And *Richard Scroope* Plaintife, against *Robert Grosuenuor* Defendant, in an Action of Armes in the ninth yeare of the reigne

of King *Richard* the second.

But this I leaue to the iudicious labor of that noble person and excellent iudgement, who now can onely repaire the lamented ruines of that Iurisdiction, hauing bequeathed vnto him the *Genius* of those his renowned Auncellours, that so many yeares filled vp with famous memory, the Iudgement Seate of this Royall Court, referring the eye of further search, eyther to the Kings Records, or to those Registers of Armes and Honor whome it concerneth most to seeke out such Monuments with the Genealogies of Families, and the Armes of Stockes and Kindreds to distinguish the same, to write things done, and to register them vp in Bookes, for the perpetuall remembrance thereof. And who themselves acknowledging the high Constable, and the Earle Marshall of *England* for their Patrons, receiue yearly pensions from the Kings, and are by them with notable priuiledges rewarded.

Heere at length I might haue a large occasion to speake of the solemne Ceremonies of the Heralds; of their institution, immunities (both in time of peace and warre) and of the auncient reputation had of them amongst all Nations: if it were lawfull for mee to roame at large beyond the breuitie I haue vnto my selfe propounded, and whom therefore I had purposed in silence to haue passed ouer. But, lest I writing of so many degrees of out Noblemen, and so great things concerning Politicall Nobility, (in leauing to be spokemen for themselves) I might seeme to haue spoken vnaduisedly, and not indifferently, I thought it good briefly, and by the way, to touch these things concerning Heralds. They were in auncient time *Forlifers*, or as Messengers of the publike faith and credit. But since the time Princes and Monarks, for dispatch of their affaires, first began to haue their Ambassadors still resident one of them with another, the reputation of Heralds is so impaired, as that they euer where liue as men neglected, & quite ouerthrowne. Yet what our Heraldes be, and in what houses, and vnder what Lawes they (by the fauour of our Kings) together with vs in safety dwell, I will heere, as it were, in a short Inuentorie, propound vnto the eye of the Reader.

The

Three Kings, which of their offices are called

Garter, who goeth first, as cheefe Ringleader of the all: not so much for the antiquity of his creation (for he was first created by King *Henry* the first) as for the super-eminence of the Order of the Garter.

Clarenius. } Both of the ordained by K.
Norroy. } Edward the 3. and are called
Prouinciall Kings of Armes.

The Collegiate society of Heraldes, consisteth of xiiij. persons, (viz:) of

Sixte Heraldes, which by the names of their additions are called,

Somer set.
Chester.
Windefor.
Richemond.
LANCASTER.
Yorke.

Foure Pursuiuantes, which in Heraldrie you may call learners and followers, vnto whom other Names are giuen also, (viz)

Rougedragon.
Portculis.
Blew-mantell
Rouge croix.

All those by the names of *Kings*, *Heralds*, and *Pursuiuants*, are by the Kings themselves immediate, or by the Constable of the Kingdome, or the Marshall with the Kings Authority, crowned with Crownes, graced with Collars, attired with their rich Coates, named by their names of addition, and with certaine appointed Ceremonies created, receiue their yearly stipends out of the Kings Exchequer, to consult and meete together, about Armes and Authentical Monuments, and helping and profiting vnto the Art of Heraldry. And they by the Kings Charter Incorporate, are endowed with a publike house in London, the cheefe City of the Kingdome: where (besides the Immunities and Priuiledges whereby they liue) they are with the preheminences of their degrees and functions, one from another distinguished.

Are set to preserve the dignity and reputation of their society, and governe the rest, as for example.

For some of them.

Other some are pointed to obey (viz.)

Garret King of Armes, for the supereminent Dignity of the Garter, is of the cheefe; whose peculiar Office it is, with all dutifull service to attend vpon the Knights of that order. To advertise them which are chosen of their new election, to call them to be entailed at *Windsor*, and to cause their Armes to be hangd vpon their seats. At their buriall, to have a care of their Funerall Rites & Ceremonies. Wherefore, (beside the yearly wages given him by the Knights) he is by the King himselfe rewarded with a Salary double to the rest. In every new Emperour, King, Prince, Duke, Marquesse, Earle, Vicount, Baron, or Knight, to be into this order enlauded, hee challengeth of him the vppermost Garment, which he on that day weareth. He also sheweth vnto every new Baron, called vnto the Parliament, the place wherein he is to sit among his Peeres, and ordereth other things concerning their order.

Clarentius, who is King of Armes of al the East, West, & South Prouinces of *England*, on this side of the Riuer of *Trent*.

Norroy, who is also acknowledged for king of Armes through the north part of the kingdom, beyond the Riuer of *Trent*.

Heralds and Pursuivants

These two haue by charter power to visit the Noblemens Families, to ser downe their Pedegrees, to distinguish their armes, & in the open Market-place, to reprove such as falsely take vpon the Nobility or Gentry. And to order euery Mans Exequies & Funerals, according to their Dignity, & to appoint vnto them their Armes or Ensignes, &c. And in all things govern the *Heralds* as well as *Garter*.

Who in all things endeavour themselves for the defence of their society, & to their own lawfull profice in private, and willingly depend of the commandements of the Kings

And these onely are the Kings *Heralds*, with vs so called, for that they receiue wages of the kings, and with publike seruice, serue all the Nobility of the kingdom.

Howbeit, Noble-men and Peeres of this Land, in ancient time had their *Heralds* peculiar vnto themselves. For *Chester* the Herald, and *Falco* the Pur-

suiuant, liued at the command of the Prince of *Wales*, and serued him. *Humfrey*, Duke of *Glocester*, and Earle of *Pembroke*, had the Herald *Pembroke* his household Seruant.

Richard also, Duke of *Glocester*, hauing now obtained the kingdom, would needs haue his Herald *Glocester*, to be called King of Armes for all *Wales*. *Charles*

Drum

Brandon Duke of *Suffolke*, retained *Suffolke Herald*, and *Marlowe* the Pursuiuant, his Seruants. The Marquesse of *Dorchester*, kept *Grobby* the Herald. The Earle of *Northumberland* kept *Northumberland* the Herald, and *Esperance* the Pursuiuant. *Arthur Plantaginet*, Vicount *Lisle*, took vnto himselfe the Pursuiuant: and Baron *Hastings*, *Hasting* the Pursuiuant. These it pleased me to haue out of many others rehearsed, who serued Noblemen in their peculiar and domestick seruices. But the condition of the Seruant is made better, by the dignity of his Lord and Master, so these forenamed *Heralds* liued not with like authority or priuiledges as with the Kings.

So I breesely touch all things, for the beautifying and setting forth of Politicall Nobility: Now at length (by the *Heralds* leaue) let it bee lawfull for mee to ioyn hereunto and insert some few things concerning Armes, whereby Noblemen are wont to be knowne from the vulgar sort, and to be among themselves by families diuided, being wont in ancient time to be more sparingly bestowed, then in this our age, and onely vpon such as had with their good seruice deserved them.

But such kinde of Armes seeme not to haue taken beginning, but of such military rewards, as were wont to be giuen vnto well deseruing men, in the Roman Common-weale. For the *Romans*, alwayes most strived for the obtayning of honor and glory, for the nourishing whereof, they with ornaments and rewards, laboured to stirre vp mens mindes, for the performance of noble actions, both at home and abroad. In warres flourished Military guises, *Trophies*, *Triumphall Armes*, *Letters Laureat*, &c. In time of peace, at home were shewed honourable Titles, Images, Statues, and such like. Things indeed wisely at first deuised, and afterward so together with the Empire encreased, that how many, and what manner of Crowns, Bracelets, Chaines, and Crests, euery mā had deserued; what manner of trappings, Speares, Darts, or Belts, they had gotten: these they were wont in their expeditions in the wars, to beare in their Targets and Bucklers, or set vpon their Helmes; and againe, returning home, in time of peace, euery good Seruitor did hang them vp in their houses; and those Ornaments they

by the name of Armes, were wont by long order of succession, to deliuer ouer vnto their posterity: and heereof those armes of Families, heere and there dispierced by the Nobility, vsed in diuers kingdomes, were (if it please you so to thinke) of the *Germanes* called *Teutagen*, in our language *Armes*, and in Latine *Arms*, for that with them the enemies were repulsed.

These things the ancient *Roman* *Coyne* declare, and the credible ancient *Romane* Writers; the vse whereof so at length preuailed in kingdomes, that as names distinguished men from men, even so Armes diuided Nations from Nations, and Families from Families: first granted by Kings themselves, but afterward by the *Heralds* (Kings of Armes) by a Royall transmissiue power granted vnto them, they euery where especially seruing the Politicall Nobility, vnto whom I willingly leaue these things. And therefore the name and office of the *Heralds* was euery where notable, and well bebecoming an honest man; whom they of ancient time went to call the *Fosterers of Politicall Nobility*, the Arbiters of Equity, the Protectors of Verity, the Ambassadors of Princes, and the Writers of mens noble actes.

But woe is me, that I carried with a certaine winde of this Method, haue thus euen against my will landed vpon our *Heralds*, whom (I know not by what destiny) euery man sigheth and mourneth to see them working their owne destruction. Although indeed it be not so much to be maruailed at, seeing that the cause is right manifest (for lawfull bee it for mee to say the truth, which the thing it selfe specketh) (viz.) the want of the *Martiall Court*, or *Court of Chindry*, wherof I but now spake. For why, Nobility is selfe beeing oftentimes hurt or impaired the *Heralds* themselves therewith languish alio.

And yet for all that, heroy call truth wāteeth not her Patronnes, euen amongst the most Noble and reuerend Antiquity, although as it were banished, and almost a stranger in her owne house, hath together with the Muses, her most louing, kinde and earnest Patronnes, and who were not euen vnto my selfe also wanting in the perfecting of these my endeuors & purposes.

These are the Orders and De-

grees, of both our sorts of Nobility, Named and Unnamed. Now into what ranks they are among themselves divided, and what honour they owe one of them unto another (by a certaine right of precedence) receive heere in briefe.

- 1 THE Kings Maiesty.
- 2 The Prince of Wales.
- 3 Dukes descended of the Royall blood.
- 4 Dukes not descended of Royall blood.
- 5 Dukes eldest Sonnes descended of the Royall blood.
- 6 Marquesses.
- 7 Dukes eldest Sonnes.
- 8 Earles.
- 9 Marquesses eldest Sonnes.
- 10 Dukes younger Sonnes of the blood Royall.
- 11 Dukes second Sonnes.
- 12 Vicounts.
- 13 Earles eldest Sonnes.
- 14 Marquesses second Sonnes.
- 15 Barons.
- 16 Vicounts eldest Sonnes.
- 17 Earles second Sonnes.
- 18 Barons eldest Sonnes.
- 19 Knights Bannarets.
- 20 Vicounts second Sonnes.
- 21 Barons second Sonnes.
- 22 Knights Batchellors.
- 23 Esquires for the body.
- 24 Knights Bannarets eldest Sonnes.
- 25 Knights Batchellors eldest Sonnes.
- 26 Esquires.
- 27 Gentlemen.

The Sonnes of Knights, which are of the Kings priuy Councill, for the time, hold the places which their Fathers being knighted, were knowne to hold, beneath the Barons Sonnes. But the antiquity of the creation of euery Knight is to bee regarded: by which reasons, the Sonnes of the elder Knights, goe before the Sonnes of them that were more later created. Amongst Esquires, the antiquity of their Families, their wealth, and publike offices are considered; whereby it commeth to passe, that the wiues of them of the chee-

fer Families, or of such as beare great Offices take their places before others.

Howbeit, wee see no certainty to bee heere set downe concerning the places of Esquires or their Wiues, neyther concerning the places of younger Brothers wiues forasmuch as many such things oftentimes chance, as cannot in any certaine rules be comprehended: like as it vseth to happen in Named Nobility (viz.) in Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Vicounts, and Barons.

*Now at last let vs passe vnto
Knights of the Order of the Garter.*



E said in the beginning, in the diuiding and reckoning vp of our Nobility, it not to be beside our purpose, if I should vnto them also ioyne the fellowship of the order of the Garter, of others (by farre) the most honourable. For that it maketh Knights, and sometime them of the lesser Nobility also, being me for their vertue and valour, both in peace and warre about others famous, not only equall vnto Noblemen at home, but almost even vnto Kings themselves & Emperors. An order verily of all the orders of the Christian world (if it be to be compared with any other) most ancient and most famous, wherein the most true Nobility it selfe, together with Religion and vertue, attended vpon with fife and twenty most famous Knights, is seene that (I may so say) with vndeified Maiesty to sit in the Royall Throne. Wherefore, seeing that it is an order of so great dignity, and more famous then any other Nobility; & greater, then that it can in ranke with the other orders be included, as which includeth all the other degrees of Nobility, I haue purposed as briefly as I could, here to set it downe alone, and there-withall to conclude this Treatise.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

The Order of the Knights of the Garter, when, and by whom it was ordained.



Edward the third, the most inuincible King of England and of France, a Prince principally endowed with al manner of piety, magnanimitic, and wisdom, in the xxij. yeare of his reigne, after he had oftentimes ouer the Frenchmen and Scots triumphed, vnto the honour of Almighty God, whereunto he (as becomed a deuout King referred al things) in his Castle at Windsor, ordained the Military Ornaments and Ceremonies of the Knights of the Garter: whereunto he gaue the name of the Blew Garter (but commonly called the Garter) and wherein hee appoynted the Kings of England as chiefe, and fife and twentie Knights or Fellowes and Companions together. Who being men both for their martial prowesse and birth, most famous, and most chosen Chieftaines solemnely sworne, and binding themselves together with a bond of mutuall and perpetual friendship, for the defence of the honour and dignity of their Colledge and Fellowship, refuse not to vndergoe any danger, no not death it selfe. And therefore they are called *Fellowes of the Garter*, for that they haue the Calfe of their Leg bound about with a little Girdle, set with precious stones, which we call a *Garter*: the speciall Cognisance of the order, whereon it is in French, in golden Letters thus writte: *Hon. Soit. Qui. Mal. T. Penfe.* All these Knights once yearly attired in the Robes and Ornaments of their Order, meete together vpon the 23. day of April, a day dedicated to Saint George, The Rites and ceremonies, where-with they for the most great preheminece of their Order, are with most great solemnity chosen and entauled at Windsor, and the Statutes vnder which these Fellowes and Companions liue, seeing they can in iust Volumes be scarce contained, cannot heere in few words be expressed. Wherefore I list onely to rehearse the names of them, which from the beginning, or to-

gether with king Edward himselfe, were the Founders thereof, or else haue by our Kings from time to time, for some their vertue about others, bene still chosen to be Fellowes of that most honorable Order, in stead of them that were dead, euen vnto this our age.

Edward the third King of England and of France, &c. Supreme or Governour of the Order of the Garter, and with him the fife and twenty first Founders thereof, which number they neuer exceed.

Henry Duke of Lancaster.
Peter Captaine Bouche.
William Mont-acute, Earle of Salisburie.
John, Lord of the Iland, otherwise called Lisle.
John Beauchampe, knight.
Hugh Courtney, knight.
John Grey of Codnor, knight.
Atiles Stapleton, knight.
Hugh Wrothelley, knight.
John Chandos, knight Bannaret.
Orto Holland, knight.
Sanchio Dampredicourt, knight.
Edward Prince of Wales, King Edward his eldest Sonne.
Thomas Beauchampe, Earle of Warwicke.
Raffe Stafford, Earle of Stafford.
Roger Mortimer, Earle of March.
Bartholmew of Burgherst, knight.
John, Lord Mohun, Baron.
Thomas Holland, knight.
Richard Fitz-Simon, knight.
Thomas Wale, knight.
Neele Lorange, knight.
James Audley, knight.
Henry Esme, knight.
Walter Pauley, knight.

The Founders of this Order

being dead, these following were in the time of Edward the third chosen, and being elected into the places of the dead, supplied their rooms.

Richard, surnamed Burdeaux, eldest sonne of the Prince of Wales, who was also King of England, after Edward the

the third his grand-father, and was second of that name.

Lionell, surnamed of *Astwerp*, the son of King *Edward*, Duke of *Clarence*, and Earle of *Ulster*.

John, surnamed of *Gaunt*, fourth son of King *Edward*, first duke of *Richmond*, and after of *Lancaster*.

Edmund of *Langley*, fifth Sonne of King *Edward*, first Earle of *Cambridge*, and afterward Duke of *York*.

John of *Montford*, surnamed the valiant, Duke of *Britaine*, and Earle of *Richmond*, King *Edward* the third, his Sonne in law.

Hamfrey of *Bohun*, Earle of *Hertford*.

William of *Bohun*, Earle of *Northampton*.

John Hastings, Earle of *Penbroke*.

Thomas Beauchamp, Earle of *Warwicke*.

Richard Fitz-*Alan*, Earle of *Arundell*.

Robert Stafford, Earle of *Suffolke*.

Hugh Stafford, Earle of *Stafford*.

Ingelbrun of *Concy*, Earle of *Bedford*.

Oniscard of *Engolefme*, Earle of *Huntingdon*.

Edward Baron *Spencer*.

William Baron *Latimer*.

Regnold Baron *Cobham* of *Sterborow*.

John Baron *Neuill* of *Raby*.

Raffe Baron *Basset* of *Drayton*.

Gualter Manny, Knight *Bannaret*.

Thomas Stafford, Knight.

Thomas Felton, Knight.

Francis Van *Halle*, Knight.

Alan Baxbull, Knight.

Richard Pemoruze, Knight.

Thomas Treight, Knight.

Thomas Banneister, Knight.

Richard la *Vache*, Knight.

Guy of *Brienne*, Knight.

Richard, the second of that name, King of *England*, and of *France*, &c. Soueraigne of the Order of the Garter, & they which by him were chosen into that Order.

Thomas of *Woodstocke*, Earle of *Buckingham*, and afterward Duke of *Glocester*, first Sonne to King *Edward* the third.

Henry of *Lancaster*, Earle of *Darby*, & Duke of *Hertford*, and afterward Duke of *Lancaster*, and at length King of *England*, of that name the fourth.

William, Duke of *Gelderland*.

William, surnamed of *Hennault*, was first Earle of *Gloucester*, and afterward Duke of *Holland*, *Hennault*, and of *Zealand*.

Thomas Holland, Earle of *Kent*, and afterward Duke of *Surrey*.

John Holland, Earle of *Huntingdon*, and Duke of *Excester*.

Thomas Monbray, Earle of *Nottingham*, and afterward Duke of *Norfolke*, and Earle Marshall of *England*.

Edward, Earle of *Rutland*, Duke of *Albemarle*, and *Edmund* of *Langley* his Father being dead, Duke of *York*.

Michaell de la *Poole*, Earle of *Suffolke*, and Chancellor of *England*.

William Scroope, Earle of *Wilshire*, & Treasurer of *England*.

William of *Beauchampe*, Baron of *Bergavenny*.

John Beaumont, Baron.

William Willoughby, Baron.

Richard Grey, Baron.

Nicholas Sarnesfeld, Knight.

Philip de la *Vache*, Knight.

Robert Knolles, Knight.

Guy of *Brienne*, Knight.

Simon Burley, Knight.

John D'Euerux, Knight.

Brian Stapleton, Knight.

Richard Burley, Knight.

Peter Courtney, Knight.

John Burley, Knight.

John Bouchier, Knight.

Thomas Grandson, Knight.

Lewer Clifford, Knight.

Robert Dunstanill, Knight.

Robert of *Namar*, Knight.

Henry the fourth of that name, King of *England*, and of *France*, &c. chiefe of the Garter: and they which in his Reigne were chosen into the places vacant.

HENRY Prince of *Wales*, the eldest Sonne of King *Henry*, who afterward (his Father being dead) was himselfe King, first of that name.

Thomas of *Lancaster*, Duke of *Clarence*, King *Henry* his second Sonne.

John Duke of *Bedford*, Regent of *France*, third Sonne of King *Henry*.

Hamfrey Duke of *Glocester*, fourth Sonne of

of King *Henry*.

Thomas Beaufort, Duke of *Excester*, Son to *John* of *Garrut*, Duke of *Lancaster*.

Robert, County Palatine, Duke of *Banaria*.

John Beaufort, Earle of *Somerset*, Brother to *Thomas* Duke of *Excester*.

Thomas Fitz-*Alan*, Earle of *Arundell*.

Edmund Stafford, Earle of *Stafford*.

Edmund Holland, Earle of *Kent*.

Rafe Neut, Earle of *Westmerland*.

Gilbert Lord Talbot, Baron.

Gilbert Lord Roos, Baron.

Thomas Lord Morley, Baron.

Edward Lord Powis, Baron.

John Lord Lovel, Baron.

Hugh Lord Burnel, Baron.

John Cornwall Knight, afterward Baron *Faulhope*.

William of *Arundell*, Knight.

John Stanley Knight, Steward of the Kings house.

Robert Vinsceull, Knight.

Thomas Ranspion Knight, Constable of the Tower of *London*.

Thomas Erpingham, Knight.

John Sallie, Knight.

Sanctus of *Trane*, Knight.

Henrie the fifth of that name, king of *England*, and of *France*, &c. Chiefe of the order of the Garter, and the Knights whom he graced with the Garter, in stead of them that were dead.

Sigismund King of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, Marquesse of *Madenburge*, and Emperor elect.

John King of *Portugall*.

Christian King of *Denmark*.

Philip Duke of *Burgundy*.

John Holland, Earle of *Huntingdon*, and afterward Duke of *Excester*.

William de la *Poole*, first Earle, afterward Marquesse, and at length Duke of *Suffolke*.

John Monbray, Earle Marshall, and afterward Duke of *Norfolke*.

Thomas Montacute, Earle of *Salisbury*.

Richard Vere Earle of *Oxford*.

Richard Beauchampe, Earle of *Warwicke*.

Thomas, Baron *Cameys*.

John, Baron *Clifford*.

Robert, Baron *Willoughby*.

William Philip, Baron *Bardolfe*.

Henry, Baron *Fitz-lugh*.

Lewer, Kelsart Baron *Bouchier*.

Hugh Stafford, Baron *Bouchier*.

Walter, Baron *Hungerford*.

Simon Felbridge, Knight.

John Grey of *Eyton*, Knight.

John Dabrigecourt, Knight.

John Robart, Knight.

Trank van *Clux*, a German knight.

William Harrington, Knight.

John Blount, King's it.

Henrie the sixt of that name, King of *England*, and *France*, &c. chiefe of the Order of the Garter, and the Knights of the Garter by him made.

Albert, Duke of *Austria*, King of *Hungary* and *Lobemia*, and afterward Emperor.

Fredericke, Duke of *Austria*, Emperour, & Albertus his Brother.

Edward, King of *Portingall*.

Aphonius, King of *Aragen*, *Naples*, & *Sicilie*.

Casmire, King of *Polonia*.

Edward, Prince of *Wales*, King *Henry* his eldest Sonne.

Peter, Duke of *Conimbria*, John King of *Portingall* his Sonne.

Henry, Duke of *Viscentium*, John King of *Portingall* his Sonne.

Duke of *Brunswicke*.

Richard, Duke of *York*, Father to King *Edward* the fourth.

John Beaufort, Earle, and afterward Duke of *Somerset*.

Edmund Beaufort, Earle *Moriton*, afterward Marquesse, and at last Duke of *Somerset*.

Isper Earle of *Penbroke*, and afterward Duke of *Buckingham*.

John Monbray, Duke of *Norfolke*.

Hamfrey, Earle of *Stafford*, and afterward Duke of *Buckingham*.

Gaston de *Foix*, Capitaine de la *Bouche*, Earle of *Longueille*.

John de *Foix*, Earle of *Candalia*.

Alaurus Dalmada Earle of *Auerence*.

John Fitz-*Alan*, Earle of *Arundell*.

Richard Neuill, Earle of *Salisbury*.

Richard Neuill, Earle of *Warwicke*.

John Baron Talbot, afterward Earle of *Shrewsbury*.

John

John Baron Talbot, Earle of Shrewsbury, his Sonne.
James Butler, Earle of Wiltshire and Ormond.
William Nevill, Lord Fauconbridge, afterward Earle of Kent.
Richard Woodvill, Earle Rivers.
Henry Vicount Bouchier, and afterward Earle of Essex.
John Beaumont, Vicount Beaumont.
John Sutton, Baron Dudley.
Thomas, Baron Scales.
John, Baron Grey of Ruthin.
Rafe, Baron Butler of Sudely.
Lionell, Baron Welles.
John, Baron Bouchier of Berners.
Thomas, Baron Stanley.
William, Baron Bonuill.
John, Baron Wenlocke.
John, Baron Beauchamp of Pavik.
Thomas, Baron Hoo.
John Ratcliff, Knight.
John Fastolf, Knight.
Thomas Kiriell, Knight.
Edward Hall, Knight.

Edward, fourth of that name, K. of England and France, &c. Supreme Governour of the Order of the Garter, chose these Knights, into the vacant places of them that were dead.

Ferdinand, King of Sicily and of Naples, King Alfonso, his base sonne.
John, King of Portugal.
Edward, Prince of Wales.
Charles, Duke of Burgundy.
Francis Sforza, Duke of Milan.
Fredericke, Duke of Arbin.
Hercules, Duke of Ferrara.
Richard, Duke of Yorke, the Kings sonne.
Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who afterward usurped the Kingdome.
John Mortimer, Duke of Norfolk.
John, Baron Howard, afterward Duke of Norfolk.
John de la Poole, Duke of Suffolke.
Henry Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.
John Nevill, Marquesse Montacute.
Thomas Grey, Marquesse Dorset.
James Douglas, Earle Douglas in Scotland.
William Fitz-Alan, Earle of Arundell.
Thomas, Baron Maltravers, the sonne of

William, and afterward Earle of Arundell.
Anthony Woodville, Baron Scales, afterward Earle Rivers.
William, Baron Herbert, afterward created Earle of Pembroke.
John Stafford, Earle of Wiltshire.
Henry Percy, Earle of Northumberland.
John Tipotst, Earle of Worcester.
Galliard Duras, Lord Duras.
John, Baron Scroope of Bolton.
Walter Deuerux, Baron Fevers of Chertley.
Gualtier Blount, Baron of Montjoy.
William, Baron Hastings, the Kings Chamberlaine.
John Aspley, Knight.
William Chamberlaine, Knight.
William Parre, Knight.
Robert Harcourt.
Thomas Mont-gomery, Knight.

Edward, the first of that name, king King of England and France, &c. Supreme Governour of the Order of the Garter, vnder whom was no election of new Knights of that order. For as hee had all the places filled with Knights by his Father, while he yet lived, euen so he left them. Hee exceeding onely the seates of the Prince, and of *John* King of Portugal.

Richard, the third of that name, King of England and of France, &c. Cheefe of the Order of the Garter, & the Fellowes chosen into that Order, during the time of his Reigne.

Thomas Howard, Earle of Surrey, and Duke of Norfolk.
Thomas, Baron Stanley, afterward Earle of Derby.
Francis, Vicount Louell.
John Conyers, Knight.
Richard Radcliff, Knight.
Thomas Burch, Knight.
Richard Tunstall, Knight.

Henry,

Henry, the seventh of that name, King of England, and of France, cheife of this most honorable Order, and the Fellowes chosen into the places of them that were dead, during the time of his Reigne.

Maximilian, king of the Romaines, & afterward Emperor, chosen, his Father Frederick Emperor then living.
John, King of Portugal.
John, King of Denmarke.

Philip, King of Castile, Arch-Duke of Austria, Son to Maximilian the Emperor.
Aphonsus, Duke of Calabria and Naples, King of Sicilia and Jerusalem.
Arthur, Prince of Wales, the Kings eldest Sonne.

Henry, Duke of Yorke, & Prince of Wales, his Brother Arthur being dead, and he the same, afterward King of England.
Vbald, Earle of Montferat, and Duke of Vrbis, and of Fesseran.

Edward Stafford, Duke of Buckingham.
Thomas Grey, Marquesse Dorset.
John Vere, Earle of Oxford.

Henry Percy, Earle of Northumberland.
George Talbot, Earle of Shrewsbury.
Henry Bouchier, Earle of Essex.

Richard Grey, Earle of Kent.
Edward Courtney, Earle of Denbire.
Henry, Baron Stafford, afterward Earle of Wiltshire.

Edmund de la Poole, Earle of Suffolke.
Charles Somerset, Knight Banaret, and afterward created Earle of Worcester.

Gerard Fitz-gerald, Earle of Kildare.
John Welles, Vicount Welles.
George Stanley, Baron Strange.
William Stanley, the Kings Chamberlaine.

John, Baron Dynham.
Robert Willoughby, Baron Brooke, Steward of the Kings house.
Giles d' Aubeny.

Edward Poynings, Knight.
Edward Widenill, Knight.
Gilbert Talbot, Knight.
John Cheney, Knight.

Richard Guilford, Knight.
Thomas Louell, Knight.
Thomas Brandon, Knight.
Reynold Bray, Knight.

Ryce Ap Thomas, a Welchman.
John Sauge, Knight.
Richard Poole, Knight.

Henry, the eight of that name, K. of England, France, and Ireland: Supreme Governour of the Order of the Garter, notably chose & ascribed these of the Order of the Garter, into the vacant seates and places of the knights that were dead.

Charles the Emperor, fift of that name, king of Spaine.

Ferdinand, king of the Romaines, and hee the same king of Hungary and Bohemia, Brother to Charles the Emperor.

Francis the French king, first of that name.
Emmanuel, King of Portugal.

James, the fift of that name, king of Scots.
Henry the Kings Sonne, otherwise called Fitz-Roy, Duke of Richmond and Somerset.

Julian de Meduces, brother to Leo, the tenth Bishop of Rome.

Edward Seymour, Earle of Hertford, and afterward Duke of Somerset.

Thomas Howard, Earle of Surrey, and at length Duke of Norfolk.

Charles Brandon, Master of the Horse, and afterward Duke of Suffolke.

John Sutton, alias Dudley, Vicount L'Isle, who was afterward Earle of Warwick.

Annas, Duke Mont-morency.

Henry Courtney, Earle of Denbire, and afterward Marquesse of Excester.

William Parre of Kendall, who was afterward Earle of Essex, & at length Marquesse of Northampton.

William Paulet, Baron S. John of Basing, afterward created Earle of Wiltshire, & at last Marquesse of Winchester.

Henry Earle of Surrey, Sonne to Thomas Duke of Norfolk.

Thomas Bullen, Treasurer of the Kings house, afterward Vicount Rochfort, and at length Earle of Wiltshire and Ormond.

William Fitz-Alan, Earle of Arundell.
John Vere, Earle of Oxford.

Henry Percy, Earle of Northumberland.
Rafe Nevill, Earle of Westmerland.

Francis Talbot, Earle of Shrewsbury.

Philip

Philip of Chabot, Earle of New-blanch, Admirall of France.

Thomas Manners, Baron Roos, who was afterward Earle of Rutland.

Robert Ratcliff, Vicount Fitz-Walter, afterward Earle of Suffex.

Henry Clifford, Earle of Cumberland.

William Fitz-Williams, Treasurer of the Kings house, and afterward Earle of Southampton.

Thomas, Baron Cromwell, who was afterward Earle of Essex.

John, Baron Russell, afterward Earle of Bedford.

Thomas, Baron Wriothesley, who was afterward created Earle of Southampton.

Arthur Plantagenet, Vicount Lisle, King Edward the fourth, his base Sonne.

Walter Deuereux, Baron Ferrers of Chartley, and afterward created Vicount Hereford.

Edward Howard, Admirall of England, in Brittain America.

George Newill, Baron of Abergeueny.

Thomas West, Baron de la Ware.

Thomas, Baron Dacres of Gilleland.

Thomas, Baron Darcy of the North.

Edward Sutton, Baron Dudley.

William Blount, Baron Montjoy.

Edward Stanley, Baron Montegale.

William, Baron Sands.

Henry, Baron Marney.

Thomas, Baron Audley of Walden, and Chancellor of England.

John Gage, Knight, Controller of the kings house.

Henry Guilford, Knight, Master of the horse, & after Controller of the house.

Nicholas Carew, Knight, Master of the Horse.

Anthony Browne, Knight, Master of the Horse.

Thomas Cheney, Knight, Waraen of the Cinque-Ports.

Richard Wingfield, Knight, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

Anthony Wingfield, Knight, Vice-Chamberlaine to the King, Captaine of the Guard, and after Controller of the Kings house.

Anthony Saint-Leger, Knight, Deputy of Ireland.

John Wallop, Knight, Captaine of Guynes in France.

Edward the sixt, King of England, France, and Ireland, Supream Lord of the Garter: by him these men following, were admitted into the said Order.

Henry the second, king of France.

Henry Grey, Marquess Dorset, after Duke of Suffolke.

Henry Nevill, Earle of Westmerland.

Edward Stanley, Earle of Darby.

Francis Hastings, Earle of Huntingdon.

William Herbert, Earle of Penbrooke.

Thomas Seymour, Baron of Sudely.

Thomas West, Baron de la Ware.

George Brooke, Baron of Cobham.

Edward Baron Clinton, Admirall of England, and after created Earle of Lincoln.

William Paget, Baron of Beauchert.

Thomas Darcy, Baron of Chiche.

Andrew Sutton, (alias Dudley), Knight.

Mary, Queen of England, France and Ireland, and Supream Lady of the Order of the Garter, these men (for orders sake) the other Knights being dead, were preferred into their places.

Philip, King of Spaine, husband to the Queene.

Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy.

Henry Radcliff, Sonne of Henry Earle of Suffex.

Anthony Browne, Vicount Mount-acute.

William Howard, Baron of Effingham.

William Grey, Baron of Wilton.

Edward Hastings, Master of the Horse, after Baron Hastings of Loughborough, and Chamberlaine to the Queene.

Robert Rochester, Knight, dyed before the instalment.

Elizabeth of famous memorie, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, Supream Lady of the moit noble Order of the Garter, chose into that Order, these men following.

Maximillian

Maximillian the Emperor, King of Bohemia, and Hungary.

Charles the ninth, King of France.

Henry the third, King of France.

Fredericke, King of Denmarke.

Adolph, Duke of Holsatia.

John Casimire, Count-Palatine of Rhine, and Duke of Banavia.

Francis a loutis suaveroy, Duke.

Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk.

Fredericke, Duke of Wittenberge.

William Parre, Marques of Northampton.

Thomas Percie, Earle of Northumberland.

George Talbot, Earle of Shrewsbury.

Henry Stanley, Earle of Darby.

William Summerfet, Earle of Worcester.

Henry Manners, Earle of Rutland.

Henry Hastings, Earle of Huntingdon.

Amorse Sutton (alias Dudley), Earle of Warwick.

Francis Russell, Earle of Bedford.

Henry Herbert, Earle of Penbrooke.

Robert Sutton (alias Dudley), Earle of Leicester.

Walter Deuereux, Earle of Essex.

Edward Manners, Earle of Rutland.

Henry Radcliffe, Earle of Suffex.

Robert Deuereux, Earle of Essex.

Gilbert Talbot, Earle of Shrewsbury.

George Clifford, Earle of Cumberland.

Henry Percy, Earle of Northumberland.

Edward Summerfet, Earle of Worcester.

Robert Radcliff, Earle of Suffex.

William Stanley, Earle of Darby.

Arthur Grey, Baron of Milton.

Charles Howard, Baron of Effingham, and Admirall of England, 1575, after Earle of Nottingham.

Edmund Burges, Baron Chandoy.

Henry Cary, Baron of Hunsdon.

William Cecil, Baron of Burghley.

William Brooke, Baron of Cobham.

Henry Scroope, Baron of Bolton.

Thomas Sackvill, Baron of Buckhurst, after Earle of Dorset, and Lord High-Treasurer of England.

Thomas, Baron de Burgh.

Edmund, Baron Sheffield.

Thomas Howard, Baron Howard of Walden, after Earle of Suffolke, and Lord Chamberlaine to the Kings Maicsty, also Lord high-Treasurer of England.

George Cary, Baron de Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlaine to Queene Elizabeth.

Charles Blount, Baron Montjoy, 1597, after Earle of Devonshire.

Henry Brooke, Baron Cobham.

Thomas Cecil, Baron of Burghley.

Henry Sidney, Knight, President of the Marches of Wales.

Christopher Hutton, Knight, Lord Chancellor of England.

Francis Knolles, Knight, Treasurer of the Queens house.

Henry Lea, Knight, Keeper of the Armory.

James the first, of Great Brittain, France, and Ireland, Supream Lord of the Garter: by him these men following, were admitted into the said Order.

Christiern, fourth of that name, King of Denmarke.

Henry, eldest Son to King James, Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, & Earle of Chester.

Charles Duke of Yorke, second Son to the Kings Maicsty, after Prince of Great Brittain.

Fredericke, Prince Elector Palatine of the Rhine.

Graue Morria, after Prince of Orange.

Lewes, Duke of Lennox, Earle of Richmond.

Henry Wriothesley, Earle of Southampton.

John Ereskin, Earle of Mar.

William Herbert, Earle of Penbrooke, after Lord Chamberlaine vnto the Kings Maicsty.

Fredericke, Duke of Wittenberge, installed but elected in the year, 1597.

Vlricke, Duke of Alsatia.

Henry Howard, Earle of Northampton.

Robert Cecil, Earle of Salisbury, after Lord high-Treasurer of England.

Thomas Howard, Viscount Bindon.

George Huime, Earle of Dunbarre.

Philip Herbert, Earle of Montgomery.

Philip Howard, Earle of Arundell.

Robert Carre, Viscount Rochester, after Earle of Somerset.

Thomas Ereskin, Viscount Fenton.

William Baron Knolles de grays, Treasurer of the Kings house, after Viscount Wallingford.

Francis, Earle of Rutland.

George Villers, after Viscount Villers, Earle and Marquess of Buckingham.

Robert Sidney, Viscount Lyle, after Earle of Leicester.

Terministionum Garteriani Ordinis habitus, à fronte & à tergo.



Ornamentum fibiale (vulgo Garterus) gemmis & literis manifestis auro. HONI SOIT QVI MAL Y PENSE. Lat. ratum: quamvis Ordinis sit Symbolum peccare, vestibus coopertum, ob oculos demonstrari acquirit.



THE PERORATION, OR EPILOGVE OF THE WHOLE VVORKE.



Thus haue I at last concluded this Treatise of *Nobilitie Politicke, Naturall, and Native*, as breecely as I could, and the greatnesse & dignity of the subiect would permit. First, generally; as applyed to the Customes of Countries, whereto the same is tide; then particularly exemplified, by the Rites and Ceremonies in vse among our selues. Wherein, if seeking to adorne the magnificence of so stately a Theame, with eloquence of words, and beauty of style, as it selfe doth deserue, I seeme to haue failed, I must plead for my selfe, as a plaine meaning man, that sometimes through zeale and deuotion to the Church, vnderooke to carue an Image, representing the Deity and greatnesse of his God, out of trembling and feare, was forced to craue ayde of skilfuller workmen, hauing nothing to excuse the weaknesse of his wit, and expire wi hall, the horror of his worke, but pious simplicitie. Euen such is my case; For I willingly confesse, that being doubtful of my selfe when I tooke this Taske in hand, yet my hope and comfort was, that howeuer I might erre, and heerein bewray my skill, my faults prouing veniall, I might giue occasion, to stir vp riper wits, to further the perfection of this rude and rough-hew'd worke, and Vvhettston-like at least, to set and sharpen others.

If now by the sight and view heereof, (such as it is) any like to take the paines from the theathe, to the blade; from the

shape, to the substance; & from the shadow, to the body, to wade any further; the Volume now succeeding, aswell of all the Persons, as their atchievements of honour, marriages, alliances, and descents, that euer this Monarchy hath innestred & ennobled with the titles and degrees of *Politick Nobility*, from the Earles vpward, (*Vice-Comes* and *Barons* make a Volume of themselves) digested into Catalogues, will further declare.

A worke, though not so perfect as the time may make it proue, for at the beginning, what thing was euer so? (Without price be it spoken) of extraordinary study, care, and industry. Wherein, if only for the publike, I haue thus employed my selfe, and done my best endeavour, *Tu scilicet one begeth the other*. Let no man take occasion to taxe me of double diligence, much lesse of affectation, selfe-love, or flattery, that propounding thus a Pilgrimage pretended to bee generall, I haue spent my whole deuotion on the Saints of Great Brittain. I was to fit my mould to the matter already framed, and therto wholly bending and deuoting with my selfe, I aimed withall in secret to redeeme to faue a subiect (subsisting euerywhere on speciall Lawes and Rites) from the wandering *Ideas* of discounting Philosophers, and contemplatiue Diuines to her owne proper Station, and peculiar Customes, that others else-where desirous of the like, I might seeme rather to giue, then to lay their good example.

It remains then now, to make good my first diuision into *Celestiall, Morall, and Politick Nobility*, that I lay downe

Etiam professio
femine inter
feminas, quod
exaltatur a nobis
Locus Dilectus
Nam, carissimam
femine recta
confessio, Ni
miseria alio vi
saretur foras
corde?
Bosch. b. 1. 3.

Piety.

Probity.

Grace.

Eugenia.
Eugenes.

Ingenuite.

Generosity.

Christianity.

Civility.

the dignity of each by themselves, that by plaine demonstration and comparing of their Essences mutually together, the world may see, how euen this of Great Brittain (which heere I call Ours) is of it selfe absolutely, the most assured Pattern, and best ordered of all others.

By Gods eternall prouidence, it is so fore-ordayned, that for ornament and safety of humane life and Nature, we see and seele daily, some steppes as it were of diuine intelligence, and seeds of Morall vertue, still fostered vp within vs, euen in this lower world.

Est Deus in Nobis agitante calefimus Illa.

That (diuine intelligence) by heavenly inspiration, doth teach vs to know God, and moues vs to serue him with all holinesse of soule, and religious obseruation.

This (vertuous disposition) by an inbred ingenuity, becomes the Mother of this our Positiue Nobility. For, as these two still ioyned together, first open the way by steps and degrees (though by diuers passages) to come to Kingly Grace, and Soueraigne Eudochyis, Daintely; so

Ex Ingeniis sunt Eugenes Eugenes, from inbred Ingenuity, men first become Generous, which also leades them on in the selfe-same Nobility Natiuely. For as godlinesse or piety, by diuine inspiration, and in-bred Ingenuity, by vertues infusion, makes vulgar men exempted, and so honestly respected about their fellows, that nothing may disgrace them, but iniquity and heresie, yelding inatter and occasion to this kinde of Nobility that subiects obtaine from Soueraigne grace & fauour, Daintely: Euen so, where grace becomes so fixed in the person of any, that nothing can remoue it but Death or high-treason; it begets generosity by descending to posterity, Natiuely. So that,

as to be gloriously happy in the world to come, by diuine inspiration from God to man, by the name of piety, proceeds from Christianity imputatiuely. And as to be honourably esteemed before God and man, by the name of piety, proceeds from Ingenuity, by the name of probity, proceeds from civility infusiuely; so to be lawfully exempted from the vulgar sort, by the name of Generosity, proceeds from grace, Mediate or Immediate respectively al worthily ennobled in their feuerall kindes and places: whereby the meaneft Subiect being thus made happy,

becomes as well *Nobilis* (which wee call a gentleman, and the French sound *Gentilhomme*) as the Emperor himselfe, saying; *Foy * de Gentilhomme*. And, *Me voycy Gentilhomme aussi bien que le Roy*. Though in English and in French, the word it selfe seeme straightened. For we call no man Noble, but from the Baron vpward, where *Nobilis* in Latine, includes the meaneft Gentleman, as well as Lords and others. The names of Kings, Princes, Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Vice-Counts & Barons, &c. being titles of preheminance, to distinguish the celebrity of each mans place & function, for orderly precedence.

Thus then, though none become Christians by the rules of piety, carnally; and our inbred-ingenuity, proceed not from our Parents by the rules of probity, naturally; yet a Gentleman, one may be both reputed, and so called by the lawes of celerity, alias Cheualry, alias Heraldry, euen for humanity, and honest conuersation ciuilly, and so become ennobled in himselfe and his posterity Politically. For, *"Est aliquid clarum Magnorum splendor Aurum"* *"Illum posteritas emulaculac habet."*

And as to be a Christian, is the glory of all Nobility, and to be an honest man, is of it selfe most honourable: so to be advanced by the eye of Soueraigne Maiesty, with such Ensignes of Nobility, as demonstrate his celebrity in himselfe and his posterity, is properly most Noble; Armes being in this respect ordayned to limit Families, as proper names do men. Whereby (this) stands distinguished fr the other (two.)

For the first, from religious imputation, being hid fro the world, makes Christians only glorious by faith, with God in heauē.

The second, from vertuous infusion, makes honesty most honorable, & vertue still admired by good works among men.

And this third, from absolute affection in Soueraigne loue and grace, makes subiects rise ennobled respectiue abroad, but properly at home, for seruices performed in the Church and Common-weale.

Now, all that haue the happinesse to be glorified in heauen, or honoured vpon earth, or ennobled at the least, receiue it first or last from God, & his Lieutenants, whose infusiue grace and greatnesse, are the grounds of all our credits.

The first, by Diuines, being religiously taught

Nobility, or
Gentility.

* The reason
why we say
in English
our Nobility
men, from the
Baron vp-
ward, in
points of ho-
nour, are per-
tained to no other
condition
by laying
their hands
on their
breasts, &c.
rest upon
their hearts

Glory.
Honour.Noble.
Armes.

Glorious.

Honorable.

Nobility Phi-
losophicall.

Ennobled.

Espece.

Nobility
TheologicallNoble.
Armes.Nobility Phi-
losophicall.

taught, and the second by Philosophers, being morally disputed, like Twins of one birth, or cousin-germans at least, by piety and probity in a heavenly kinde of kindred, makes mortall men immortall, and by fame to liue for euer. But the third, which this Treatise hath begot, or gladly would restore; being mere positiue with Kings, within their kingdomes, and Orphant-like committed to their care and speciall trust, depends vpon their wils, their Rites and Country Customes. From whence it is, we see such Rankes of Nobility, such feuerall names of dignities, and titles of honor, bestowed vpon Subiects for Piety and Probity, conspicuous in the world by Soueraigne grace and fauour. Who at first, being but meane, and of slender beginnings, become at last extolled to places of renowne, from the foot-stoolle, aduanced to the type and top of honour, & the same like ebbes and floods, with time againe decline.

These kindes of Nobility thus feuerally laide open, and by a three-fold disposition made apt to be diuided, are not (notwithstanding) so at odds within themselves, that their Natures and their Essences admit no reconciliation, or may not be vnited in one Person altogether.

For the first, being celestiall, and meere ly diuine, admits no worldly vanity, whose Soueraigne is God, and whose Robes of perfection wee shall then put on vpon vs, when wee come to bee presented before Christ our King in Heauen. This is our cheefest glory, our *summum bonum*, and highest blisse, whereto who strives to rise, and hopes to attaine, must worke it out by faith, and lay his foundation on the true Christian-Catholique and Apostolique Religion; without which, euen Vertue her selfe, with all her Morall Lessons, auails vs nothing, as pointing onely to this end, ayms at this happinesse, but obtains it neuer.

And they that being heere conuersant with me on earth, haue their mindes fo cleare and enlightened from aboue, that fore-seeing this end, they bend themselves thereto, and by a prudent care and constancy, still ayiming at Iustice, seeke onely the good of the Church and Common-wealth. These (I say) by their vertues once conspicuous, become for euer famous, and worthily honoured with that

kinde of Nobility, which Philosophers lo magnifie and extoll vnto the world.

Now, these also at length being noted by their names, and made knowne to Soueraigne Kings (that as Gods with God Almighty rule heere the earth in common) are by them ennobled; first Daintely, with that Nobility, which descending to posterity, by right of inheritance, is Natiue of it selfe, and in all places subiect to peculiar Customes. From whence it comes to passe, that seeing Honesty, the height and type of honour, and vertue the way that leads vs thereto; we admire more Nobility Daintely, being truly deriued and raised for it selfe, then that which is Natiue, and descended from other, as whose person first for vertues sake, being for it selfe beloued, becomes with all illustrious, and layes the foundation of happinesse in others. *Nam Genus & Progenies*, & *Quæ non fecimus ipsi: tunc ea nostra voco*. For though in Nobility Politike and Ciuill, Generosity by antiquity, seeme to be respected: and to be borne a Lord, be more Noble, then so to be created; yet is it not so honourable, though farre more generous. For Vertue of her selfe being euerly way magnificent, first honours the Father, then dignifies the Sonne, & magnifies posterity, which by the *Gretians* is more significantly spoken, and better vnderstood, by their *Eugenes* and *geniæ* applying this to Ingenuity, which belongs vnto the minde, and that vnto Celebrity more proper to the kinde.

Thus then at the last, is that Celestiall, Morall, and Politick Nobility, that at first I propounded: whercof, when Diuines in their Sermons seeme to speake, and Philosophers by discourses goe about to dispute, they demonstrate nothing but Allegoricall *Ideæ*, and imaginary shadowes, the substance whercof, wee must hope to finde in Heauen; when as heere euen on earth, for the good & furtherance both of Church and Common-weale, it is cherished and dignified at the hands of Soueraigne Kings, and as fittest for graue Councillors placed next vnto themselves, whereof this rude Treatise contains the truest patternes that the world affords; namely, The Nobility of this Monarchy of Great-Brittain. And therein as *Initium Omium* and Modell of the rest, the most Honourably Noble Order of knights of the

A 223 Garter: there

Nobility Po-
litickHonorable.
Generous.Eugenia.
Gentiana.The Epitomy
or Modell of
all three kindes
of Nobility,
in one Order
of the knights
of the Garter.



THE SIXTH BOOKE.
OF THE GOVERNEMENT
and Administration of Iustice, obserued in the
Common-wealth of Genes or
Geneway.

CHAP. I.



The people of Liguria are contained betwixt the Rivers of *Tarus* & *Maera*, along the Sea-coast, & the downefall of the *Apennines*. Of all which

country, the city *Genes* or *Geneway* (most noble for antiquity and power) hath (for the larger part of time) held the rule and Soueraignty because both for buildings, as also in nobilitie of actions, and in respect of valiant men, it hath euermore beene very notable among all the rest of former times. This Cittie gracing the South with hearbs, beaureous lookes, is most proudly built vpon the Sea-coast, and hath her backe vpon the North, at the foote of a mountaine: euen as if she were defended downe the mount, and cometo repose her selfe vpon a Plaine, the mountaine remaining on her backe part to defend the citie from the furious North. It is not altogether plaine nor mountainous, but participeth both of the one and other giving about the compass of fixe miles, so faire and goodly as can be desired.

And because concerning her Antiquitie, we can not deliuer any thing certaine (in regarde some doe maintaine, that it was built by *Genoa* or *Iuno*, the daughter of *Saturne*; others, by *Genius*, the companion of *Phaeton*; and some by *Ianus*, who was said to be *Noah*) it shall be sufficient therefore to say, that it was accounted a city two hundred and ninetie yeares before the coming of *Christ* on the earth, as manifestly appeareth (setting aside *Titus Livius* in the Decade of his eight Booke) by a Table of Brasse, found (no long time since) in the Valley of *Pozzereta*, and placed in the Church of *Saint Laurence*: whereon is engrauen in auncient Letters, That in the Consulship of *Lucius Caelius*, and of *Quintus Manilius*, Iudges were sent from the Senate of *Rome*, to discide the variance betwene the *Pilluri*, and the people of *Geneway*, concerning the neare neighbouring valley. And because as well the sententiall execution, as the gaole deliuerie of prisoners, which were in respect of that strife maintained, was to succcede and follow in *Geneway*: therefore we may heereby comprehend, that the City (vntill that time) consisted vpon some other considerations.

Now,

Geneway possessed countries in the East part in former times.

The people of this nation addicted to merchandize greatly.

The readers of the Genewayes for all dangerous occurrences.

Andrea Doria Admirall to the King of France, and deliuerer of Geneway fro French straddance.

Now, this so noble Cittie, in former times held a great estate, and was possessed of many Countries in the East parts: and now it is very powerfull by Sea in all respects, sometimes seruing the Duke of *Savoy*, sometimes the king of *France*, euer being traueled with much busines, either in regard of being an illustrious and famous Cittie, or because it is the passage, and (euen as it were) the gate for going from the mountaines into *Italy*. Whereupon some conceiue and are perswaded, that it was called *Ianus*, as a Gate for *Italie*, and not *Ianus* of *Ianus*, who was old father *Noah*. But let it be in maner howsoeuer, the men of this nation are industrious, euermore attentive to merchandize, whereby they attaine vnto great wealth, and as with other people it fareth, euen so amongst them, there is alwayes great plenty of money, because no one priuate man, but very many more beside, haue made passage of five hundred thousand ducats, euen after the best valuation.

And yet these men so great and wealthy, being molested by some parcialities, which diuers times haue endangered *Italy*, are now, and so haue beene for no small time, ready with their weapons in hand, expelling now one familie, and soone after another, from the State; and now the Nobles gaining superiouritie, after ward the popular fort; one side fauouring the *A. torni*, another the *Fregosi*, and at length reduced (by the benefit of prince *Andrea Doria*) to the present libertie which they now enioy. For *Geneway* being in the power of the *French*, and *Doria* departing from seruice to the King of *France*, to whom hee was Admirall: at one and the selfe same time, deliuered both himselfe and Countrey from feruilitie to the King of *France*, and queltionlesse with vnconquerable corage. For he might haue impatronised and possessed himselfe of the whole State, being entreated and euen (as it were) constrained by his friends, that he would vouchsafe to take the command of them: but he rather affected (setting aside all ambition) to restore them to their former freedom, with so much glory to him in future ages, as so rare an example in him did iustly merit: whereto (perhaps) hee might be the rather incited, by the enuie

he bare to *Christopher Columbus*, because, if he opened to modern people the other part of the world, which had for so many yeares beene shut vp from all other: so this other (with wel governed thoughts) spurning at all appetite of dominion, might open to his owne Citizens (with their libertie) the State so long lockt vp, by the discord of their owne opinions. Wherefore, deserviedly the *Genewayes* erected a Statue to his perpetuall glorie, and the memorable renowne of his immortal actions: as for his immodest gift by his worthy industrie, was done to *Columbus*, by the Princes of *Spain*.

Geneway thus receiving in anno 1528. her nouell reformation; entred vpon the same forme of gouernement which it now maintaineth. A description was then made, and therein set downe all the Families of account, as well noble as popular, appearing as descended of fixe houses in *Geneway*: and the reckoning grew so, that in *Geneway* there were found 28. Families. All the rest remaining out of this account, and yet were of some consideration, but not derived from those fixe houses: were aggregated and written downe in the aforesaid number of twentie eight families, by the title of Nobilitie, excluding the remainder of the people and Plebeians. And notwithstanding this entrance thus made, there was an addition to the number of these Nobles, of tenne persons in like sort ennobled, either for their riches or vertue, and these were made choice of euery yeare, applying their paines still fro hand to hand.

With all this providence, they could not yet so well preuaile, but in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand five hundred seauenty and foure, a new tumult arose in the Common-wealth, and as in the wonted ciuile dissensions: so a diuision happened that yeare, betwene two factions, termed olde and new. The principall occasion which moued this contention, was, that the olde side, being not contented to haue the greater part of authoritie in the Common-wealth; did mortally hate the new side, abhorring & disdaining (albeit that the new side, both for auncient Nobility, and true vertuous merit, were equal to them in all respects) to ioyne in kindred with them. This was infinitely

Andrea Doria enuious of the honour of *Christopher Columbus*, in the restoring of his Countreys libertie.

A Statue erected in honor of *Andrea Doria*.

An obseruation made concerning the best Families in *Geneway*, descended of fixe and amounting to weight and twentie.

The noblemen more added to the former number of eight and twentie.

A new tumult between two factions, olde & new in the Common-wealth.

* A River which diuides *Narbonne* & *Liguria*.
* A river running out of *Apennin* u. & parting *Liguria* from *Heretia*.

The situation of the citie of *Geneway*.

Concerning the antiquitie of *Geneway*, and by what it was first found.

A brasse table found in the vale of *Pozzereta*.

Mattheo Sena-
rega a man of
great account
among the
Geneweyes,
striving to af-
firm this per-
turbation.

There are none so violent as well-to-do men, when they are grossly deceived on an obvious point.

The new faction prevailed by general voice against the olds, by the means of Senarega.

All fires and
explosions
by over-blow-
ing, by the di-
lute endo-
nours of So-
narega.

infinitely displeasing to *Matthio Senarega*, a Citizen of inoffensive authority, and who (at that time) was great Chancellor, and chiefe Secretarie of the Common-wealth; also had beene principall of the new side more then once, and both of the publike & private Councell; with very singular Eloquence hee intreated them, affirming, that it was not well, that such diversitie of interests and private respects, should have lie in one and the same City: shewing also by lively reasons, how unachievable it was by every man, and likewise profitable for the State, that all should converse and like mutually together.

But the words and evident reasons of *Senarez*, failing of sufficient efficacy, puff'd up the olde side with greater obstinacie, yet drew a farre better opinion of the new, prouoking fo farre to defend them, that oftentimes he was in danger of his life among them. For the old side did great yemne, that the authoritie of *Senarez* should reach to such a height, that in him onely should be reposed, the efficacy of the publike and priuate gouernement. Neuerthelesse, *Senarez* opposing their pernicious demonstrations with wonderfull wisdom, mooued especially (as the same went) by a generous dislike, wrought in such fort, that the new side assumed the chiefe place in gouernement, excluding (well-neare) all the olde, constraining them to forsake their Countrey, if they attempted any Armes or violence against the new side.

These words would much have stirred the Common-wealth, if *Senarega*, fore-seeing the weighty perill, and preferring the publique good of all (being most iustly to be affected) before any private respect whatsoever, had not bridled the head-strong course of intended hostility. Wherefore he wrought so painfully with the *Generall* themselves, the Emperour, the King of *Spain*, and especially with Pope *Gregorie* the thirteenth, all faccording him with their helpful assistance, as the tumults in the City were quietted, and after some few desperate accidents, the furie of Armes was quite blasted, wherein both the faithfullnesse of *Senarega*, and his admir. ble welcome constantly appeared. He be-

ing appointed (by vniuersall consent). Ambassadors to Rome, with infinite providence and care (to the honour of the Common-wealth, and his owne great reputation) discretely qualified both factions, already growne to such a head on either side, both by power and maleuolence; as not only threatened danger to the Countrey it selfe, but likewise to haue filled all Italy with innumerable calamities and confusions; whereof the Pope (by his Breues) declared most honourable testimony, writing the actions of *Sextus* to the * *Doge*, as also to the Procurators of the Commonwealth of *Genewy*.

The great Council.

FROM the whole bodie of the before-
recited Families, is congregated a
Councell of foure hundred persons yere-
ly, who together with the Duke and
the Gouernours, haue the charge of
the Common-wealth in their power.
This Councell maketh election of the
Duke, and of the eight Gouernours,
(because the Gouernours are the full
number of eight) and haue care of the
State for two yeares continuance. They
manage matters of importance, and
concerning generall good, as also for
the confutation of the *Segnoria*: and
these Gouernours (with the Duke) are
properly called the *Segnoria*. But and if
they are at any time to handle some oc-
casions, which are not so important
and weightie, but of meane considera-
tion: The *Segnoria* haue a lesser
Councell in readie seruice, consisting
of an hundred men of the Nobilitie,
elected by the *Segnoria* by lotterie, and
out of the maine bodie of the foresayd
four hundred.

The Duke.

THe head or chiefe of the Commonwealth is the Duke, because he hath the Title and Honour which appertain vnto him: and it is an ancient custome in the Citty, whereto by varietie of names, diuers persons haue attained, but by any course of Lawe. He continueth but two yeares, and in all that time of his au-

* A Table.
Lugung, only
to the Dukes
of Venice and
Geneway.

A Counc^l
consisting of
div. persons,
and what au-
thoritie they
have.

The Sigonia
crustacea
of Genoa.

A lesser councillor, hundred Noble-
men.

The most e-
minent Ori-
ent in the b-
m-n-wealth,
on this auth-
rity ordered
but 2 years.

thority, he dwelleth in the publique Pallace; hauing five hundred high *Germaines* as his Guard, representing *Heretics* in the forme of an absolute Soueraignetie. At the beginning of the assumption of his magistacie, for two dayes hee is clothed in his Ducall ornaments; but afterward, and the whole confidence of his regiment, hee weareth other habites, but yet of Velvet or crimson Sattin, and sometime purple. His authoritie is very important, because hee onely, and not any other, may propound what cause hee will in Councell and in the Senate, which is forbidden vnto any other Senatour. Whereupon, whoeuer would record any *Lawe* to the Common-wealth, or else propound a motion of some important matter, he must break it to the duke, and passe it by his meanes.

The manner of the Dukes elections is thus : The third day of the month of January, the Senate doth assemble with the lesser Councell, without the person of the passed Duke ; because hee hauing ended his Office of two years, returneth the first day of January home to his own house as a priuate person, and remaineth a Procurator all his life time . The lesser Councell with the Senate, doe elect among them (by ballot) eight and twenty Noblemen, one for each Familie, who so soone as they are chosen, are called in to the Pallace, and there (sitt vpp in a place by themselves, and there, together with those Senators, who eyther in regard of age, or by contumacie of the Families are not capable of the dukedome) they elect eightene men amongst themselves, one for a Familie; and those eightene, together with the fame Senators, doe elect another eight and twentie, which eight and twentie are called, and being lockt vp with the aforesayde Senators, they proceed by balloting them that are to bee propounded to the Councell to be Duke . But heere you must know, that they may propound no more to the great Councell, but foure persons onlie, and in the election of that number, it is necessarie, that the eight and twentie doe agree in two third parts among themselves, with the part of the aforesayde Senators . This being agreed between them, before they come forth of the Consiatorie, they elect ano-

ther eight and twenty, one for each Family, who returne together with them, from balloting the aforesaid four. And they rise from their Election with the two thirds, and put in place of him or them (not formerly approved one, or more, but of the number of the Senate: which being done, the Councell meete together, and they propound the names of the four men concluded on and elected by the Electors: whereupon, hee of the four that hath the most ballots, is named for Duke. And at the time when I wrote this discourse in that honourable degree of Duke, was chosen the most courteous and famous Lord, *Paulo Baptista Caluso*, sometime a Iudge, a most worthy man, for goodnelle of life, and practise in the worlds occasions.

Of the eight Gouverneurs.

THEre sit vpon the Bench (with the Duke) eight Gouernours, as his counsellors, and their Office doth endure for two yeares: and they, with the duke are named the *Signaria*, and gouerne the Common-wealth. All these together cannot deliberate on any thing, wherein the interest of the people is concerned, or of any chiefe important business; but they call for the ayde of the Great Councell. These Gouernours are elected by two at a time, at fixe and sixe months; and their elections made in this manner.

The leffer Councell and the Duke being assembled together, they elect eight and twenty men, one for euery Familie, who being chosen by the Senate and Duke, doe propound sometimes twelue, sometimes foureteen men to the great Councell, who (by balloting) do make election of one of them at a time. The next day following, they obserue the same order in electing the second, to wit, the leffer Councell do elect another eight and twenty, and that eight and twenty performe the rest as hath beene said. Euery one of the eight Governours ending his office, remayneth Procurator or Attorney for two yeares space: so that in the Colledge of the Proctors, there are alwayes eight, that stand for the gouernement of the Common-wealth, and all these come into the Senate with the duke, and with the eight Governours, delibera-

Paul, Texas
Feb 1897
C. C. Baker
of Oregon

Councillors
sitting on the
Bench with
the Duke.

The manner
how the go-
vernours are
chosen by the
Duke and le-
tier Council.

2. Procurators
always affitt-
ing the Com-
monwealth

deliberating together on important matters; and thus with these Governours & the Duke consisteth the whole summe of the State. Two of them haue abiding in the Pallace, the other keepe at their owne houses; and they change by turnes two at a time, at three months, and three months.

Of the Procorators or Proctors.

Concerning these Proctors, some of them liuing, doe come to be in the Office of Duke, and some doe remaine in charge but two yeares, and they are such as haue bene Governours. They haue care for procuring all publike occasions, collecting the rents and reuenues, and other such like businesse, being men of chiefe reputation, and of no meane importance.

Of the Poteitate or Proctor.

AL the forenamed Magistrats, do onlie attend vpon the gouernement of the Common-wealth. Next now, concerning matters of Iustice and Iudgement (speaking first of criminall causes) they are guided and ordered in common by a forraigne Poteitate, who is a doctor, and they graunt him an honourable stipend. He hath his residence in a Pallace, which is neare to the Dukes, and he heareth and iudgeth all offences happenings; but can assigne no capitall punishment, without consent of the Senate. Two other Doctors, being strangers also, doe assist him, whereof the one is called the Iudge of Malefactours, and the other Fiscall or Attorney generall: and by the ayde of these two Iudges, all processe and suites are formed against guilty persons, dealing also in cases of like nature. Beside these afore-named, the Poteitate hath his Vicar, who attendeth vpon Civile causes, only executive.

Of the extraordinary Office.

There is an Office of seauen men, called Extraordinarie, and these do represent (as it were) the Princes person, because he is busied in administration of the Common-wealth. Their care consisteth, in reforming and prouiding of

variances, and granting tutors to Schollers. And because contention is forbidden betwene Parents and Parents, and betwene poore and rich by ordination: these men doe appoynt what magistrate they meete, to heare offending parent and kindred, as also the strifes betwene poore and rich. Their Office continueth the space of sixe months, and is of much dignitie.

Of the five supreme Sindicators.

There is also a Magistracie, wherein are five men, called supreme Sindicators; They haue authority to arraigne, not onely the Duke, but the Governours also, after the expiration of their charge; and they haue the like power ouer all other magistrats of the Commonwealth, to punish both the Duke and Governours, finding them to bee delinquent.

And when the Duke is out of his Office, and that the Governours haue fulfilled their magistracie; a Proclamation is published by these Supreme Sindicators, That if any man haue ought to charge the Duke withall, or the Governours, let them appeare in their presence, and Iustice shall be done them. In which respect, the Duke and Governours haue eight dayes assigned them for this scindication; which being past, and they found in error, they are punished: but being innocent, they haue a Patent assigned them of their innocence, whereby they are after called to be Proctors; because they cannot enter as Proctors, except they haue the Patent from these Supreme men, to allow their expedition. Finally, the greatnesse of this Office is such, that the Common-wealth is elected for one of these Supreme Sindicators, the Prince *Andrea Doria*, the deliuerer of his Countrey. They are elected by the lesser Councell, with the Senate, and sit in the Pallace next to the Senate, for their respect.

Of the Rota.

Because wee haue formerly spoken of criminall occasions, now let vs say somewhat concerning civile causes. Wherein ye are to know, that the Common-wealth doe make choice of five do-

Such as the Duke arraigne the Officers of highest estimation to their Office

The Duke and Governours haue eight dayes for their triall.

Other Doctors, being strangers, appointed to determine in civile causes.

The Proctors come to the highest dignitie at all.

The Poteitate is an Officer chosen abroad and not of the city.

Two Iudges more assist him.

Seauen men represent extraordinary Officers, and what their charge is.

Of the Generall.

THE Common-wealth hath continually a Generall, who is appointed for Armes, to serue in all occurrences, and in times of warre. At this instant it enioyeth (well deserving such a degree, and to the satisfaction of all the Nobilitie, much pleasing to the whole host of Souldiers, and vniuersall liking of the people) the Lord *Agustino Spinola*, a most honourable and valiant Gentleman of that City, full of incomparable botanie and knowledge, not onely in the occasions of Armes, but for all managements of the world belike.

Of the Office of Saint George.

THE Office and Magistracie of Saint George, most noble among all the rest in the Cittie, was obtained in the yeare, 1497. It is now (by length of time) the confirmation of that Common-wealth, which, in those younger dayes had not any naturall riches or wealth, fitting the qualitie of such a Countrey: yet notwithstanding, it wanted not men of quicke and apprehensive iudgement, to find out the way, and forme some means for procuring of moneys, that might arise to common vse: whereupon, they that liued in those ancienter yeares, and gouerned the publike occasions, tooke vp moneys of particular persons, some by constraint, others with much willingness. And true it is, that in this money matter, such priuate persons as disburied any summes, the publike vse payed them, tenne, nine, eight and seauen in the hundred, according to the varietie of times, to the end, that they might not suffer any endammaging, by such seruice as they did for publike benefit.

Proceeding in this course, it made men willing, ready and cautelous, in seeking security for their moneys, dayly put into the publike Banque, by selling to some (as for example) the power and insurrection of toll for meates; to others, the imposts of wines, and to others the taxations layd on corne. And these contracts made both in publike and particular, was teamed among them Bargaining and Buying, as when particular men bought any thing of the common fort, or in generall.

Bbb And

tors, forraignes or strangers, at euery 2. yeares, which bodie of authoritie is called *Rota*. These men attend vpon Civile causes onely, and dwell in the Dukes pallace: All such matters as they censure on, are guided by ordinarie course of the Imperiall Lawes, forming their Processe and suite, according to the iudicarie order appointed for the Cittie, which is after the auncient manner.

Of the Censors.

NOW, as concerning Arts, Trades and Mysteries, Censors are appoynted to that charge. These men do provide, that buyers, sellers, and all such as trafficke in handi-crafts, shall haue measures, weights, and all things else to them belonging, iust, and according to the auncient Lawes. And here we are to obserue, that euery Art hath chiefe or head men, who are called Consulles, which make election of Artits amongst them. These Consulles haue authoritie in the matters of their Artes, and amongst these Consulles, such as deale in silks, may command much ouer their men: so that their power extendeth, to put them to the halter, to banish them, and perforce send them to the Gallies, or to giue other castigations to delinquents.

Of forty Capitaines.

IN the Cittie of Geneway there are forty Capitaines, of the number and bodie of the Nobilitie, and they are changed euery yeare. These men haue vnder them an hundred men (for one) of the people, so that they make (in all) foure thousand persons, and the Common-wealth is serued by them at all occasions. For they make a garde in time of the least suspicion; and when the *Signoria* is abroad, these forty Capitaines (bearing them company) are all clothed in Veluet, goodly and honourable ornaments, meete to attend on so great Lords. Moreover, all men in the City, and the whole Burrough, that are apt to carrie Armes, are registred downe, from the age of twentie, to threescore, and are reduced vnder the gouernment of these Capitaines, who (with them) stand alwayes obliged to be readily armed with weapons in hand, according to the auncient custome ordained.

Care for maintenance, such as deale in all profit-fits.

Consulles haue distinction of euery trade.

The militarie garde & defence of the Cittie, and their ready preparation at all times and occasions.

Augustino Spinola Generall of the Geneway society.

Another title of the Office of Saint George began.

Provision for money alwayes in bank for the cities vse.

Great stockes of corne arising out of mine and proue beginning.

The begin-
ning of tra-
ding and so-
cie i. a. in Gene-
way, only by
the Banquers
that i. out
monies to use

And it was ordained, that whosoever disbursed an hundred pounds, hee was said to hold one place among the buyers: he that disbursed two hundred, had two places; and hee for three hundred, three, and so it passed from hand to hand. So that this kinde of commerce and vñance multiplied greatly, and had names of diuers ordinations; as of the Capitoll, of Saint Paule, and others of their profession, by dealing in Salt, and diuers other beside, whose Titles and Names grew by their trading, and helde correspondencie particularly among the best Citizens, having care for iust payments, and the dues of the profits, with consideration of the Banquer, who alwayes ordered the contracts made publicly or privately. Heereupon, the number of dealers daily encreasing, both by forraigne Nations and home-bred friends, which required diuersitie of Governours and Ouer-seers, and which else would grow to great confusion: it was therefore ordered by the Signoria, that all the Banquers should bee reduced and vñied into one absolute Societie, and named the Company of Saint George.

Eight govern-
ors or Ouer-
seers of the
Banquers,
with their al-
lowances.

Being thus ordained, they were also appointed to bee governed by eight Citizens from yeare to yeare, who provided and gaue order, how the Banquers should let out their summes, and receiue in their interests and allowances, whereby they held the emminencie in the Office of Saint George. And in regard they perceived, that this Office governed these matters with wisdom and iustice, businesse daily encreasing, and the number of places supplied by new persons: alienation of profits grew among the Commons, and the charge of the Office euery way to be greater, by reason of lands and communities interested with them, so that the Office attained to many priuiledges: first, by the Signoria of Geneway, and afterward of many Popes, Emperors and great Lordes, which came to dominion in the City: So that the Office of Saint George, although it depended on the common people, as also the Signoria of Geneway: yet all that came to the gouernement or Seignurie of the Cittie, were sworn to conserue the Priuiledges of the Magistracie of Saint George, and to maintaine it. And because (naturally)

The daily in-
creasing of
the Office of
Saint George.

things take original of weake beginnings, and to in procelle of time attayne to perfection: euen to did this magistrall Office, being much better ruled now, then it could be at the beginning.

First, in answering the profits to all Banquers, they are not so determinate nor certayne, as at the original: but yet according to the proportion of former allowances, lesse or more, and according vnto expences for the conseruation of things of especial care, and according to the fruitfulness of tolles and taxationes, beside diuers other benefices, assigned by the Commons to the Banquers: they are farre more secure, and more neatly qualified, concerning mens consciences.

Moreover, this place hath obtained Seignurie and dominion by many good and sufficient allowances, which it could not haue at the beginning. Beside, euery way are made new rules and orders, whereby there is farre better expedition of Causes, for the punishing of delinquents, and submission of the people to gouernement.

And whosoever doeth consider, the high account of this Magistracie, shall finde the body of the Cittie; thereby to containe in it selfe two communities, the one great, the other lesse. The great is gouerned by the Pallace, and comprehendeth all the Cittie; the lesse is gouerned by Saint George onely, as concerning the occasions before remembered, and comprehendeth all the Banquers and changers.

The first Communitie, or the greater, is subiect to variation, and is many times vnder regiment, rather to bee tearmed Tyrannicall then otherwise: but the lesse is alwayes free, firme, and vnder the Citizens. And certainly, which is a matter admirable, and rarely found, eyther by Philosophers or others, that haue discoursed on causes concerning Common-weales, to obserue: that within the circuite of one and the same wall, and all at a time, there should be tyrannie and liberty, life ciuile and corrupt, iustice and licence.

The begin-
ning of tra-
ding and so-
cie i. a. in Gene-
way, only by
the Banquers
that i. out
monies to use

Two Commu-
nities in one
city, and how
they are
gouerned.

Anote will
wonder the
contrariety.

of

Of eight Protectors of the Office of Saint George.

Concerning this Office of S. George, there are eight men appointed to gouern it, who are called Protectors. They continue for a yeare, and are elected euery six months foure times, by the whole number of the Banquers, or Creditors for lands, & Creditors for letting forth certain summes, after this manner. Among the whole number of City Creditors, by lot are chosen 80. men, who meeting together soone after their election, they make a sūuey among al those foure score, and select out of them foure and twenty by balloting, who being shut vp in a roome by themselves: they may not sūnder or depart, till they haue ballotted for the eight Protectors, and in this ballotterie, sixteene ballots doe confirme the election.

Another Of-
fice called of
Ioue and for-
tie, being cho-
sen out of a
thousand.

In the yeare 1444. an other Office was made of Saint George, consisting of men, which was then called the Office of foure and fortie, in regard of a thousand, out of which number: they were created. The occasion of creating these eight men, was, that being the space of thirty seven yeres, the Office had encreased and augmented, that the eight Protectors could not (in a whole yeare) terminate nor restrain the busie occasions happening, whereby the emoluments and interests of some creditors arose so great, and other moneys in diuers manners: it was thought fit (for setting downe good order to such Remaines, which were (in effect) the riches and substance of the office) that a necessary participation of the gaires should be digested, for the creation of such as should helpe in this prouident care, for generall vtilitie of the Office of Saint George, and yet to be carried in secret manner, for taking away all occasion of tyranny. And to eight Citizens were chosen, of which two are changed yearly: and they take charge of collecting and gouerning such ouer-plusses as do arise yearly, by the managements of the eight Protectors.

This Office hath vnder protection the Ille of Corsica, and many other Citties and important places: and thence ensue the expences layd out for their conseruation.

*An Ille in
the Sea Ligi-
urum.

CHAP. II.

An excellent Relation, concerning the estate of Religion and Common wealth, which was obserued among the Iewes.



It is not to bee doubted, but by the singular counsell of our eternall God, the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, who created mankind, whereby a Church might bee assembled and congregated: a perpetuall historie concerning the creation of things, was given to men.

And although that the Philosopher *Democritus*, and others like to him, dreamed of an eternitie of a former world, or else of innumerable worlds, and made a mockerie at the beginning of things, and thought such a recital to be but fabulous: yet notwithstanding wee holde them to be most true, considering, that Almighty GOD approved the Writings of *Moses* by apparant testimonies, as by the raising vp of the dead and others.

Now, albeit wee receiue the auncient Historie of the Church, and singularly allow it for the Diuine authorities: yet there are many more Euidences of truth besides; for, the auncient names of people, doe agree with the succession of the Fathers that related them, and the order of Empires hath bene such, as they were foretold to be, and so should be in their succeeding times.

The Propheticall Historie then is the truest, and the most auncient of all others; and the reason of that continued Historie, was, not onlie to let vs know the beginning of mankind: but much more to notifie vnto vs, the Promises of the Sonne of God, and to giue vs certainty of the first, and no way to be corrupted doctrine of God, and of the restifications so oftentimes rendered to other by that doctrine, what the gouernement of the Church hath bene; for it

Democritus
dreaming of a
former world,
& of innume-
rable worlds

The auncient
historie of the
Church.

The propheti-
call Historie
the truest and
most auncient.

was preferred in the diuersitie of tumults amongst Empires, like to a Shippe floating vpon raging and tempestuous billows, what the battailes of the Church haue bene, and the exercises of Faith.

Now, it was a great blessing of God, that hee gaue a certayne seating vnto his Church, euen as an Academic, for more then sixteene hundred yeares in a commodious place, betweene two most potent Kingdomes of *Egypt* and *Babylon*, to the end, that throughout them both the voyce of his doctrine might be heard. There the Promises were repeated, and the Miracles adiuised, which are witnesses of the presence of God: whose will was to haue those things set downe in writing, to the end that Posteritie might be informed by true doctrine, in the conflicts of the Church, and her manifold recoveries.

And although nothing is found in writing by publike authority, touching the last times, yet notwithstanding, our Lord was careful to haue the latter Historie knowne, which hath bene declared partly by *Isephus*, and partly by *Philo*, whereof I haue made a collection, because the more studious might enioy a continuall Historie of the Iewish people, euen to the destruction of *Ierusalem*. And it pleased God, that a continued successe of histories should remaine to men: for seeing that Propheticall histories reached so farre as the reigne of the Persians, or to King *Cyrus*; the Greeke and Latine histories afterward, reported the great mutations of the following Empires, which also was seconded after by the Apostles writings, concerning the Sonne of God, borne of the Virgine *Marie*, crucified and raised againe; and after the Apostles, *Eusebius*, *Epiphanius*, and *Nicephorus* pursued in the Ecclesiasticall History. Wherein I make no doubt, but all such as are well aduised, will confesse, that the knowledge of the order of Times is necessarie, to understand when the Doctrine was revealed, the Sonne of God manifested, the Church congregated in diuers kinds, sometimes agitated by tempestuous stormes; and yet (after all) graciously deliuered. Wherefore, let vs giue thanks to God, for bestowing on men the continued Historie of his Sonne; and let vs keepe such Writings religiously: where-

in hauing taken some paines, I hope it will proue pleasing to all Christian Readers.

The beginning of the Catalogue is the continuation of soueraigne Sacrificers, or high-Priests that gouerned the Iewish people, after their returne from *Babylon*, with the princes issued of the race Royall.

The first Familie being the Posteritie of Iesus.

CHAP. III.

A Catalogue of the High-Priests, or soueraigne Sacrificers, beginning with Seria and his sonne Ioseph.

BOth these were led captiue into *Babylon*, by *Nabuchodonosor* King of the Chaldeans, and dyed in exile. *Ishus* or *Iesus*, the sonne of *Ioseph*, came backe into *Iudea* with the Prince *Zorobabel*, sixe hundred and thirtie yeares before the Natiuitie of Christ. He liued vnder the Kings of *Persia*, *Cyrus*, *Cambyses*, *Darius* the sonne of *Hystaspes*, *Xerxes*, euen to the twentieth yeare of *Artaxerxes*, *Long-hand*, and presided (as chiefe Priest) first sixe and thirtie yeares. Afterward, in regard that the building of the Temple was hindered, he went into *Babylon* to *Darius*, the sonne of *Hystaspes*, whom the Holy Historie nameth *Ashuerus*, and was absent the space of eight yeares. After his returne hee was twenty yeares more in the high-Priesthood. *Philo* is of opinion, that he wrote the Historie of *Iudith*, which others (neuerthelesse) holde to be more ancient.

The

The sonne of Iesus was Iachim.

Iachim helde the Priest-hood eight yeeres, in the absence of his brother, and eight and fortie yeares after his death. Hee liued vnder *Long-hand*, and *Darius* the Bastard, vntill the twelfth yeare of *Artaxerxes* *Ashuerus*, who was also named *Atmenon*; hee did set downe in writing the Historie of *Hister*, and the memorie of *Phurim* was by him instituted, as *Philo* writeth.

Elijah was his sonne, who was in Office of the Soueraigne Priest-hood one and twentie yeares, vntill the foure and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of *Artaxerxes* *Atmenon*.

Iudas or *Ioiada* sonne to him, was high-Priest foure and twenty yeares; vntill the third yeare of the reigne of *Darius*, who succeeded next to *Atmenon*.

Iohn and *Iesus* were his sonnes, the latter whereof beeing fiered with ambition, insinuated himselfe (by the power of giftes) into the fauour of *Vogeses*, Satrape of *Persia*, to take (by his helpe) the chiefe Priest-hood from his Brother: But immediately hee payed the penaltie due vnto his wicked presumption; for in a debate and blowes being moued in the temple, he was slaine by his brother. Heere was the beginning of the euils in *Iudea*, about an hundred, sixtie and seauen yeares, after the returne from *Babylon*.

Iohn hauing murdered his brother *Iesus* in the Temple, was the cause of bringing the people into a miserable seruitude. For, the Satrape *Vogeses* being aduertised of the death of his friend *Iesus*, entred with a mightie Armie into *Ierusalem*, prophaned and pilled the Temple, saying, That he might aswell doe so, as the high-Priest to soyle it with the blood of his owne Brother: he collected the tribute money rigorously for the space of seauen yeares together, proceeding therein so saire, as forcing the Iewes to pay an hundred crownes of the Sonne, for every beaſt that they sacrificed. *Iohn* held the high-Priest-hood foure and twenty yeares, euen vnto the death of *Oebus*, and the beginning of the reigne of *Artanes*.

His Sonnes were Iudas and Manasses.

Manasses following the example of *Iesus*, to strengthen himselfe against his brother, made alliance with *Sannabalat* the *Chutean*, sent *Satrape* by the last *Darius* into *Samaria*, and tooke to wife his daughter *Nicossa*. But in regard of this vnlawfull marriage, hee was reuelled from the Sacerdotal Office, with diuerſe others for the same cause. Beeing bereft of the Priest-hood, hee made his recourse to his Father in lawe in *Samaria*, who after he had obayne leave of *Alexander* the Great; builded a new Temple vpon an high mountayne in *Samaria* called *Garizim*, shapening it after the forme and magnificence of that at *Ierusalem*, and there hee caused his sonne *Manasses* to preside.

This diuision of High-Priests, was afterwards the cause of great tumults in *Iudea*; for, as all they which were expelled from *Ierusalem*, for transgressing the Ceremonies of *Moses* Lawe, as also for some other offences, betooke themselves to this new Temple: in a short time after, they grew to such an head and strength, that inciting those Sacrificers, Apostates and Samaritans against the Iewes: it likewise gaue occasion to many riotous courses and theueries on either side.

Nothing was found by posteritie of this *Manasses*: but two hundred yeares after, the Temple on this Mount of *Garizim* was destroyed from the toppie to the bottome, by *Iohn Hircanus*, sonne vnto *Simon* the *Asmonean*, and Successor to him.

Iudas administred the high-Priesthood for seauen and twentie yeares, vnder *Artanes*, and the latter *Darius*, euen to the time of *Alexander* the Great. He depriued his brother *Manasses* (and the rest) of the right of Priesthood, because (contrary to the Law of Almighty God) they had married with strange women. While *Alexander* the Great besieged the Citie of *Tyre*, hee demanded aide and tribute of this *Iudas*, such as the Iewes had formerly payed to the Persians. Whereunto he returned answer, That in the life time of *Darius* (to whom hee tooke his oath)

Bbb 3 he

The great blessings of God vpon his Church.

Concerning the histories of latter times.

Prophetical histories reached to the time of C. the King of Persia

The Church after many stormes happily deliuered

Iachim the sonne of Iesus or Iachim.

Elijah the son of Iachim.

Iudas or Ioiada sonne to Iachim.

Iohn and Iesus sonnes of Iudas.

Seria and Ioseph.

I Iudas sonne to Ioseph.

Vogeses entred with an Armie into Ierusalem, and pilled the Temple.

Darius the sonne of Hystaspes or Ashuerus.

Iudas and Manasses sons to Iachim.

A new Temple built on the Mount of Garizim in Samaria.

Great strifes and contentions betweene the two Temples.

Iudas depriued his brother Manasses of the Priest-hood.

The answer of Iudas to Alexander the Great, concerning aide and tribute.

he neuer acknowledged any other Lord, because that the Iewish Nation had been tributarie to the Kings of *Perſia*, almost euer ſince their returne from *Babylon*. *Alexander* growing angrie at ſuch an answer; after the taking in of *Tyre* and *Gaza*, mounted vp to *Ieruſalem* with his Armies, intending to ſubgauge the Iewes by ſtrength of Armes.

Iddus meets Alexander with all submission.

Alexanders repetition of his drame.

But *Iddus* beeing thereof admonished in a dreame, tooke his Priestlie garments, and went to meete him in great humilitie, accompanied with all the Sacrificers and Citizens. *Alexander* beholding the Soueraigne high Priest, alighted on his feete, and gaue vnto him reuerend adoration. Being demanded what should moue him to reuerence an enemy, that came with ſubmiſſiue entreatie vnto him: hee replied: *At the time of my abiding in Macedon, and thinking on the Empire of Asia, a man was presented to mee in my sleepe, in the same or like habite as the High Priest wearres, who perswaded mee to undertake the expedition of Asia, and gaue mee good hope of prosperous successe.*

When hee was entered the Citie, he was so farre from offering the least taste of an enemy, that, after hee had sacrificed, headonred the Temple with magnificent gites, and at his departing hee gaue them libertie to vse the Lawe of their Fore-fathers, and the immunities of the leauenth yeare, wherein the fields were not sowne.

The sonnes of Iddus were Onias and Manasse.

Manasse Nephew to Eleazar.

Concerning *Manasse*, wee reade not any thing, but that hee succeeded next to his Nephew *Eleazar*, and was a friend to *Seleucus Gallenicus*, and that vnder his gouernement, the Samaritanes being disleased at the Iewes in despite of the Temple, and seruices there performed, they put to fire and sword the whole territory of *Ieruſalem*. Some are of opinion, that this man was not the brother to *Onias*, but rather the brother vnto his wife, and make thereabout some controuersie.

A Catalogue of the High Priests Onias called the Ancient.

In this mans time, *Ptolome*, the sonne of *Lagus*, desiring to make the people of the Iewes become tributaries; as hee entered vpon a Sabaoth day into the Citie of *Ieruſalem*, to offer Sacrifice (the Iewes not daring to take Arms, for feare of doing contrary to the Law) vsed great cruelty against the Inhabitants, of whom he led away into *Egypt* some thousands, as captiues and hostages.

The cruelty of Ptolome against the Iewes.

The Sonnes of Onias were Simon and Eleazar.

Simon was named *Iustus*, for pietie and benignitie towards his Nation. The Iewes enioyed peace vnder him, all the while as the Successours of *Alexander* the great, *Antigonus*, *Demetrius*, *Seleucus* and the rest, fought in *Asia* and *Greece* for the Monarchie.

Simon admired Iustus for his piety and was gracious to him.

Eleazar succeeded after his brother *Simon*, as Tutor to *Onias* the second, being as yet a child. In his time, *Ptolome Philadelphus* enfranchised about an hundred thousand Iewish slaues, led into *Egypt*, partly by the Kings of *Perſia*, partly by his father *Ptolome* the sonne of *Lagus*.

An hundred thousand Iewes got liberty by Ptolome Philadelphus.

Moreouer, he sent Ambassadors with magnificent Presents to *Eleazar* the high Priest, requesting to haue three score and twelue Iewes, that could translate the Writings of *Moses* and the Prophets, out of the Hebrew language into the Greeke. Which being done, hee sent them backe againe with great gites, and a Table of golde dedicated to the Temple, and other Presents of especiall value. His vnckle *Manasse* succeeded after his death; vnckle by the mother only, according to some: for the Greeke word signifieth vnckle both by father and mother.

The 3 sonnes of Simon, and a daughter also.

Simon had three sonnes, *Tobias*, whom *Philo* and *Saint Luke* in his third chapter calleth *Mattathias*; *Ioseph*, that pacified *Ptolome*. And *Annas* Thyranus, the last Prince of the Iewish people, of the Lineage of *Iuda*, and house of *Daniel*: who liued himselfe, for feare of *Antiochus* the Noble.

After this man, the high Priests drew vnto themselves the gouerning in all affaires.

The daughter of *Simon* the high Priest

Priest, was married to *Tobias*, of the house of *Daniel*.

Onias being left a child by his Father, at last, in his age succeeded to *Manasse* in the High-Priest-hood. By his auarice he offended *Ptolome*, King of *Egypt*, and raised him in rage against the Iewes, because hee refused to pay the ordinary tribute. For the high-Priests were wont to pay their reuennues yearly to the Kings of *Egypt* for their Citizens, amounting to twenty Talents, that is, twelue thousand crownes of the Sunne. But *Ioseph* afterward appealed *Ptolome*, who was Nephew to *Onias* by the Sisters side, a Prince of the posterity of *Daniel*.

Onias succeeded his sonne *Simon*.

Philo saith, that he was surnamed *Iustus*. Vnder him, *Iesus* the Sonne of *Syrach* wrote his Booke called *Ecclesiasticus*. And that *Simon* had three sonnes also, who (each after other) quoynted the Priest-hood, which *Iosephus* testifieth apparently. The Sonnes of *Simon*, were,

Onias. *Iesus*, otherwise called *Iason*. *Onias*, also called *Menelaus*.

The great *Onias* is commended in the second Booke of the *Machabees*, for his piety and iustice, and is saide, that hee was a friend to *Seleucus*, Brother to *Antiochus* the Noble; who sometimes furnished all necessary affaires in the Temple, with the reuennues of the Realme of *Syria*. But afterward, another man, called *Simon*, who had the charge of keeping the Temple, hauing conceyued malice against *Onias* the high-Priest, reported to King *Seleucus*, that there was an infinite masse of gold hidden in the Temple, which the Priests applied to their own priuate vses. And this was the cause, that the king wold no longer furnish the Temple with the wonted monyes; but also sent *Heliodorus*, to make seizure on the wealth, and commit it to the Kings Treasury. But as hee would haue audaciously haue entered (with his followers) into the secret place of the Temple, he was smitten downe, & very neere dead, yet recovered againe by diuine mercy, and by the prayers of *Onias*.

Heliodorus sent to seize on the wealth and treasure of the temple.

Afterward, the discord so encreased be-

tweene the Prince of the high-Priests, and the Traitor *Simon*, that many murders were committed by the friends of *Simon*; which made *Onias* to retire himselfe towards the King *Seleucus*, and gaue way to the fury of his enemies. But before *Onias* could get thither, *Seleucus* was dead, and *Iason*, Brother to *Onias*, had obtained by bribes and gits to *Antiochus* the Noble (succeeding the deceased King) the administration of the high-Priests office. Whereupon, *Onias* doubting King *Antiochus* as much as his Brother; durst not go to him, but went to a ſeie place, neere to *Daphne*, a city of *Syria*, & being drawne thither by deceitfull means, was also slaine by *Andronicus*, Lieutenant to the King, and at the request of *Antiochus*, who *Iason* hauing expulſed, possessed himselfe of the high Priests Office, as heereafter shall be declared.

Iason getteth the High Priests Office from his Brother Onias.

The murder of great Onias.

The Sonne of this Onias the Great, was Onias.

Onias being left young at his Fathers death, and afterward growing to more ripenesse of yeares; standing in feare of *Alcinus* the high-Priest, he fled into *Egypt* to *Ptolome Philometor*, accompanied with some of his fellow citizens. There *Ptolome* gaue him permission, to builde a Towne and a Temple, in the Territory of *Heliopolis*, in resemblance of that at *Ieruſalem*; which was called *Onion*, five great miles from *Memphis*, now called the great *Cayro*. For in regard that *Ptolome* waged warre with *Antiochus* the Noble, & stood in need of his neighbours succors; he was perswaded by *Onias* to builde a Temple, as if by that meanes, all the people of the Iewes would league with the Kings of *Egypt*, & take their part. About 230. yeeres after this Temple was built, at the same time as the City and Temple of *Ieruſalem* were ruined, it was also depoyled of all her Iewels, and shut vp by Edict from *Vespasian* the Emperour.

Onias flyeth into Egypt, to Ptolome Philometor.

The building of a new temple in Egypt.

The Sonnes of this Onias, dwelling in Egypt, were Helcias and Annas.

Theſe two Brethren, beeing Colonels of the *Egyptians* Army, ayded valiantly *Cleopatra*; so that her Sonne *Lathyrus* being excluded, she obtained the kingdom.

The two brethren Commanders of the Egyptians Army.

But after that *Ptolomy* had recollectd his forces, and passing into *Egipt* through *Iudea*, *Heliodorus* putting him to flight with his Army, died in *Syria* of a sharpe disease. For the rest, wee reade nothing of the posterity of the high-Priests of *Egipt*.

Iefus, named *Iafon* also, second Sonne to *Simon*, after the death of *Seleuchus*, bought of *Antiochus*, brother and succesor to *Seleuchus*, the high-priesthood, for five hundred Talents, that is to say, three Tunnes of gold, as wee speake vulgarly, promising him beside as an over-plus, forty eight thousand crownes of the Sun, as an annual tribute. And to gaine himselfe more grace with this wicked King, he builded places in *Ierusalem*, for the exercising of young people, in such pastimes as he had instituted, and these were to bee performed, at such times as the people vied in dance in the Temple. He receiued and magnificently entertained *Antiochus* Epiphanes with his Army, with Lamps and flaming fires, & songs composed in praise of the King: and this was at such time as the King departing thence, planted Garisons of strength in the Fortresses of *Ierusalem*, and this was but a beginning to the intolerable seruitude which afterward followed.

Iafon hauing enjoyed the high-Priesthood three yeares, sent his Brother *Menelaus* with gold and great charge to *Antiochus*: but now hee prouoed to be payed with coyne of the same stampe, as before he had done to his brother *Onias*; for by the same crafty contriuing, *Menelaus* set him quite before the Priesthood. And *Iafon* standing now in feare of *Menelaus*, withdrew into the land of the *Ammonites*, where he closely concealed himselfe, vntill a false rumour ran abroad, that *Antiochus* entred *Egipt*, dyed. These newes so cheered vp his drooping spirits, that being accompanied with a thousand men in arms, he intruded vpon the City, where being fauoured by the inhabitants, for the rapines and cruelties committed by *Menelaus*; he slew many of *Antiochus* his faction, and compelled *Menelaus* to saue himselfe in the *Syrians* Garisons kept in the Forts.

But hearing the returne of *Antiochus* from the Land of *Egipt*, and losing all hope of the Priesthood, againe he retired among the *Ammonites*, of whom he could

not now be receiued, standing in feare of *Antiochus*, who was weere at hand with his army. Expulled also (for the same reason) by *Antiochus*, King of *Archie*, out of his marches, and hauing no access into *Egipt*, & lastly forsaken of all; he passed by Sea to the *Lacedemonians*, among whom hee was concerned in kindred: and yet, as a iust punishment for his ambition, he dyed very poorly in banishment.

Onias, named *Menelaus* also, the third Sonne of *Simon*, according to *Iosephus* (albeit in the second Booke of the *Maschabees*, he is not said to be the Sonne of *Simon* the High-Priest, but brother to one *Simon*, of the Tribe of *Beniamin*, who had charge of the Temple, as we slide before in speaking of *Onias*) being sent to King *Antiochus* the Noble, by *Iafon*, Prince of the sacrificing Priests, with money and commission about important affaires, did so cunningly insinuate himselfe, into the good grace of the King and his Courtiers, that by promising three hundred Talents (which is an hundred and fourscore thousand crownes of the Sun) more then all that which *Iafon* payed, and accusing him of diuers crimes beside: he preuailed so farre, that the Soueraigne Priesthood was taken from *Iafon*, and conferred on him in his stead.

This dignity thus obtained, he persued the same impieties as *Iafon* did, in the customes and manners of the Pagans, & farre exceeding him in rapines and cruelties. For at the entring into his gouernment, to make himselfe the surer of so ill gotten honour; he slew *Onias*, eldest Son to *Simon* his brother, as *Iosephus* affirames, who being exiled, kept close in a fringed place neere *Daphne*, a Towne in *Syria*; there hee caused him to be murdered by *Andronicus* (Gouernour of *Calassyria*) by fraud and treason, and for which offence, *Andronicus* was sentenced with death by the King.

Afterward, being vnable to furnish the great payment of money hee had promised to the King; he sold many vessels of gold, which he had covertly stolne out of the Temple: which sacriledge comming to be knowen, great mutinies were moued among the people. At length, *Menelaus* was accused and conuincied by three Ambassadors, sent from *Ierusalem* to *Tyre*. But by the meanes of a Courtier, named

The miseries and wretched end of *Iafon*.

a Maschabee, equi.

Menelaus his cunning and insinuating with the King and Courtiers.

Menelaus more wicked then his brother *Iafon*.

Menelaus greedily and sacrilegiously stole the Temple and yet cast it away by contriuing.

Ptolomy

The High-Priest Office bought for 500 Talents.

The entrance of King *Antiochus* into *Ierusalem*.

Iafon is iustly requiured for treachery to his brother *Onias*.

Iafon sooner encouraged, and as quickly daunted a gaue.

Ptolomy (soundly corrupted with money) hee was absolved and the King pacified, preuailling withall so farre, that his accusers were executed for calumniators: and he returning backe to *Ierusalem*, began againe to tyrannize ouer the Citizens.

Much about this time, for the space of forty dayes, there appeared in the Heauens, hostes or bands of men, fighting both on horsebacke and foote: which prodigious signes, prognosticated the horrible calamities which soone after were to follow. For as *Antiochus* was leading his Army (the second time) into *Egipt*, purposing to vsurpe the Country by open warre, seeing he could not do it vnder colour of Guardianship, because *Ptolomy Philometar* (his Nephew) was yet but young: *Iafon* rushed into the City with his Army, againe to repulse his brother from the Priesthood, ouer-comming a great number of the Inhabitants, that tooke part with *Antiochus* and *Menelaus*. Who finding his strength too feeble, fled to the Fortresses and Garisons of the *Syrians*, dispatching messengers vnto *Antiochus* for better ayde.

And now *Antiochus* being vrged thereto by the rigorous command of the Romans, and deliuered by *Popilius* left *Egipt*, comming thence in a raging madness, fearing a further reuolt of the Iewish Nation. Hauing brought his Army before the City, hee found the Gates fast shut, and the inhabitants ready to defend themselves. Whereat being vexed, he forced into the City without any great difficulty: because *Menelaus* with his faction, and the *Syrian* Garisons ran vp and downe in the City, and put to the Sword many Citizens, and giuing entrance to the enemy at the Gates. Being entred, *Antiochus* charged his people to kill all that they met with in Armes, and not to spare either age or sexe: so that within three dayes space, fourescore thousand men (or thereabout) were slaine in *Ierusalem*, beside diuers thousand ledde away captiues, and sold for slaues.

The King, conducted by *Menelaus*, entred into the most holy part of the Temple, touching with his polluted hands the sacred Vessels, which he caused to be carried thence into *Syria*, with a thousand, eight hundred talents of treasure. as much to say, as eleuen Tuns of gold of our mo-

nie: which treasure had bin partly giuen to the Temple, and partly was put there in trust for the benefite of widowes and orphans, as into the onely surest place both for reuerence and sanctity. So, after *Antiochus* had restored *Menelaus* to the high-Priesthood againe, and had planted strong Garisons in the City (whereof *Philip of Phrygia* was Captaine, a man very bloody and cruell) hee returned backe to *Antioche* again with his great booty. Two yeares after, fearing a reuolt of the *Iewes*, he sent the Colonell *Appolonius* to *Ierusalem*, with two and twenty thousand men, who expresse no countenance of an enemy, but encamped without the City, attending for the Sabbath day, and then giuing the determined signall, hee slew & massacred the vnarmed multitude, that came forth to behold the Campe of the *Syrians*. Then entring violently into the City, hee put all to the edge of the sword that withstood him, robbing, spoiling, & burning it in many places, throwing downe the walles and fortifications: yet rampaing the Walles and Bulwarks, in that part called, *The City of David*, and planting there a potent Garison.

This was a preparatiue, to attaine (in time) to the Kings full ayme, who purposing to turne (perforce) the *Iewes* from the Law of their fore-fathers (a thing which he knew they would withstand to their vermost power) first of all he gaue order, to dispossesse them of Armes and Weapons, leaving them naked of all munitions, succour and resistance. This discomfiture made by *Appolonius* in *Ierusalem*, soone after the King sent thither *Athenas*, another of his Colonels, with an especial Edict, whereby he commanded all Nations that were in subiection to him, to vse (in euery kingdome) the same Religion which the *Greekes* did: prohibiting expressly to the *Iewes*, the vse of circumcision, & other ordinances commanded them by God. He likewise planted Garisons aswell in *Ierusalem*, as in other Cities and Townes of *Iudea*, to inflict cruell punishment on all them, that did not obtemperate the Kings Edict. Beside, the Temple was prophaned by the Kings Command, and the Image of *Iupiter Olympus* worshipped in the Sanctuary, euen in the *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and many pillarizes and whoredomes committed with-

Menelaus restored to the High Priesthood againe, by *Antiochus* and Garisons planted in the City.

The City of David in *Ierusalem*.

The *Iewes* left naked of all meanes whereby to vict resistance, or he'pe themselves.

A cruell Edict sent out by *Antiochus* against the *Iewes*.

within the circuite of the Temple. Moreover, by the same Edict Royall, the holy Bookes were forbidden ingenerall, and that man iudged worthy of death, with whom the Booke of the Law should be found; yea, and seuerer inquisition made for it every Moneth.

As thus the Cittizens of *Ierusalem* were disarmed, oppressed, & very strong Garisons planted ouer them: euen so were they destitute of any Captain, not daring to vie force or opposition, against the wicked commands and excecutive tyrannies of *Antiochus*: considering also, that *Menelaus* the foueraigne High-Priest, had formerly instituted the behaviourss ved among Pagans in *Ierusalem*, to keepe himselfe in his dignity, & in the Kings fauour, approving and assisting all his enterprizes; in which respect, many that made veruous profession of the Law given by God, were most inhumanely murdered by the Soldiours of *Antiochus*, and their goods confiscated. Others (in great numbers) forsaking the City, and leaving all their goods behinde them, went to hide themselves in Caves and desert places, as *Mattathias* the *Asmonean* withdrew (accompanied with his children) into the little Village of *Modin*.

In the second Booke of the *Machabees* is described the horrible punishing of two women, who were accused to the Lieutenant of *Antiochus*, that they had circumcised their children, contrary to the Kings Edict. Whereupon, they were condemned, and (for a terror to other) they were led naked through the streetes of the City, their infants strangled, hanging at their breasts, and afterward throwne downe from the top of the City wall. There is also set downe, the seuen Brethren & their Mother, tormented with most exquisite tortures; and yet they helde fast the profession of the Law. By which horrible cruelties, iudgement may be made, aswell of the extreme rigour of *Antiochus*, as also the miserable estate of Gods people: of whom, some reliques were yet referred, by means of the *Asmoneans*, raised up by God, to repress the rage of *Antiochus*, & to maintaine the Law of God by Armes, as hereafter shall be declared.

In the meane time *Menelaus*, Author, beholder and promoter of these iniquities vpon the people; retayned still the ti-

tle of Soueraigne high Sacrificer, euen then when *Iudas Machabeus* took (by power) the City and the Temple: he being then hid in the Fortresse, vnder the protection of the Syrians, vntill that after the death of *Antiochus* the Noble, his Son *Antiochus Eupator*, hauing seized on *Ierusalem*, concluded peace with *Iudas Machabeus*, and by the perswasion of *Lysias*, brought him captiue into Syria, as the first brand of all the warre, and of the overthrowing of the Syrian Armies by the *Asmoneans*; and there he was also slaine, after he had held the high-Priesthood twelue yeares. This was the last Sacrificer of the posterity of *Aaron*, to whom the diuine right appertained, for administration of the Soueraigne Priesthood. For *Antiochus Eupator* appointed in the place of *Menelaus*, a certaine man named *Alcimus*, who might bee of *Aaron* posterity; but not of the Family of that *Iesus*, who with *Zorobabel* had returned from *Babylon* into *Iudas*. This *Alcimus* presided foure yeares, and then dyed of a sudden sicknesse, two yeares after the death of *Iudas Machabeus*.

Alcimus being dead, the Temple and the people was leauen yeares without a Soueraigne high-Priest, vntill such time as the power of *Jonathan* encreased, who was the Brother of *Iudas*: when the dignity of the Priesthood was transferred (by consent of the people) into the Family of the *Asmoneans*; where it remained so long, as to the beginning of the Reigne of *Herod*, about 116 yeares.

CHAP. IIII.

Of the *Asmoneans*, being the second Family.

As much to say, as them of the posterity of *Simon*, to whom the principality, as well of the High-Priesthood, as also of the Jewish people being transferred, it continued from the time of *Antiochus* the Noble, vntill the Reigne of *Herod*.

Simon. John. Mattathias.

THE Sacrificer of the Family of *Iosiah* of *Ierusalem*, dwelling in the Village of

of *Modin*, did first oppose himselfe against *Antiochus* the Noble; who, by horrible torments constrained the *Jews* to transgress their Law, and to deale in those behauiours ved among the Pagans; in the hundred, forty and five yeare of the kingdome of Syria, an hundred fifty and nine yeares after the death of *Alexander*, and an hundred sixty and five yeares before the birth of Christ. For *Mattathias* seeing a certaine *Leu*, who (to please the King) sacrificed a forbidden beast vpon a Pagan Altar, it being prohibited by the diuine Law: enflamed with a iust and holy zeale (in the pretence of the Cittizens of his owne Nation, suffering such a wicked acte to be done, as also of the Kings Lieutenant) slew the offender, and then beating downe the Altar, deliuered arms to all them, who (making more account of the word giuen by God, then the threatenings of a Pagan King) had forsaken their goods and liued in the Deserts, from whence many returning daily; hee leuiued a great Army, by whose helpe he deliuered worthily the neighbouring Townes, from the Idolatries of *Antiochus*, and replanted the feruor and ordinances commanded by the Law diuine.

But this valiant man, deeply slept in age, after hee had (for a yeares space) led this beelied wandring troope, and after he had exhorted his Sonnes to the study of piety, as also the valiant defending of the Law giuen by God, against the wicked Edicts and torments of *Antiochus*, reconciling them all to concord and mutuall reuerence, dyed peaceably, in the year 146. of the Kingdome of Syria; 160. after the death of *Alexander*; and 164. before Christ was borne.

Mattathias had five Sonnes. *Iudas*, *Jonathan*, *Simon*, *John*, and *Elezazar*.

Elezazar, otherwise called *Amran* or *Amran*, a very hardy young man, after hee had performed many valiant deeds; in the first yeare after his Fathers death, going to succour *Antiochus Eupator*, Sonne to *Antiochus* the Noble, with his brother *Iudas*, hee saw (among other) a goodly Elephant, exceeding in greatnesse & rich furniture. Whereby, hee imagining that the King should be vpon him, ran towards him boldly, and slaying many Soldiours

euery where about him, got vnder the Elephant, and giuing a deadly stabbe in his belly, the Elephant fell downe vpon him, and thereby was the death of *Elezazar*.

John, surnamed *Gaddis*, after the death of his brother *Iudas*, was sent by *Jonathan*, and *Simon* his other brethren into Arabia, with the Jewels & precious things which they had conquered in warre, to place them in the custody and guard of the *Arabians*; but the *Ammonites* layed ambushes by the way for him, and hauing slaine him, tooke also the spoyles away from him and his traine.

Iudas was surnamed also *Machabeus*, which diction in Hebrew is written *Machabai*, whereof each letter signifieth a word taken from the Song of *Moses* in *Exodus*, in these expresse words: *MECAMOCHA BAILEM YEHOUA*? That is to say: *Who is like unto thee (O Lord) among the Gods? Iudas* (using this sentence for his Motto or device, and making of a phrase of the first Letters of the foure words, caused himselfe to bee surnamed *Machabeus*). His father being neere his death, appointed him the cheefe guide & Leader of the poore and miserable multitude: who had rather endure all afflictions whatsoeuer, then renounce the doctrine giuen them by God. Soone after the death of his Father, he ouercame the Army of *Apollonius*, and made vte of his Sword in all the battles hee fought afterward with a small band of men; hee vanquished the Army of *Sidon*, Governour of Syria, who was slaine in the field, and with him 8000. men. These victories obtained the first yeare, made *Iudas Machabeus* highly renowned. The yeare following, which was the 147. of the Greeke reigne, *Antiochus* went into Persia with his Army, and left in the kingdome of Syria, *Lysias*, as Regent and Governour to his Son *Antiochus Eupator*, giuing him expresse charge to destroy the *Jews*. For the execution of which command, *Lysias* sent into Palestine, forty thousand foote, and seuen thousand horse, vnder the conduct of *Ptolomy*, *Nicanor* and *Corgias* his Colonels, who entred hostily with their Armies into *Iudas*, and encamped before the Village of *Emmaus*; *Iudas*, perceiving perill, led his Army into *Mispas*, a place (long agone) built before the Temple of *Ierusalem*, and very famous for Religion.

There

The Cittizens of *Ierusalem* durst make no opposition in their owne defence.

The horrible punishment inflicted vpon two women.

The *Asmonean* raised by God to repress *Antiochus*.

Menelaus taken and led Captiue into Syria.

The last High-Priest of *Aaron* posterity.

Alcimus succeeded in the high Priesthood.

The High-Priesthood transferred to the Family of the *Asmoneans*.

The first High-Priest against King *Antiochus*.

Mattathias slew a *Leu* for sacrificing a forbidden beast on a Pagan Altar.

Mattathias drew the people from the Idolatries of *Antiochus*.

The death of the renowned old man *Mattathias*.

Elezazar surnamed *Amran*.

Elezazar slaine by an Elephant falling vpon him.

John slaine by the *Ammonites*.

The name of *Machabeus*. Exd. 14. 15.

Machabeus the name of *Iudas*.

Iudas made Lead of the people.

The valiant acts of *Iudas Machabeus*.

Lysias made Governour of young *Antiochus Eupator*.

The small Army of men that Iudas had with him.

There he publicly commanded a fast, giving charge, that by earnest and hearty prayer they should craue of God, that to small a handfull of men (for hee had but three thousand apt for warre with him) might valiantly defend themselves against so great a power of enemies. Which being done, he renoued his Campe, and went directly to confront the hoast of his aduersaries, and setting vpon them in the night season, droue them to flight, & slew three thousand with the Sword. Vpon the successe of this exploite, hee went to seeke the other part of the Army, which was guided by *Gorgias*, who intended to steele vpon the *Jewes* in the dead time of night. But *Gorgias* hearing the former defeature, and perceiuing the smoake of lighted fires in the Campe of the *Jewes*, fled away in haste with his forces. So *Iudas*, with so siliy a power of people, enforced the huge hoasts of his enemies vnto flight, and got very great booties from them.

Lyfias commeth with a mighty Army against the Maccabees.

Lyfias hauing intelligence of his mens ill successe, being mad with anger, leuied a farre greater power, to make fresh warre vpon the *Maccabees*. And the yeare following, which was the 148. of the *Greekes* reigne, himselfe in person (for hee grew distrustfull of his Captaines) accompanied with threecore thousand foote, all of them pickt and chosen men, & fise thousand horse, invaded *Iudas*, by passing thorow *Thumes*. And as he was encamped in *Bethsura*, on the Frontiers of *Iudas*, *Iudas Maccabeus* came to meete him with ten thousand men (so much was the number encreased, of them that detested *Ethnick* Idolatry) and after hee had inuoked publicly the ayde of God, hee fought with the enemy.

Iudas encountereth the great Army of Lyfias.

Lyfias perceiuing how courageously the *Jewes* fought, as men that meerey despised death, breaking furiously through his ranks, his men beginning to turne their backs, and fise thousand of them heuen in peeces; rallied together his scattered troopes, and led them backe to *Antioche*, hoping to speede better at another time with a new expedition. Where in he was preuented, by the death of *Antiochus* the Noble, who being repulst frō besieging *Persepolis*, as hee led backe his Army in ill order by *Babylon*, and being informed (by the way) what bad successe

Antiochus repulst at his besieging Persepolis.

his Armies had sustained in *Iudas*, he fell first into a greuous vexation of spirit, & afterward of body, so that his intewines were finitied with horrible diseases. Yet being nothing the milder by this visitation, but rather more vehemently pronounced against the *Jewes*: after his returne, he purposed a speedy iourney to *Iudas*; there to raze their Cities, especially *Ierusalem*, and vterly to extirpate the *Iewish* Nation. But as he proceeded on in this violent resolution, and making too much haste on the way, the Chariot (wherein he lay like) was ouerturned, and his body to bruised against the ground, also the extremity of his impatience so violent, that his blood souer-boyled, his euerailes putrified, and his flesh outwardly rotted, yielding forth a most loathsome and intolerable stinke, so that in wonderfull torments, he gaue vp the ghost, acknowledging the diuine vengeance of Heauen. Thus died this most cruell Tyrant, in the 148. yeare of the *Greekes* reigne; of his owne 12. and the fourth, after those many robberies, as well of the Temple, as the City of *Ierusalem*.

The returne of Iudas to Ierusalem, & his purging the Temple.

Iudas Maccabeus, much encouraged by this so notable a victory, conducted his Army to *Ierusalem*; where hee cleansed the Temple, formerly defiled and profaned by the seruice of Idols, and offered sacrifices according to the Law, in the yeare of the *Greekes*, 148. before Christs Nativity, 162. the 25. day of the Month of *Chisseu*, that is to say, November; the very same day, that (three yeares before) it had bene robbed & profaned by *Antiochus*, placing therein Images and Idols. He builded also *Sion*, and strongly munited *Bethsura*, that it might serue as a Fortresse against the *Tumans*.

Iudas went daily with his Army into the Temple.

Hauing done this, he kept his Armour daily on his backe, because he was still assailed by the *Idumeans*, *Asmonites*, and others, who laboured to ouerthrow the power of the *Iewish* Nation, which began to exalt itselfe in some good measure. But the brethren of the *Maccabees*, repelled those insulting Nations worthily, diuiding their Armies, & fighting fortunately in many places at a time, yet vning their victories rudely enough. In the 150. yeare of the *Greekes*, *Iudas* laid siege before the Forts of *Ierusalem*, which from the Garrison made many courses; killing such

The great & horrible nature of Gods iudgement declared in the death of Antiochus the 148.

Antiochus Eupator giueth aide to Menelaus.

(such as would sacrifice in the Temple, & very much molested the Citizens. But *Antiochus Eupator*, being vrged by *Menelaus*, to lend him aide, for reliefe of them that were besieged in the forts; sent an army into *Iudas* by *Lyfias*, consisting of 10000. foote, and 20000. horse; and besieged *Bethsura* a long time. In the meane while, *Iudas* being aduertised of the Kings comming in person thither, raised his siege from before the forts, and went to meete the enemy with his Souldiers, of whom he made some slaughters in diuers skirmishes. Yet finding himselfe to be oppressed by so ouer-great a multitude, retired into *Ierusalem*, where being enclosed within the munitions of the Temple; he endured a long and difficult siege, enforced (vpon the coming thither of *Antiochus*, who followed after *Lyfias*) to play vpon aduantages.

Antiochus layeth a very dangerous siege to Ierusalem.

So long lasted this sharpe besieging, vntill the King, being certified of *Philips* coming, who, vader colour of reducing the *Persians* vnder the awe of *Epiphanes*, sought to possesse himselfe (as the same went) of the Kingdomes both of *Asia* and *Syria*: offered peace to them that were besieged in the Temple, with libertie of liuing according to the laws of their forefathers. But after that *Iudas* had brought his garrison out of the Temple, the King being amazed at the fortifications, beat downe their walls, contrary to the accord made at the Temple, and led *Menelaus* the Soueraigne Sacrificer captiue away with him (according as we haue saide already) instituting *Alcimus* in his stead, who also was named *Ioachim*, and so took his way home againe to *Syria*.

Menelaus led away captiue by King Antiochus into Syria.

CHAP. V.

Antiochus and *Lyfias* are put to death by *Demetrius*; the wicked behaviour of *Alcimus* the high-Priest; the death of *Iudas*, and the succession of his brother *Ionathas*.

IN the 151. yeare of the *Greekes*, *Demetrius* flying from *Rome*, where hee had bin detained in hostage, made seizure on the kingdome of *Syria*: putting to death the sonne of *Epiphanes*, named *Antiochus*

Eupator, and his Gouvernour *Lyfias*. Now *Alcimus*, coueting to retaine still the dignitie of the High-priesthood, conferred vpon him by *Eupator* and *Lyfias*: went to *Demetrius*, and there accrued all his nation (especially the *Asmoneans*) as Authors of the tumults, and perturbors of the peace of *Iudea*, & that they had throwne him out in banishment. Heereupon, the King sent *Bacchides* with a maine army, to reseat *Alcimus* in his office. Being entred *Ierusalem* with his power, by fraude hee slew many innocent Citizens, & leaving strong forces with *Alcimus* to safe protect him, returned backe into *Syria*. While thus *Alcimus* abused the power and fauor of the King, for putting many to death that were contrary to him: *Iudas* finding these courses to be intolerable, & taking to heart so great cruelty in the soueraigne Sacrificer; vnderooke the defence of innocents, putting all them to death that tooke part with *Alcimus*. Whereuppon, *Alcimus* fearing the vertue and power of *Iudas*, fled the second time to *Demetrius* at *Antioche*, and there formed a criminall accusation against *Iudas*.

The greedie desire of Alcimus for still enjoying the Priesthood.

Bacchides entereth Ierusalem with his Armie.

Iudas vnder-taketh to reuenge the outrages of Alcimus.

Nicanor then was sent with a puissant Army, who thought craftily to surprize *Iudas* vnder a colour of kind conference, and so leade him along to the King. But this compact being discouered, hee entred into open armes; and being fought with all by *Iudas* in plaine battell, was constrained to retire to the fort of *Sion*. Afterward, issuing forth of *Ierusalem* in great anger, all his forces assembled together; hee threatened all the sacrificing Priests with death and vter destruction of their Temple, if they did not deliuer *Iudas* a liue to his hands. But *Iudas* hauing reinforced his Armie, encountred againe with *Nicanor* at *Bethsura*; in which battaille he slew the capitaine *Nicanor*, & discomfited the whole army, being about 9000. men. This hapned the 13. day of the moneth *Adar*, which is February; and that day was afterward solemnly obserued, in regard of such a notable victorie.

Nicanor slain by Iudas in the second battell.

After these successfull aduentures, *Iudas* perswading himselfe, that *Demetrius* would seek reuenge on the *Jewes* for this his great ouerthrow, deuised to strengthé his power by the assistance of strangers. Heereupon, hee sent Ambassadors to the *Romanes*, to capitulate vpon confederacy

Ccc

with

Judas crutch
and the Ro-
manes.

with them, requesting (among other particulars) that the Senate would forbid *Demetrius*, hereafter to molest and afflict the *Jewes*. But (as humane succors are deceitfull) so the alliance of the *Romanes* was more difcommodious to the *Jewes*, then if they had giuen them no ayde at all: because it made them the more sleepey and negligent, and also was more offensive to the enemy. Whereupon it hapned, that the year following, being the 152. of the *Greekes*, *Demetrius* sent *Bacchides* and *Alcimus* with a potent army into *Judea*. There *Judas* met them with two thousand men onely, and although the most part of the slip away, and forooke his company, eyther thorow wearineffe of so long a war, or fearing the enemies power, or by the practises of *Alcimus*: yet notwithstanding, he ventred on the Army of *Bacchides*, with eight hundred braue Soldiers, and fighting valiantly, there he dyed with this al, in the sixt yeare after his fathers death, good old *Mattathias*, and before the Nativity of Christ, 158. yeares.

The valiant
death of Ju-
das Macha-
beus.

The yeare following, which was the 153. of the *Grecians* Reigne, *Alcimus* caused the walles of the inner house of the Temple to be destroyed, which the ancient sacrificing Priests had builded: to the ende, that not any munition should remaine, which might serue to retrace the aduersaries to the Kings of *Syria*. And hardly had they begun to beate it downe, but he was smitten suddenly with a Palsy, and therein surrendered vp his soule: but he had continued dumbe some long time before, and this was in the fourth yeare of his Priesthood.

Alcimus stri-
ken with a
sudden palsey
dyed.

Jonathas fol-
lowed next in
degree to his
brother *Judas*

Jonathas the second Sonne of *Mattathias*. *Jonathas*, or *Jonathan*, succeeded in the principality to his brother *Judas*, and by this occasion. After the death of *Machabees*, while the *Jewes* (which had embraced the manners and religion of the *Pagans*) grew to be more emboldened, and fought for all those well disposed people, that had followed *Judas* & his Brethren, sending them to *Bacchides* to beee cruelly murdered; adding also the famine, which greatly encreased, because, during the continuall warres, the fields had bene left without any tillage, so that the best persons, and which had most vnderstanding in religion, were extremely anguished: they made their recourse to *Jonathas*, en-

treating him to vndertake the defence of the poore afflicted, and to imitate therein the vertue and piety of his brother. *Jonathas* consenting to the, soone after made head mainly against *Bacchides*, and hardly escaping, retired his Soldiers into the desert, where *Bacchides* made no account to pursue them; but fortified some Townes, and planted strong Garisons in them, daily to torment the *Jewes* by fallies & courtesies. Which being done, he retreated back his Army into *Syria*, after the death of *Alcimus*. By which meanes, the *Jewes* had some relaxation from warre, for about the space of two yeares, to wit, the 154. and 155. of the *Grecians* reigne.

Jonathas vnder-
standeth the
cause against
Bacchides

In the yeare, 156. *Bacchides* was againe incited by the apostate *Jewes*, to surprize (by some sudden aduantage) the two brethren of *Judas*: but the ambushes being reuealed, hee came and openly assaulted them in the Towne of *Bethsessa*. Neuerthelesse, perceiving the Towne to be well munited, and the *Jewes* furnished with all fitting matters, as fully resolved to defend themselves valiantly: he made peace with *Jonathas*, and the captiues being surrendered on eyther side, tooke his way backe to *Syria*, which was the cause that *Judas* had sometime of repole and quietnesse.

Bacchides vnder-
standeth the
cause against
Jonathas

The yeare 160. *Alexander* the Noble, who sought to possesse himselfe of the kingdome of *Syria*, which was then vsurped by *Demetrius*, Brother to *Antiochus* the Noble, and vnderstanding the power of *Jonathas*; sent Ambassadors to him with worthy presents, to practise with him for to ioyne in his intention, offering him (moreouer) the Soueraigne Priesthood, on condition, that he would ayde him against *Demetrius*. Beside, he solemnly invited him to the marriage, which hee had purposed in the City of *Ptolemis*, with *Cleopatra*, daughter to *Ptolemy Philometor*. *Jonathas* being allured by these offers, vnder hope of enjoying (by this meanes) two neighbouring Kings to bee his friends; went to be present at the royall wedding, and carryed gifts of great value with him. He was entertained by the two kings, so honorably as possible might be, and afterward sent backe againe, with confirmatio in the high Priesthood, as also to the principality of *Judea*, for the people (after the decesse of *Alcimus*) had remained 7. yeares without a Soueraigne Beneficier.

Antiochus vnder-
standeth the
cause against
the Noble.

Jonathas ob-
tained the
High Priest-
hood, and the
Principality
of *Judea*

By this meanes, came the dignity first of High Priesthood to the *Asmoneans*, the ninth yeare of the principality of *Jonathas*, 3. of the *Greekes* 160. as hath bene said; and before the birth of Christ, 100. But 5. yeares after, as *Ptolemy* had caught the kingdome of *Syria*, with his daughter *Cleopatra*; so he gaue them both to *Demetrius Nicator*, Sonne to *Demetrius*, & then *Jonathas* had work enough to do, to enter into the good grace & fauour of the new King. Neuerthelesse, by gifts and offerings he prevailed so well at last, as vpon the a- uouching of his grace towards him, hee recovered a great part of *Judea*, & wenne among his own people, no meane power and credite. In the latter dayes of his principality, he fortified the Temple of *Jerusalem*, and renewed alliance with the *Romaines*, contracting kinde friendship also with the *Lacedemonians*. Soone after, he was surprized in *Ptolemis*, by the fraud & treason of *Triphon*, who, although he had promised to release him, if he might haue his two Sonnes sent him as hostages, and an hundred Talents (whereof his brother

Jonathas take
prisoner and
carriued
him with
his two Sonns.

Simon made satisfaction, sending both the money & the children) neuerthelesse, the most cruell Tyrant murdered both the father and his sonnes. Having done this abominable deed, and thinking no way to be resisted in his wicked courtes; by treachery he slew *Antiochus*, surnamed *Sedetes*, Sonne to *Alexander* the Noble, to whom he was Tutor, & for the restoring of him to his Fathers kingdome, hee had enuied *Demetrius Nicator* out of *Syria*, but got it into his owne possession. In this manner *Jonathas* held the principality of the *Jewish* people eightene yeares, and was the first administratour of the Soueraigne Priesthood of the *Asmoneans*, which hee held ten yeares.

Triphon made
himselfe
king of *Syria*.

Simon elected
Duke and
High Priest
by the people

The govern-
ment of *Si-
mon*

Simon the third Sonne of *Mattathias*.

Simon succeeded his Brother *Jonathas*, in the yeare of the *Greekes*, 170. & before the Nativity of Christ, 140. being elected (by common consent of the people) Duke & Soueraigne Sacrificer: because he had valiantly assisted his Brethren *Judas* and *Jonathas*, for maintaining the doctrine giue by God, & the repressing of persecutions. At the beginning of his gouernement, he surprized some Forts from the *Grecians*, among which was that of *Jerusalem*, which till that time had bene held by the *Syrian*

Garisons, & had wonderfully tormented the Citizens. He furnished them in such sort, that they were constrained to yeelde themselves, and afterward purified prophaned places, the 23. day of the second Moneth, in the yeare, 171. Vnder him, *Judas* began to respire and breathe a while, which for the space of 25. yeares after *Antiochus* the Noble, had bin terribly shaken and waisted with continuall warres. The fields began againe to recover their former nature; places burnt and destroyed, to be re-builded; and those prophened with Idols, to be neatly cleared: In briefe, the voyce of heavenly doctrine began againe to bee heard and deliured in the Temple and Synagogues. In the third yeare of his Priesthood, *Simon* renewed alliance with the *Romanes*, and by a Decree from their Senate, was confirmed Soueraigne Sacrificer, & to be styled Prince of the people.

Judas began
to respire
and breathe
a while.

Simon renew-
ed alliance
with the Ro-
manes.

Afterward, *Antiochus Soter*, brother to *Demetrius Nicator*, preparing war against *Triphon*, who vsurped the Kingdome of *Syria*; labored *Simon* with great promises for alliance, as doubting least hee would giue hinderance to his enterprise. But haueing conquered the Kingdome of *Syria*, and *Triphon* chased thence, in the yeare, 174. he falsified the former alliance, & demanded ciuill Townes and Citties in *Judea* of *Simon*, as also the Fort of *Jerusalem*, and a great summe of money beside; or else he would denounce warre against him, if he did not yeeld to what he demanded. Now in regard that *Simon* refused to grant so vniust a demand, *Antiochus* was sent into *Judea* with an Army, whom *John Hyrcanus* and *Judas*, Sonne to *Simon*, discomfited, as he was waisting the champaign Country; and hauing destroyed the Forts built in the Marches of *Judea* by the enemy, they returned backe with great glory.

Antiochus beseecheth
his amies to
fighte
against
Simon,
and vnder-
standeth de-
mands.

Three yeares after, to wit, the 177. of the *Greekes*, and 133. before the birth of Christ, as *Simon* (growing now ancient) returned, visiting & ordaining the Churches, and the dissipated pollicies in *Judea*; he arriued (with his Wife and two of his Sonnes, *Judas* and *Mattathias*) neere to his kinselman *Ptolemy*, the Sonne of *Abubur*, whom he had constituted Gouernour of the whole Region about *Jericho*. But he wickedly murdered him, sitting at the Table of a Banquet, whereto (most traitorously) he had invited him, onely for that bloody purpose.

Simon grow-
eth ancient
in yeares.

Simon mur-
dered at a Ban-
quet by his
Sonne in law.

Four Asmo-
neans, the
Father and his
three Sonnes.

Judas not
wholly re-
stored from
Paganisme,
the reason
why.

The writings
of the Pro-
phets safely
preferred a-
mongst ma-
ny persecu-
tors.

Judas and To-
nathas left
not any issue

Thus foure *Asmoneans*, namely, the Fa-
ther *Mattathias*, and three of his Sonnes
(each after other) fighting valiantly three
and thirty yeares, in defence of the Law
given by God, against the persecutors of
his people, ended their liues. And al-
though they could not so compasse the
matter, as to cleanse *Judea* wholly of Pa-
gan Idolatries, because many among the
people were (openly) Epicures, and ma-
ny mightily delected, by seeing the woful
calamities of the people, and others in-
ueigled by the Gentiles prosperities; did
willingly renounce the first received do-
ctrine of their Fathers, and embraced the
impieties of the Paganes: yet notwith-
standing, they prevailed so well by their
power, that the writings of the Prophets
were preferred, the seruice ordained by
God, not abolished, nor the Jewish polli-
cy any way dissipated. All which ensued
by the singular goodnesse of God, to the
end, that the pollicy and ministry appoin-
ted by him (in some good measure still
maintained) should continue to the time
of Christ, that men might know, when &
how the Messias was to be sent. The prin-
cipality and high-Priesthood continued
(sometime) in the Family of the *Asmo-
neans*, to the successors of *Simon*, because *Ju-
das* and *Tonathas* had not left any issue of
theirs.

CHAP. VI.

Concerning the imprisonment of Simons
two Sonnes and their Mother, by their
cruell rickie Ptolomie; and lastly, their
lamentable death. The valiant actes of
John Hyrcanus, Sonne to Simon. The
destruction of Samaria, &c.

The Sonnes of Simon, were
John Hyrcanus, *Judas*, *Mattathias* his suc-
cessour.

A Daughter, married to Ptolomy, the sonne
of *Abobus*, Gouvernour of *Iericho*; who
murdered his Father, as also his Wife &
two of his Children.

Judas and *Mattathias*.

Having accompanied their Father,
going with his Wife to see *Ptolomy*
their Sonne in law, to whom he had for-
merly spoken, to giue him the gouerne-

ment of *Iericho*: they were imprison-
ed with their Mother, by their Vnckle *Ptole-
my*, who before had slaine their Father at
a Banquet. Now, while *Hyrcanus*, seeking
to reuenge so horrible a deed, had besieged
a small Towne, whereto *Ptolomy* had
withdrawne himselfe: the Tyrant caused
them there to bee pitifully dismembred,
as also their Mother; vntill such time as
Hyrcanus, moued with compassion, & not
able to endure the torturing of his bre-
thren and Mother, raised the sledge, albe-
it his captiued Mother, still vrged him
earnestly, to maintaine the assault.

John Hyrcanus.

In the life time of his Father, hee dis-
comfited the Army of *Antiochus Soter*,
which was conducted by *Condebars*. Next
after the death of his Father, and the ta-
king of his two Brethren, himselfe hardly
escaping from the ambushes of the murder-
er *Ptolomy*: hee came to reuenge his
Fathers death, and besiedging the Towne
whereto *Ptolomy* was returned, being o-
uercome with pity, by seeing the tor-
ments which his Mother & Brethren suf-
fered, at every time when hee gaue the as-
sault, considering also, that the seventh
yeare of rest was neere at hand; hee re-
treated his Army. Afterward, *Antiochus Soter*
made warre vpon him, so that he was flur-
vp within the City of *Ierusalem*, which
Antiochus besiedged in seven places all at
one time: being pressed with famine, hee
yelded vp the City, vpon condition, that
he would beate down the Fortifications
of the City, deliuer hostages, & giue hun-
dred Talents, that is to say, three Tunnes
of Gold.

But as he was in want of money, or
accidentally seeking for some by vrgent
necessity, or admonished so to doe by a
dream: he opened the Sepulcher of *Da-
uid*, wherein he found three thousand Ta-
lents of Gold, which amounteth to 18
Tuns of Gold. Being thus readuanced, he
not only made peace with *Antiochus*, but
also entered into amity with him, so that he
entertained him into the City with his
Army, and being well provided of money,
he was the first (of the *Iewes*) that had
strange Soldiours vnder his pay. With
whom he accompanied King *Antiochus*,
he going in warre against the *Parthians*;
and yet his company was but slenderly be-
neficiall to the King. For although by the
valiancy

The most
of Simon
then Alex-
andria re-
turned.

The Army
of Antiochus
Soter, vanqu-
ished by *Judas*
Hyrcanus.

John Hyrcanus
besiedged
in *Ierusalem*,
and the City
yelded vnto
agreement.

Hyrcanus ay-
deth *Antiochus*
against the
Parthians.

The Feast of
Pentecost
hindered *Hyrcanus*
from the
bataille.

The Temple
of *Gazizim* in
Samaria raz-
ed.

The *Idume-
ans* receive
circumcision.

Alliance made
with the Ro-
manes.

Hyrcanus ma-
kes alliance
with Alexan-
der the victo-
rious.

Antiochus
Gryllus and
Antiochus
Cyzicus fight for the
kingdome of
Syria.

valiancy of *Hyrcanus*, he overthrew a part
of the *Parthians* Army, yet soone after,
when *Artabanes*, King of the *Parthians*, came
with a new Army, & he should then haue
met and ioyned with him: Religion hin-
dered *Hyrcanus* and the *Iewes* from going
to the fight, because it was then the Feast
of *Pentecost*. By which meanes, *Antiochus*
being destitute of the *Iewes* helpe, was
slaine, with a great number of his people.

After the death of *Antiochus Soter*, *Hyrcanus*
began to make small account of the
Kings of *Syria*; as being men, that (by ci-
uill warres) had broken the forces of their
kingdomes. Wherefore, bringing back
his host from *Asia*, he tooke many Cities
and Townes in the kingdome of *Syria*,
which had in former times appertained
to *Ides*. He razed also the Temple of
Gazizim in *Samaria*, builded by *Sannaba-
lat* the Cuthean, (as hath before bin remem-
bred) two hundred yeares after it had bin
builded in fauour of *Manasses*, Brother to
Iudas, in the time of *Alexander* the great.
He compelled also the *Idumeans* (after he
had giuen them many chastenings) to re-
ceive circumcision, and other ceremonies
of the *Iewes*. And to strengthen himselfe
the more against the Kings of *Syria*, who
he thought not fit to make any more sur-
prizing of Cities; hee renewed alliance
(by Ambassadors) with the *Romanes*, in
the fourteenth yeare of his principality,
and the 191. of the kingdome of *Syria*:
Cneus Demetrius Barbovoss, and *Caius Fla-
minius* being Consuls, an hundred and
17. yeares before the Natiuity of Christ.

Afterward, as *Demetrius Nicanor* had
bene restored to his Kingdome by *Artas-
tes*, and as quickly againe repulled from it
by *Alexander Zebnais*, when he prepared
himselfe to make warre on the *Iewes*: so
Hyrcanus, allying himselfe with *Alexander*
the victorious, had sustained as little ioy
thereof, if an admirable accident had not
corrected their error. For *Antiochus Gryl-
lus*, Sonne to *Demetrius*, seeking to reco-
uer his Fathers kingdome, flew *Alexander*
in bataille, and (after that victory) purpo-
sed to invade *Hyrcanus*, the leagued friend
to his enemy. But hearing of another pre-
paration of warre against himselfe, by his
brother *Antiochus Cyzicus*; he was glad
to keepe at home still in *Syria*. So, while
the two brethren did wel-faouoredly
contend with one another (a long time)

for the kingdome of *Syria*; *Hyrcanus* and
Judas remained in quietnes, during which
time, *Hyrcanus* well fortified himselfe by
strong Castles newly builded, re-enfor-
cing al his most commodious munitions,
collecting vp great summes of money, &
providing other necessary matters, to ex-
ploit his warre affaires.

Finally, hee laide sledge to the most
strong City of *Samaria*, and left there his
two Sonnes *Antigonos* and *Aristobulus* to
continue it, while himselfe attended to
the administration of more important
Oeconomical affaires. Hereupon, the
Samaritaines called to succour them *Anti-
ochus Cyzicus*; who repulled the sonnes
to *Hyrcanus*, and chased them so farre as
to * *Scythopolis*. Again, the two brethren
brought their Army before *Samaria*, and
again, *Antiochus Cyzicus* (being reque-
sted) entered into *Judea*, pilling and spoy-
ling where soeuer he came. But being re-
pelled, hee gaue the charge of his Army
to two of his Captaines; one of them be-
ing slaine by the *Iewes*, and the other cor-
rupted with money, surrendered (by trea-
son) *Scythopolis*, and the other neigh-
bouring Cities. So the City of *Samaria*, ha-
uing endured (in great misery) a whole
yeares sledge, was at the last forced and
quite destroyed. Such was the ending of
this most mighty City, which (for a long
time) had paragond it selfe equal with *Ie-
rusalem*; but about an hundred yeares af-
ter, it was builded againe by *Herod*, who
named it *Sebastea*, in the honour of *Augu-
stus Caesar*.

CHAP. VII.

How the rest and prosperity of *Judea*, began
sundry Sects among the people, especially
of the Pharisees, Sadducees, &c. The diuer-
sity of their opinions: and a brieue narra-
tion of the Doctrines, in use among the
first Fathers.

THE Country of *Judea*, being thus re-
duced to repose & quietnes, & by the
paines of *Hyrcanus*; her prosperity procured
enmy & distaste, as wel toward her own
people, as (more especially) to the Phari-
sees. For factions grew the in great esteem
among the meaner people, by simulation
Ccc 3 of sanctity,

Samaria be-
sieged by
Hyrcanus and
his forces.

* A City of
Syria, neere
to *Judea*, cal-
led also *Dece-
polis*.

The City of
Samaria raz-
ed and de-
stroyed to the
ground.

Of the Sect of
the Pharisees
and their dis-
turbled holi-
nesse.

sanctity, and great swarms of deified traditions, concerning some kindes of bodily exercises: so that (whensoever they pleased) they could cause the common people to mutiny against the Princes and the High-Priest. *Hyrcanus* had sometime bene a curious favourer of this Sect; in which regard, the Pharisees did beare him great affection: but at the last, he estranged his kindnesse towards them, finding himselfe offended at the punishment of *Eleazar* the Pharisee, by some outrage offered him. And this was the reason, that hee tooke part with the Sadducees, who sharply reprovod the traditions of the Pharisees, and in hate and spight to the Pharisees sect, hee abolished (by publike Edicts) many of their traditions, which made him and his Sonnes to be mortally hated, atwell of the Pharisees, as of the people. Whereupon ensued great mutinies among the people: which his Sonne *Alexander* very hardly appeased, but not without great effusion of blood.

Hyrcanus & his Sonnes hated the Pharisees and vulgar people.

The difference betwene the Sects of the Pharisees and Sadducees.

Testimonies of Gods will given to our first Fathers.

Esay 29. 14.

warned by this rule, wee may the better judge of these Sects.

But in making this recital, I may not forget that most lamentable complaint, which the so mighty infinity of mankind ought much to bemoane, because even then, when the Church consisted of so small a number, to wit, in few Tribes of *Israel*, poorly impayed, and shut vp in that narrow country neighbouring to the *Pharisees*, and that then (with so small policy) discipline could scarcely maintaine it selfe peaceably, or doctrine be kept in good concord: such horrible furries being prepared against it, yea, & they embraced by the greater part of the Governours, publishing them wholly, without dissembling any thing, although they were plainly repugnant vnto the Law of God. The Sadducees acquired themselves of sacrifices, and neuertheless affirmed publicly, that after this present life, there remained no other, nor any iudgement; and that the soule (being separated from the body) should haue no more life, and that men should not rise againe. But the Pharisees were a little more modest, and yet notwithstanding they had as well corrupted the doctrine giuen by God, as we shall haue better occasion to speake of hereafter.

Neuertheless, God had a true Church all this while, which still retayned the light of his doctrine: and yet, was it not greatly to be lamented, that in one & the same company, which bare the name of the Church, among a troope that called vpon God in truth; such errors should not only bee dispersed, but also allowed by the authority of Princes and Doctors? Beside this, the assured and prophaned arrogancy of many (even in our times) ought greatly to be reprehended, who dreaming of no dispersion of errors in the Church, eyther for satisfaction of their owne ambition, vnder colour of religion seeking after kingdomes, or by heaping superstitions one vpon another, thereby to fit and furnish their owne avarice; doe neuer thinke on (in this case) the ancient and old examples of the Pharisees & Sadducees, who declared sufficiently, that every like enils crept into the Church, even as apparently then, as those of other times. It is therefore very necessary, to haue of certaine rule, in listening to the voice of

The protest of all beginning of the Church, and how it came to this state.

Concerning the opinions of the Sadducees.

The Pharisees more modest then the Sadducees.

God always had a true Church, and all the light of his Doctrine.

The errors of older times very apparent to be detected.

Genes 1. 9.

The time of the first doctrine, and the first time of the Church.

The harmes and evils of the Church, and how much to be mended.

Of the first time of the Church in Schoole.

The reason why God created mankind.

The great care and sorrow, which man after himselfe.

Genes 3. 15.

angelically, according as *Saint Paul* said: *If any man preach any other Gospel to you, let him be accursed.*

Furthermore, consideration is to be had, of the time of that first Doctrine, agreeing with the voyce of the Prophets, the Sonnes of GOD, and the Apostles: and next, of such persuasions as haue crept into the Church, some whereof haue bene confirmed by the superstition of men vnlearned, others haue bene voluntarily received, as serving the ambition of the mightie, and for benefite to the kitchen. Acknowledging then, and bewayling the harmes of the Church; let vs seeke after the springs or fountaines of true doctrine, to the end wee may truly call vpon God, who hath alwayes preferred some part of mankind, where his true knowledge might shine, to bee the Temple of God, and afterwards partaker of his glorious company, because mankind was not created in vaine. But before I discourse on the original of Sects, and Diuisions of the Church, it is needfull first to say somewhat, concerning the first true Church or Schoole, which from the beginning of mankind, hath bene gardian and keeper of the true doctrine: from whence hath issued many, who (as feditious) haue scattered diuers corruptions among the truth of doctrine.

Mankind was not borne by accidental chance, neither created without cause: but it pleased God, that he should haue a reasonable nature, embellished with a body, wherein the knowledge of him might shine, and to whom he might communicate his wisdom and goodnes, & that hee should enioy his company once and for euer. Now, although God expressed his wisdom and goodnesse, by creating the great workmanship of the world: yet notwithstanding, his goodnes made it selfe much more apparent, in that (after the fall of *Adam* and *Eue*) he sent from his secret seate, that infinite mercie for their recovery, by giuing them the promised Seede to come. And to make it the better knowne and vnderstood, hee would haue men to heare the found of that sweete voice: *The Seede of the woman shall breake the Serpents head.* Such as received graciously this consolation, were received of God, and made members of the eternall Church of God. Thus first of

all, the Church was created, and the Schoole instituted, wherein our first Parents taught the doctrine of God to their children: concerning the creation of all things; concerning their owne fall; the paines and punishments to ensue; the treacheries of the diuell; the causes of death and all humane miseries; the promise of the Seede to come, whereby the great and iust anger of God was to be appeased. Also, how sinne was to be detested, eternall life restored, the difference of good and euill works, and that such a difference being imprinted in the soules of men, was truly the Lawe diuine, agreeing with the intelligence and diuine will; so to shine in the spirits of men, that it might bee a testimonie of God to men, that he was one God, and how to be adored: admonishing likewise, that hee would iudge the actions of men, because conscience would elie exercise a burdensome iudgement in vs.

There they were taught the difference betweene this natural knowledge, and the other of higher quality: the pronounced promise of the secret bosome of the eternall Father, touching the Seede: the future iudgement of all mankind: and that such as (by faith in that Seede) attained to beleue therein, were acceptable to God, and in that faith had recourse to him, struing to order their manners by the rule of the diuine Lawe, should liue eternally in the most sweete company of God. Others, who arrogantly contemned God, & the promised Seede to come, running furiously on the bridle of their wicked desires; were like vnto diuels, enemies to God, and after death should liue in horrible torments, whereof they discerned some resemblance in this life, by the terrors of such, whose bodies were adduged to terrible punishments.

Those first Fathers declared, how God had clothed them with the skins of beasts, to signifie, that (after death) they should bee denefited of their corrupted bodies, and put vpon them (as the garment or robe of the Lambe) that is to say, the promised Seede, which was to be sacrificed, that all mankind might be saved by him. They taught the will of God to bee such, that by this means it should bee sought, knowne and called on, as it was made manifest: and that our mindes leaning

The difference betweene the Schoole of the first Parents, and the Schoole of the first Fathers.

The difference betweene the Schoole of the first Parents, and the Schoole of the first Fathers.

The desires of God and the promised Seede.

The clothing of our first Fathers in the skins of beasts, had a further relation.

One sole and certain assembly instituted by God to be his Church.

The reason why ancient ceremonies were instituted.

What the Sacrifices did represent.

Christ was assisting to his Church long before his incarnation.

The first means of knowing the blessed Trinity according to the instruction of the first Fathers.

ning vpon his promise, gaue vs to vnderstand, that then wee are in the grace of God, when (by fayth) wee relie vpon his promise, and that hee would haue no other gods to be receiued, or Sacrifices offered by them that forgot or reiected this doctrine giuen by God. They also manifested, that God would haue one sole and certaine assemblie, which should be consenting in doctrine, gathered together by inuocation and sacrifices: in which sole assembly, should be the future heires of eternall life with God.

As an Interpreter to their Sacrifices, this predication was often repeated; *This manner of behaviour, and these publique assemblies are instituted, to the end, that this doctrine should be sent to Posterity.* In them the voyce of the diuine Promise, and the doctrine declared by vs, was to be heard: for god would haue his voyce to be heard of all men. In which respect, it was and is requisite, that there should bee honest assemblies; and although the Church will be alwayes tormented with great calamities: yet shall she be exalted as a Castle on a high mountaine. These our Sacrifices which you see, are the chaines and linkes of such assemblies, and no other paintings haue we to admonish vs, then the diuine Promise so graciously giuen vnto vs.

Having entrusted their children in these great matters, they added, concerning the Seede to come, That that Lord, who should breake the head of the Serpent; was already (and euen then) assisting to his Church, although he was not (as yet) reueiled with humane flesh. That he was the Image of the Eternall and onely Father, begotten of him, who prayed to his Father for the Church, and defended it, and (with the Father) comforteth the hearts of Beleueers, euen in their greatest feares, by his Promises, and kindeleth in them the light of the blessed Spirit, for the beginning of eternall life. Which Spirit proceeded from the Father, and from this promised Lord. By this means they taught to know the onely true God, wise, good, iust, true, chaste and pure, Creator of heauen and earth, of Angels, and of mankind; to the end, that all might vnderstand, there was one onely eternall Father, who had created all with this promised Lord, who is his I-

mage, and with the blessed Spirit, so that no other Diuinitie was to be imagined.

Moreouer, in this holy Schoole, the first fathers taught the doctrine concerning the nature of things, giuing to vnderstand; that there were certaine lawes of Celestiall motions, to deliuer testimony, that this world was not made by aduenture, but created by the intelligence of a super-excellent workeman. They taught beside, the course of the yeare to be ordained, because God would haue men to know the order of times; thereby also to vnderstand the order of diuine promises, and how they were to be reuealed, as to know what the first giuen doctrine was, thereby to iudge of the newer afterward. And because men might comprehend, that all things were created by the Diuine Councell and Providence: they shewed diuerse vses of Plants, to what end they were created, and for the vse of man. Heereupon they expressed, how God assisted the nature of man by those remedies; thereby also instructing, that oftentimes Innocents are holpen of God by admirable means, and yet without the ayde of creatures.

That this was the doctrine of the first or Primitive Church, the narration of Moses sufficiently declares, in *Genes.* And it is not to be doubted, that the wisdom of the golden Age, before the Flood, was much greater then that after the Flood, when nature became more weak & feeble. And though that many, both before and after the Flood, might forget or misprize true doctrine; yet notwithstanding, God would not suffer his true Inuocation to be quenched among men: but euer more reserved from company that kept this doctrine, (from one time to another) renewed & dispersed it further off by nouell testimonies. Again, when after the Flood, the multitude of men began once more to encrease, though the light of true doctrine might be extinct in *Babylon*: yet notwithstanding the studie of Astrology remayned, touching the motions and effects of the Starres, with the knowledge of things growing in the earth.

And in this meane while, the promise of God was still preferred and kept, renewed and illumined in the posteritie of *Nash.* Afterward, when this policie became to be so well ordaind among the people

Other doctrines indicated by these things concerning plants.

The wisdom of the golden Age before the Flood.

The wisdom of the golden Age before the Flood.

God euer more assisted the nature of man by those remedies.

The ten tribes, and the Kings of Iuda, and the other Doctrines which were taught.

Causes, how the truth of doctrine grew to contempt and ballarding.

Some remembrance of Gods truth at all times remaining.

Concerning the name of Interpreters.

people of *Israel*: all the Colledge of the *Leuites* was as an Academie and place of exercise. There, some Sacrifices and Prophets taught againe the auncient and vncorrupted doctrine.

But afterward, when the tenne Tribes were cut off by the Kings of *Iuda*: then great confusions (both in Religion and Doctrine) follow'd. And yet neuertheless, God raised in the dismembred part of *Iudas* Kingdome, *Elias*, *Eliseus*, and other Prophets, to draw diuers there to the truth of knowledge: which was the reason that the Prophets had great troups of Auditours, in regarde that *Elias*, *Eliseus*, and the rest had deliuered (from hand to hand) their sacred preachings and interpretations. Some did leaue theirs written, as *Ezra*, and they that followed after. This custome did alwayes continue in this people, and especially in the Temple, where the sacrificing Priests gaue the interpretations, or else where among the Doctours, and such as were interpreters of the Writings of *Moses* and the Prophets.

But in the latter times, after the returne from *Babylon*, and after the Prophet *Zacharie*, when the High-Priests beganne to affect familiarity with the kings of *Iuda*, and sought to make themselves great and powerfull, the study of true doctrine became contemned, and after that *Iuda* was spoiled by *Antiochus*; many places were lost, the companies of Students, and their Maisters scattered, and discipline being thus neglected, it is very likely that the studies became to bee wonderfully changed. Howbeit, that alwayes some of the Colledge of the high-Priests, and of the people, kept some sparks of the true doctrine liuing among them: as *Simon*, *Zacharie*, *Anne*, and other, whose youth neighboured to the warres of *Antiochus*. Notwithstanding, many audacious Expositions of the Propheticall Bookes, wandred farre off from the auncient doctrine.

It is very likely, that at the beginning, the name of Interpreters was common to some men of the best iudgement, and likewise to other, that transfused the doctrine of the Church into Philosophie. By succession of times, as this new Philosophie was most pleasing, and many earnestly fauouring it: the

Schooles began to be so much the more frequented, and a kinde of doctrine was then concluded on. In this manner a profession or Sect (which then was in admiration) was ordained; without changing the name of Pharisee, as much to say as an Expounder, as nowadaies the title of Doctur, is the name of a most honest Office and Profession: for many learned men doe conceiue the Pharisee to be named, rather for Interpretation or Exposition, then by separation or diuision.

Iosephus reporteth some of their opinions, but they are better to bee vnderstood in the Euangelicall Historie, and what their principall errors were. For, although they carried themselves as interpreters of the Prophets: they auouched the Bookes not onely of *Moses*, but also of the other Prophets, adioyned to the holy Histories by publique authoritie of the Ancients, to remaine in their credite and integritie. Neuertheless, they helde false opinions concerning the vse of the Lawe, and transferred the promises of the *Messias* Kingdome, to politicall vse. They helde exteriour Discipline, for lustice satisfying to the Lawe, and denyed that wicked affections were sinne, or doubting of God, or courage enkindled by hatefull or lustfull desires: provided that they proceeded not to outward offence. These corruptions are expressly reprooued in *Saint Matthew*, where it is said; *who neuer looketh on a woman, to lust after her, hath already committed adultery with her in his heart.* And although that many vnlearned men in the Church, read these Sentences as Paradoxes of the Stoicks, who painted the Ideases of the vertues, to the end that men should strue to come nere to them (which is impossible for any man in this world to do) yet are they propounded to the Church to other ends.

The Sonne of God knew, that in the imbecillitie of this nature, no man can be without bad desires; therefore hee would haue the preaching of repentance to be dayly founded among men, that acknowledging our corruptions in due manner, wee should confesse our owne guiltinesse, and make our recourse to the Sonne of God. The Philosophie of the *Pharisees*, obscured this auncient Propheticall

The name of Pharisee is an Expounder.

The errors of the Scribes and Pharisees, and in what manner they held them.

Math. 5. 2.

Not man in this life time can be free from corrupt and vnlawfull affections.

The Pharisees celebrated the promises made to Abraham.

The carnall opinions of the Pharisees, concerning the Messiah and his Kingdom.

Sinners to be pardoned by ceremonies and killing of beasts ordained in the Law.

Questions concerning the acting & performing of deified ceremonies.

ticall doctrine, as it had beene in all times after *Caine* and his Posteritie.

In like manner, the other part of heauenly doctrine, to wit, the promised *Messias* was also obscured. The Pharisees knew and celebrated the magnificent Promises made to *Abraham*, recited by *Isaac*, and often repeated by the Prophets: but they maintained, that they spake only of a politicall kingdom. They dreamed also, that the *Messias* should come like vnto an other *Cyrus* or *Alexander* the great, to vse the whole Empire of the world, the people being subiect vnto him: and yet notwithstanding, that this Empire should be more iust, milde and peacefull, then any of them before. They affirmed, that the *Messias* should reigne a thousand yeares; that the Israelites should liue three or foure hundred yeeres without feare of wares, feruitude, or famine, or any other great calamities: And that there should bee no other nature in the *Messias*, but humane.

In these idle imaginations, all the doctrine of the Sonne of God, of anger against sinners, of the sacrifice and death of the *Messias* was buried. And yet neuertheless, truth was not wholly quenched in the Church, but (as I haue said) some sparkes remayned with *Simon*, *Zacharie*, and many such like, who read the Prophets without corruption.

After that the Pharisee had corrupted the words of the Law, and the promises thereto appertaining: they dreamed that sinners were to be pardoned by ceremonies and slaughter of beasts, ordained in the Law. This perwasion brought in great gaine, for the people (being thus perswaded) multiplied the more their sacrifices. These so thicke mists of darknesse had some appearance of wisdom and pietie; which neuertheless are oftentimes reprehended of the Prophets.

Ceremonies growing to great augmentation and encrease, many questions (as in the like cases happeneth) were moued, touching the manner of performing them, & other circumstances, which (indeede) required many declarations. And as Monks heaped vp together great summes of money, by the buying and selling of humane traditions, with their annexed circumstances: euen so the Pharisees would locke vp and let loose the ce-

remories of *Moses*, at their pleasure; and adde to them their owne nouell devices, as well for the confirmation of superstition, as their owne gaine. *Saint Matthew* telleth vs, that the lucrative tradition is reprobated: that it was much better to giue somewhat to the Temple, then to nourish and relieue their owne poore parents: euen as now adays it is maintained, that a number of stouidish idle Monks, should rather enioy great reuenues, then any thing spared for the reliefe of poore Schollers.

The tradition of the Sabbath was also in great vse, as *Herone* a leecher: for *Aziba* and *Hillel*, both *Rabins*, do lay, a Sabbath dayes journey is but two halfe miles. Beside, in this Sect remained some studies of doctrine, and some care of gouerning the discipline. They could well conclude, that there was an eternall and intelligent God, true, good, iust, chaste, well-doing, and a reuenger of offences: whereby they confessed all things to bee created, the heauens, the earth, Angels, men and other creatures. They affirmed also (by opinion of philosophy) that there was but one person in the diuinitie, boldly reiecting the Primitive and Prophetically doctrine concerning the Sonne of God and the blessed Spirit: although they had apparent testimonies of the Son of God in *David*, *Esay*, *Michas* and *Daniel*; and of the Holie-ghost, in many Sermons of the Prophets.

Moreover, they confessed, that God the Creator of all things, was manifested by his Promises, and by publishing his Law: surpassing all other in goodnesse, with a most goodly policie, ordainned and warranted by many testimonies of his presence. Wherefore they would not haue any one to call in doubtfull question the prouidence of God, nor to doubt that the posteritie of *Abraham* (to whom God had giuen this ordainned policie) should bee any other then the people of God, or the Church whereof God had a peculiar care. They taught them that God gouerned the principall mutations which happened in this life, as the encreasings and diminishings of Empires, the ruine and building againe of great Cities: because they knew their euents to agree with the prophecies of empires, which are in *Moses*, *Esay* and *Daniel*; adding

To denie the Sabbath dayes journey, a halfe mile, apparently the Pharisees.

The Tradition allowed but one Person only in the Godhead.

Of the Lawe of Moses, and what they gathered thereby.

Particular matters toucheth the Pharisees.

The Pharisees maintained the freedom of mans will.

They allowed also the resurrection of the dead.

The true vse of the Lawe, vntill abolished by them.

Institution of many disciplines for offention.

Ceremonies vnto the Pharisees.

Math. 6. 7.

ding with all, that they knew that their Citie *Ierusalem* had beene diuinely builded.

And yet (for all this) they affirmed, that the affaires and liues of all men, were gouerned by humane counsellors; and they magnified the libertie of mans will, as also the faculty of Free-will: yea, and in such sort, that they held a man might falsifie the diuine Lawe, and be iust by his diligence, meriting all goodnesse both present and heauenly. And contrariwise, that such as offended the diuine Lawe by exterior transgressions, should be punished both in this life and the other. For their opinion was (that the soule separated from the bodie) should liue, and that there should bee a resurrection of the dead, wherein God would reward the iust, and send into euertlasting punishments, such as had soiled themselves with execrable vices. And yet they held with all, that he would punish many crimes by present calamities, adding also, that some might be defaced by sacrifices, and the penalties due to them, made more milde or lessened.

Now, although this doctrine was very passable in appearance; yet notwithstanding, they abolished the true vse of the Law, and with the benefices of the *Messias*, the doctrine of free pardon. Wherefore, eyther they confirmed trust in mens owne iustice, or left their consciences in pitifull doubts: in regarde that mens minds being thus ouerthrowne, fled from God, and trembling against him, neyther durst approach neare him, nor call vpon him truly.

For the more sure maintaining these their disciplines, they had instituted many exercises; the most part whereof serued rather for offention, then any restraint to their owne bad desires. The manner or forme of their garments was notable; for they wore great long cloakes, with fringes about them, interwoven with the words of the Lawe. Oftentimes they vsed to wash themselves, hauing at the entering into their houses holy-water, wherewith they sprinkled themselves. They observed choice of meates in their falls, muttering long prayers to themselves, which *Saint Matthew* calleth *Barthologie*, much babbling.

Their sacrifices and apparance of piety, attracted greatly the familiarity of wo-

men, which was the cause that adulteries and diuorces grew to be very frequent among them; and to enioy therein the more liberty, they enlarged the law of diuorces. For the ancient custome of diuorces implied, that they were not to be done, but vpon knowledge of the cause, and the instruments to effect them, was, with the knowledge and consent of the magistrate, and separation might not be granted for light causes and disturbances; but by good reasons induced to the Iudges, who were knowne to bee graue men, and of great integritie.

But the Pharisees (vicerily dissannulling this ancient custome) made diuorces vpon their priuate authority, either without cause, or for causes of no moment: so that the lawe of diuorce serued onely as a baited hooke, to allure and betray other mens wiues; as among the Pagans, and as at this instant with the Turkes, it is in vse.

By this kind of proceeding, men might reiect their wiues when they thought fittest, without any reasonable cause, and contrary to the nature of marriage, which God himselfe instituted at the beginning, to the end, that it might be the alliance of an inseparable company when hee saide: *They shall be both one flesh*; that is to say, a male and female shal be ioyned together inseparably. In like manner, the Lawe of *Moses* did not permit diuorce without cause; but rendered a reason whereby separation might be allowed, to wit, *if any wilkenesse were found in her*. And the ancient Atticke custome intended, that no diuorce should be granted, without knowledge of the cause. Since when, by succession of times, the bands of discipline haue been let loose, by the encrease of lewdnes and incontinencie: so that the ancient Atticke custome became quite changed.

And so in the latter times of the Iewes, all grauity for the maintenance of alliance in marriage, grew greatly extenuated. For there could not be faide to be a true wife, whom the husband might cast off at all times, and whensoever such giddines intoxicated his braine, and without any worthy cause. This vniust custome of the Pharisees was the cause of that question in *S. Mathew*, where mention is made concerning the alliance of marriage, and the first institution thereof repeated: also by a seuer

Women familiarly allotted to their sacrifices.

The ancient manner of granting the bill of diuorce.

The lawe diuine, reiecting the beating of mens wiues.

Gods first institution of marriage.

Genesis 2. 24.

Moses lawe for diuorce.

Deut. 24. 1.

The Atticke custome concerning diuorce.

The latter times of the Iewes, much negligent in marriage ceremonies.

Math. 19. 6. 7.

A refutation
of the greiv
and abhomi
nable errors
of the Saddu
ces Sect.

therefore this Sect (how wicked soever it were) wanted not store of followers.

Now although it be true, that God is the gardian of political societie, and that he punisheth vniust murders in this life, lest the companies of men should be consumed, as also to the end, that they may be manifest signes of his diuine Iustice to euery eye: yet notwithstanding, God in meane while (by an admirable counsell best knowne vnto himselfe) suffereth many iust persons to be slaine by the wicked, as *Abell*, the children of *Israel* in *Egypt*, *Ionathas*, *Esay*, *Jeremy*, and innumerable other. These examples doe testifie, that there remaineth another Iudgement, wherein God will declare his iustice, by bringing the iust and vniust into iudgement: and the wicked, being sent into torments, shall shew the iust to be victorious, although it continue some time after death. For seeing that God declared, that he had a care of *Abell*, *Ionathas*, *Esay*, and *Jeremy* during their liues: if after death he should haue made no account of them, it had much diffented from his praesence; yea, and from his iustice also. It is then most euident, that the *Sadduces*, who denied any other iudgement to ensue after death.

The sacrificiing Priest of the *Sadduces*, being at the Altare, conceiued, that the *Israelitish* Nation was not chosen of God (who onely had the true knowledge of God on earth;) because they had been so often oppressed by Kings of the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans* & *Syrians*; and, euen when their neighbors (being dispersed thorough *Iudea*) spoiled many thousands of iust persons, compelling them that suruiued, to feed on the slaughtered bodies of their fellow-Citizens: in this case, shall there bee no attribution of iustice and prouidence to God, if instantly hee shew not himselfe to haue a care of his, and that (therefore) there remaineth no immortality? Thus vnder the shadow of ceremonies, were mens soules abused, by outward and apparant Legier-dumaines, the diuine Prouidence being exactly taken away, euen as the *Epicurians* did.

Now, considering there were these debates between the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*,

in such great matters, let such as reade, conceiue, not onely how great and frequent the tumults and perturbations of this people haue beene; but also, how rudely both the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*, and diuers other with them (being manifestly Atheists) vsed the true Church, as *Simeon*, *Zachary* and their poore flocke. But as then (among so many wolves and lions) some faithfull guardians of the true doctrine were referred; so (no doubt) but God will still continue it to all succeeding times; and as hee did to *Simeon* and the rest, so he will euermore stand in the iust defence of his Spouse the Church, supporting her, against all miseries whatsoeuer.

CHAP. IX.

Of a third Sect, contrary to the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*, who termed themselves by the name of *Effæans*: their originall Religion and maner of life.



Ordinarly happeneth, that when seditions haue once gotten themselves into actiue motion: many partialities and diuisions will thrust in after them. As *Homer* feigned, that the Storehouse or Armory (wherein *Aeolus* had locked vp the winds) being broken open: the Sea became troubled euery where, the windes flew abroad with such extraordinary violence; euen so in kingdoms & Empires, after that political order cometh to bee once troubled and disioyned; many diuisions must needs follow after. Many Sects exalted themselves, during these debates betweene the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*. For some, detesting the profane doctrine, and Ethnick licence of the *Sadduces*, and seeing Religion and piety masked by the *Pharises*, and that, to disguise great and grosse vices, such as were whoredome, ambition, malice, enuy, cruelty, lying, rapine, and the like, they let before mens eyes (as a cloud of dissimulation) dreadfull feueritie, and some seuerer ceremonies; beganne to

Matters left
by the Author
to the Reader
discretion
and iudgement

to diuide themselves from both one and other.

And these Séperatists & diuided people, formed a name for themselves, called *Effæans*, workers; by which title, they gaue me to vnderstand, that which they reproued in others, & wherein they would seem more excellent then they: namely, that they fled from the profane libertie of the *Sadduces*, & allowed not the hypocrisie of the *Pharises*, disguised in so many kindes: but that they would doe deeds or workes profitable to other, and commanded by God, hauing alwayes this vsuall sentence in their mouths; *Every word without work, is merely vaine and unprofitable.*

There is no mention made of them in the Ecclesiasticall history, either because they had not inuited any new kind of doctrine, but retained the doctrine of *Moses* & the *Sacrificers*; or in regard they dwelt at the end of *Iudea*, toward the lake *Asphaltuda*, as in a retiremēt, & neuer intermeddled with the government of affairs, thunning the contentions of the *Pharises* and *Sadduces*. Their maner of life was like to that of the Monkes; for, either they were not married, or if they were, they abstained from their wiuces; hauing their goods in cōmon, doing such businesse as were inioyned thē. They fought not after riches, voluptuous pleasures, or honors; but digged and delued in gardens, as in a life of solitude, seeking carefully for knowledge in the nature of Plants, and their iuyces, stones and animalls, learning their remedies, and exercising Physicke faithfully, which serued more then all other Artes for the life of man.

Moreover, they practised many vertues, as beneficence, patience in visiting sicke persons; such as were not able to helpe themselves, they would feed them, carry them, wash and bathe them, neuer shrinking at grosse fauors, coming either fro wounds, sweats, or other annoyances. Their cunning, faith & diligence was very commendable, in knowing wel how to prepare medicaments; to know the kindes of diseases; what remedies were apt for them; to know also times & seasons, when physicke ought to be ministred. In briefe, the vertues & welldoing of a learned, industrious and faithfull Physitian appeared in the most of them.

And as it is a good thing, that youth

should be enstructed in learning, the doctrine of good maners, the Art of physick, and to accustom their tender spiritues to discipline, & the vnderstanding of virtue: euen so in the assembly of the *Effæans*, the very skillfullest were chosen by a certaine number, who instructed many thoroughout *Iudea*. For all modest men, & such as shunned the managing of affaires in ciuile dissensions, affected rather to haue their children taught by the doctours of this Sect, then any other, which they held in horror, & would haue no acquaintance with them, seeing them so tempestuous in the Common-wealth, by their owne particular couetous desires, and continually mouing vnecessary contentions.

The *Effæans* addicted their life and religion principally to two heads or points, to wit: In calling vpon God in a priuate kind of life, and in honest bodily labours, which were the expulsion of vices, and profitable to other men. And for satisfaction both to the one and other, they had partition of times, so that they might attend on busines till the fifth houre of the day, that is to say, to eleuen houres before midday. Their labor ending at that houre, certain numbers of people (round about) met there together, according to the places distributed to euery one. In this assembly, some passage in *Moses* and the Prophets was read, the Auncients that sate as Presidents, gaue addition of the exposition: which they would not haue to be written, but retained in the minde, and so transferred to the government of manners, admonishing (according to the exigence of time) what they thought profitable for peace and tranquillitie, for they would haue none of their followers to meddle in the Common-wealth.

After this reading & exposition, they inuoked Gods assistance both in publique & particular. They held those times to be most meet for meditation & praier, when the body was not charged with meats & fumes, & that inuention is most sprightly in them, whose mindes were fasting from worldly cogitations. Two or 3. houres being employed in reading and prayer, euery one went to supper, or walked in company, or alone by himselfe, according as it stood with his good liking, or as his heart required. The rest of the day, vntill the Eueneng came, was spent in

Ddd 2

The Art of
Physicke is
meet and pro
fitable to be
learned by
young people.

The doctrine
and life of the
Effæans aimed
onely at two
speciall ends

Concerning
the meetings
and assemblies

What times
they repaied
most conuen
ient for me
ditation and
prayer.

No mention
made of the
Effæans in the
Ecclesiasticall
history.

The maner
how they li
ued in from
the tuition of
other men.

Veruous and
charitable
qualities ex
ercised by the
Effæans.

Diffinē in
some Arab
Pharises and
Sadduces.

The reason
why the peo
ple of Iud
ee were con
demned by the
Sadduces

The exercises
after receiving
suffenance.

Discipline ec-
clesiastical or-
dayned for
such as offend
ed against
the Lawes of
their colleges.

Math. 18. 17.

The princ-
pal part of
the doctrine
taught by
the Essæans.

Iosephus An-
tiquities c. 9.
Plin. lib. 5. c. 1.

The habitati-
on of the Es-
sæans.

learned discourse and talking of God, of Plants, of medicaments, and their experience in every thing: or else of the historie of their owne nation, and what miseries had beene common to them. Before the darke houres of night, they met together againe, and went to prayer.

Now, although the order of their behauiour and actions were wisely gouerned, and many (in their Colledges) liued modestly; yet notwithstanding it came to passe, that some of them (wonne by their owne courtoous desires) forgot the Lawes diuine, and (in the neighbouring towns) fell to voluptuous pleasures. But the rigour of each Colledge was such, as if any one had defrauded another, if hee had lied, or had infected himselfe with whoredome: immediately (by common sentence) hee was communicated out of the company. For (among them) was kept the most ancient custome of the Synagogue, whereof is spoken in Saint Matthew, Because there might no question be vrged, for instituting any new forme of Iudicature; but the playne auncient fashion, recited as it was giuen by the Fathers, the traces whereof are remaining in the Church.

This pollicie of the *Essæans*, comprehended the principall parts of their doctrine, to wit; the study of learning, the exercises of Inuocation, reuerence to their Gouernours, bodily labors, temperance, and modest maners according to the Decalogue, the nourishing of youth; who were instructed in learning, and the Art of Physicke; paines and punishments also appointed for delinquents. Iosephus commended the Colledge of the *Essæans*, comparing them to the Schoole of Pythagoras. Pliny also makes mention of them in very honorable maner, terming them *Essæans*, as (since then) diuers other did; for there he speaketh of no other people, but only the *Essæans*. Hee placeth their dwelling towards the Lake *Alphadita*, on the west side, not farre from the City of *Irrecho*, where were the gardens of Balme. It may be, that this place was chosen to study the Art of Physick, as not being the like in all the world, for abounding in all the principall medicines. By this passage of Pliny, and by Iosephus, it appeareth, that the colledge of the *Essæans* continued to the time of *Vespasian*; besides, Iosephus re-

porteth, that they carried themselves very valiantly in warre.

Now wil we returne to *Hyrcanus*, who after he had held the gouernement, and the High-priesthood 31 yeares, died, leauing 3. children. Hee was accounted singularly happy in 3. things; to wit, that he had bin so long a time a peaceable prince of the people, and the soueraigne Sacrificer adding thereto, that he was beleueed to haue the spirit of Prophecie. & knowledge in things to come, by the gift of god.

CHAP. X.

Having briefly discoursed on the 7. severall Sects, of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and *Essæans*: we goe backe againe where we formerly left, to speake of *Hyrcanus* and his Sonnes.

Iohn Hyrcanus had five sonnes, *Aristobulus* the first, *Antigonus* the second; a graue young man, who in his life time, accompanied with his brother *Aristobulus*, expelled *Antiochus Cyzicenus* out of *Iudea*, and tooke *Samaria*. The father being dead, his brother also was crowned King. But soone after, when hee had exploited the affaires in *Galilee*, he went vp to *Ierusalem*, accompanied with braue Souldiers, to be present at the Feast of Tabernacles. His brother growing suspicious of him, and causing him to be entrapped by his warlike troupes; he was slaine by them neare to the Temple.

Alexander the third called *Iamnes* also, had two sons, namely, *Hyrcanus* the first, *Aristobulus* the second. *Abolus* the fourth; being of a most milde and peaceable spirit, lued by himselfe priuately. A daughter of his was married to his cousin *Aristobulus*. The first sonne of *Hyrcanus* is not named at all, and yet was slayne by his brother *Alexander*: because that (after the death of *Aristobulus*) he affected the kingdom.

Aristobulus, after the death of his father *Hyrcanus*, being the first that changed the Principall into a dignitie Royall; imposed on himselfe the diademe, and sent also for his brother *Antigonus*, whom he loued. He put his other three brethren in prison, and that which is much more, he starued his owne mother to death in prison; because she denia-

The Author
saith that he
knewe this
Hillo
the

The valiant
action Anti-
gonus.

Antigonus
slaine by his
brother
means.

The first sonne
of Hyrcanus
is not named.

Aristobulus
was slaine
by his brother
of Iudea.

ded the succession and gouernement of the principalltie, which *Hyrcanus* had left vpon her on his death-bed.

Afterward, he caused his brother *Antigonus* to be slaine, he being a braue man, and a bolde warriour, laying diuerse ambushes for him, as hee returned victoriously from *Galilee*; only because he suspected that he affected the kingdom.

Immediately, beeing highly distastd by this murdering of his brethren, he became seized with a grievous paine in his entrails, and having cast vp a great quantitie of blood by vomiting, the Page that carried the Balon from him, fell (accidentally) in the same place, where the ground remained as yet infected with the blood of murdered *Antigonus*; and there he spilt the cast blood of *Aristobulus*: which hee vnderstanding, and falling into acknowledgement of the diuine iust vengeance; in excessive torments both of soule and body, yielded vp the ghost. After he had reigned one whole yeare onely, and during which time, hee had augmented the kingdom of *Iudea*, and constrained the *Iudeans* to vndergoe Circumcision, hauing formerly vanquished them. He was called *Philellin*, because hee vsed greatly the familiarity of Pagans.

Alexander, called also *Iamnes*.

His father *Hyrcanus* neuer saw him, for as he was in great care about the succession of his children: it was forcolde him in his sleepe, that his riches and principalltie, should fall into the power of that new borne babe, whereat hee growing greatly offende, commanded, that hee should be nurshed in *Galilee*, like to a simple priuate person.

After the death of his father *Hyrcanus*, he was clapt vp in prison (with his two other brethren) by *Aristobulus*. But *Aristobulus* dying at his yeares expiration, hee came to the Crowne, by the means of *Alexandra*, wife to *Aristobulus*, to whom he had promised marriage.

Soone after he was crowned King, he slew one of his brethren, who practised nouelties; and entertained the other (named *Abolus*) honorably, because he was of a peacefull spirit. Then taking order for publicke affaires, hee besieged the citie of *Polomias* round about. The citizens seeing all hope of succour voyde from *Syria*, in regard of the ciuile ware, which made

mighty haucke there; called from *Cyprus* *Ptolomee Lathurus*, expelled by his mother *Cleopatra*. He coming to them with 3000 men, *Alexander* retired his army into his countrey, and dispatched a messenger secretly into *Egypt*, desiring ayde of *Cleopatra* against her son *Lathurus*. Publickly he capitulated alliance with *Lathurus*, promising him 24 tunns of gold, if, expelling the tyrant *Zolus*, who vsurped *Doris* and *Cæsarea*, he would render those Seigneuries to the Lewes.

But *Ptolomee* being aduertised of *Alexanders* secret machinations, breaking all alliances, invaded *Iudea* with his Army, where *Alexander* mette him with his forces well appoynted, and after a rude encounter, *Alexander* was put to flight, and lost 30000. of his men. *Lathurus* not a little glorying in this victory, made mightie waite in *Iudea*, lacking & spoyling all places where he came, killing both women and children in euery village; and after he had sliced them in peeces, he caused their limbes to be boyled and eaten by his souldiers, to make them the more terrible to the Lewes. Very soone after, *Cleopatra* chased this Tyrant out of *Iudea*, as doubting lest if he should grow any greater, the he would further insult vpon *Egypt*. *Alexander* went to visite her at the siege which she maintained before *Polomias*, where he gaue her great gifts: and after he had bin royally welcomed by her, and combined alliance with her, he tooke his way homeward againe.

Much about this time, while *Lathurus* returned to *Cyprus*, and *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, *Alexander* tooke *Gadera*, *Anathunta* and *Anhedon*, and hauing held a long siege before *Gaza*, with losse of a great number of his men: finally, by the treason of *Lysimachus*, he entred it, & slaying the Citizens most inhumanely, hee rased it to the ground. Nor would he pardon 500. of the principall persons, who labored to yield the city to him. But drew them from forth the Temple of *Apollo* (whereunto they had fled for freedom) to put them to death. But these iocund prosperities were overtaken with a domesticall sedition: for, in the Feast of Tabernacles, he was iniured by the people, as vnworthy of the Priestthoode, because hee was borne of a slaue: And hardly it happened, that (in his sacrificing) he was not slayne

An II. in the
first Carpath-
ian, where were
Cilicia and
Syria.

A country of
Greece, neare
the gulf of Me-
leus.

The great
armies of
Lathurus a-
gainst the
Lewes in
Iudæa.

Polomias by
the red Sea.

Cities of
Decapolis in
Syria.

The barbarous
butcheries of
Alexander
the High
priest.

Alexander hardly escaped killing, & bloody revenge it on the people.

The Moabites & Galaadites conquered.

The Iewes entered into ciuill warre against Alexander.

Alexander findeth help in his heauy extremity.

The most part of the Iewes in Armes still againe: Alexander.

Eight hundred cheefe Iewes crucified by Alexander, while he banquetted with his Concubines.

by the multitude then about him, who smote him with the boughes and branches, which the *Iewes* vsed to carry at that Feast. Not a little enraged at this wrong, he called his souldiers together, and entering vpon the vnarmed people, slew about fixe thousand of them: calling diuers strangers from *Perſia* and *Cilicia*, to serue as a Guard about his body. Afterward, marching forth with his Army, he vanquished the *Moabites* and *Galaadites*, compelling them to pay him tribute.

Shortly after, to his great misfortune, hee encountered with *Oboda*, King of the *Arabians*, fell into his ambushes, and his Army being hewen in pieces, hee escaped with much difficulty. Vpon this bad lucke, the *Pharisees* (enraged with hatred against him) tooke occasion to raise the most part of the Iewish people likewise in mislike of him, which whom he warred (very hardly) fixe whole yeares. For the *Iewes* that were his aduersaries, drew *Demetrius*, the Sonne of *Gryphus*, to oppose his forces with such troops as hee had called from *Damas*, where hee engaged: against whom *Alexander* fought to his great losse, for all his strange Souldiers lay slaine in the field, & he had no means to saue himselfe, but by flight. Yet, notwithstanding his instant calamity, some of the *Iewes* were hardened to take his part, in turning requitall vpon *Demetrius*: and being assisted with some fixe thousand men, he made a final recovery of his former losse.

Now, albeit vpon this victory, *Demetrius* (perceiuing the result of the *Iewes*) retired his host home into his kingdom: yet notwithstanding, the most part of the *Iewes* (who were coniuured against *Alexander*) continued in Armes still, whose power *Alexander* brake by little and little, as well through industry, as by vertue. And after he had sped well in some skirmishes, hee shutt vp his very mightiest enemies, in the Fort belonging to the Towne of *Bethom*, which he enforced with great difficulty, & vsed extreme cruelty vpon his captiues. For he tooke eight hundred of the principal *Iewes*, causing them all to be crucified, while hee banquetted at a Table with his Concubines, and in the presence of all his invited guests, hauing formerly commanded their wiues and children to be miserably

murdred. The rest (affrighted by this cruel example) fled out of *Ierusalem* in the night time, being about eight thousand of his enemies.

By this meanes, that dreadfull ciuill warre was appeased, which had continued more then fixe yeares; and wherein, about fifty thousand *Iewes* were slaine. After these domesticke troubles, by continuall courses hee reuenged himselfe on strange aduersaries, who had giuen succour and retreat to the seditious *Iewes*, winning from them many Townes and Cities. Returning home againe, through his intemperance, hee fell into a Feauer quartane, which held him for the space of three yeares. And yet, hating to abstaîne (all this while) from traualle and war, dyed in besiedging a Castle on the Mount of the *Gergeſenians*, in the nine and fortieth yeare of his age; of his reigne and Priesthood, the seuen and twenty. Before his death, he left his kingdomes government to his wife *Alexandra*, and gaue her charge to pacifie the *Pharisees*, whom he and his Father had offended, vnto their great detriment.

He left two Sons: *Hyrcanus* & *Aristobolus*.

Of whom we shall haue leysure to speak hereafter; because first of all, we are to say some what concerning *Alexandra*, the wife of *Alexander Iannes*.

Alexandra, wife to *Alexander Iannes*.

After shee had instituted in the High Priesthood her eldest sonne *Hyrcanus*, who desired nothing more, then to leade a private life: shee succeeded in the kingdom after her husband *Alexander*, being especially aided by the power of the *Pharisees*, to whom she gaue authority, to reuocate and erect their ancient traditions, which *Hyrcanus* (her father in law) had abolished, & granted to them many other fauours beside. So that the *Pharisees* administered the whole Regiment of the Kingdom at their owne pleasure; onely the bare name of Queene remained to *Alexandra*. Finally, as they vnderooke the boldnesse, to execute (vnder colour of iustice) the cheefeſt Councellors to the deceased King *Alexander*, who they suspected to haue incited him against the *Pharisees* Sect: so they proceeded on in many inhumanities. The friends of *Alexander* going to *Rome* with his sonne *Aristobolus*, obtained (by fauor of the Court)

Size yeares still wear the the liues of more then fifty thousand Iewes.

Alexander died in war, besiedging a Castle.

Hyrcanus, eldest sonne to Alexander created high Priest.

A woman regetteth out the Iewes.

Alexanders friends goe with Aristobolus to Rome.

to goe as Captaines of warlike troopes, to the Castles.

At this time, *Tygranes* King of the *Parthians*, made seizure on the kingdom of *Syria*; because the *Syrian* Kings had consumed all their strength and power by domesticke warres. And being entred also into *Iudea*, planted his Campe before the City of *Plolomais*: whereof (neuertheless) Queen *Alexandra* bought the peace by liberrall bounty of gifts. After the taking of *Plolomais*, *Tygranes* returning with his Army to his Countrey: heard newes concerning the victory of *Lucullus*, and the flight of *Mithridates*.

Within a while after, *Alexandra* being fallen into an extreme sicknesse, her Son *Aristobolus*, taking in ill part the dominion of the *Pharisees*: fled to the friends of his Father, who had the guarding of the castles, by whose assistance, he got possession of the principall Cities in *Iudea*. In this feare of the *Pharisees*, and no great assurance of *Aristobolus*, who (neuertheless) approached neere with his Army; *Alexandra* was called out of this life, in the ninth yeare of her Reigne, and the Lxxv. of her age, which brought peace to the Land of *Iudea*. But because she had encreased the power of the *Pharisees*; it was the reason of many troubles which followed.

The sonnes of *Alexander Iannes*, and of *Alexandra*, were (as hath bene said)

Hyrcanus the second.

Aristobolus the second.

Hyrcanus the second, naturally peacefull, and a louer of quietnesse, was installed by his Mother *Alexandra* Soueraigne Sacrificer, in the place of his deceased Father. And moreover, after the death of his Mother, by hereditary right he obtained the kingdom. But being vanquished by his Brother *Aristobolus* in battel, he was glad to saue himselfe in the Fortresse of the Temple; commanded there to leade a priuate life, the kingdom and High Priesthood being quitted to his Brother. For some time he endured these conditions, but being afterward moued by some accusations, which *Antipater* the *Idumean* (father to *Herod*) put into his head, as also the frauds and fetches of his brother *Aristobolus*; hee was induced to flye thence into *Arabia*, to king *Aretas*, whom *Antipater* had won by liberrall pro-

mises, to attempt the restitution of *Hyrcanus* to the kingdom of *Iudea*.

Aretas invading *Iudea* with a potent Army, and hauing *Aristobolus* at the encounter; ouercame him, and taking the City of *Ierusalem*, held him so long besiedged in the Temple, vntill by the command of *Scarnus*, Lieutenant to *Pompey*, he was forced to retire with his Army into *Arabia*, and so the enterprize for *Hyrcanus* proved to none effect. After that *Pompey* had vanquished *Tygranes*, & was come into *Syria*, the two brethren, *Hyrcanus* and *Aristobolus*, accused each other before him, touching their right to the Kingdom and High Priesthood. But *Pompey*, more enclining to the part of *Hyrcanus*, by the providence and seruices of *Antipater*, released *Aristobolus* vnder certain conditions. Neuertheless, *Aristobolus* meaning nothing but meere mockery to all commands, and trusting to the munitions in the City of *Ierusalem*; *Pompey* (in reuenge) entred it violently, and won the Temple so strongly defended, where were slaine of the *Iewes*, about the number of two and twenty thousand, and the City (with the most part of *Iudea*) rendered tributary to the *Romaines*. Which tribute they payed for a certaine time, as *Iosephus* confesseth, amounting to the sum of 10000. Talents, which is 60. Tuns of gold. *Pompey* hauing walked in the Temple, and entred into the holiest part of all, called *Sanctum Sanctorum*: at his departing, restored *Hyrcanus* to the Soueraigne Priesthood, but not the kingdom. Also, he led along with him to *Rome*, *Aristobolus* as prisoner, with his two sonnes, *Alexander* (who neuertheless escaped by the way) and *Antigonus*, and his two daughters likewise.

Thus *Hyrcanus*, being possessed of the soueraigne Priesthood, about foure yeares after the death of his Mother *Alexandra*, succored *Scarnus* (left in *Iudea* with two legions) when he besiedged *Petra*, a City of *Arabia*. Afterward, hee fell into the fauor of other *Romain* Lieutenants, sent into *Iudea* only by the perswasion and friendship of *Antipater*, as with *Gabinus*, *Craſſus*, *Cassius* and *Iulius Caesar* himselfe, to who he sent aid, vnder the conduct of *Antipater*, when he was much hindred in the war of *Egypt*. And because *Antipater* had caried himselfe valiantly, *Cesar* confirmed the high Priesthood to *Hyrcanus* & appointed *Antipater* to be

Aretas invaded Iudea to restore Hyrcanus.

The two brethren please their cause before Pompey.

Iudea and Jerusalem tributary to the Romans.

Iosephus Ant. lib. 13. cap. 7.

Aristobolus led prisoner to Rome by Pompey.

Hyrcanus in good fauor with many of the Romain Lieutenants.

Antipater
protector of
all Iudea.

be Tutor, Curator, or (as we vie now a dayes to speake) Protector of all *Iudea*. At the same time also, *Cesar* permitted to *Hyrcanus*, to re-establish the fortifications of the City of *Ierusalem*, which had bene beaten downe by *Pompey*.

Antipater
prosecuted by
Malachus a
s. i. w.

After that *Iulius Cesar* was slaine by the conspirators, a powerfull Iew, named *Malachus*, being offended at the encreasing greatnesse of *Antipater* the Idumean, and that the whole administration of affaires should be in his hand; surprized his life by poisons. But thereupon, *Iudea*, being destitute of so wise and valiant a Gouernour, fell to very miserable condition. For *Malachus*, tempesting his thoughts with mounting hopes, to become sole maister and commander; was slaine euen in the entrance to his enterprises, by *Herode* sonne to *Antipater*, to whom (though he was as yet very yong) his father had giuen the charge of *Galilee*. On the other side, the brother of *Malachus*, desirous to reuenge the death of his brother, chequed in the manner of an enemy. Also, *Antigonus* the captiued son to *Aristobolus*, escaping from the prisons of *Rome*: leuying men of arms, made him selfe maister of a great part of *Iudea*.

Antigonus
escaped the
Roman pri-
sons.

After that *Herode* had imbarred his proceedings, *Antigonus* vnder promise of a thousand talents, which value fixe runns of golde, and of five hundred most noble women; procured *Pacorus* and *Barzaphernes*, Satrapes in the Kingdome of *Persia*, to enter with a maine army into *Iudea*, to ouerthrow *Herode* and his brother *Phaselus*, whom *Antionne* (one of the three Monarches) had before made Tetrarchs of *Iudea*. Which beeing done, they should perforce render the kingdom of the Iewes, to the sonnes of *Aristobolus*.

Herode and
Phaselus Te-
trarchs in
Iudea.

Pacorus thinking it best, that *Herode* should be surprized rather by subtiltie, then by violence; sent *Antigonus* on before with some bands of men, to get possession of *Ierusalem*; and he (in the meane while) would follow with his Armie by Sea, so farre as to *Ptolomis*, where he had ordered, that *Barzaphernes* should meete him with a passable Army. Many gaue kind welcomes to *Antigonus*, running affectionately to him, and promising their ayde against *Herode*. Nevertheless, *Herode* and his brother found themselves the stronger in many encounters, not on-

ly within the City, but also without the walls.

Finally, *Antigonus* distrustful his forces, called *Pacorus* into the City, vnder pretence, that (as an Arbitrator) hee should compound the difference for the Principalltie, which was betwene him and *Herode*, vnder conditions more tolerable: but his purpose was indeede, to surprize *Herode* vnprovidd. Moreouer, hee laboured with his vncle *Hyrcanus* and *Phaselus*, worming it to into their heads, to go in embassie to *Barzaphernes* (remaining in *Galilee* with his army) and to preuaile to farr with him by rich presents, that he should reitreite his power into *Syria*. To which counsell *Hyrcanus* the High-priest, and *Phaselus* (brother to *Herode*) yeelding, without suspect of ill, were taken by the *Parthians*, (euen as the matter was in monopolizing) contrary to the right of Nations, and deliuered as captiues to *Antigonus*.

Herode being formerly aduertised of these plots and compacts of *Antigonus* & *Pacorus*; went forth of the City in the night season, with all his family, some friends, and 800. women, rich and excellent in beautie, and left the persons and their goods in custody of *Massada*, a well defended City of *Idumea*: which being done, he went thow *Egypt* to *Rome*, euen in the worst time of all the world.

Phaselus, brother to *Herode*, doubting the cruelty of *Antigonus*, because he was without armes, and bound; ranne his head (with great violence) diuers times against the wall, and by that meanes slew himselfe.

Antigonus, not contented with the depoyling *Hyrcanus* of the High-priest-hood, caused him beside to become deformed, by cutting off his eares, fearing lest he should afterward attain to the Priesthood againe. For it was not lawfull, that any gelded man, or defective in any limbe or member of body, should administer in sacrificing. Moreouer, distrustful that he had not sufficiently enough provided for his owne security; hee deliuered *Hyrcanus* captiue to the *Parthians*, to carry him out of *Iudea*, as farre as possibly they could.

The flight of *Herod* being come to the notice of the barbarous vnciuile people, and they singularly displeased for the wo-

Antionne is
practisly by
cunning, to
compa, that
which he a-
med at.

Hyrcanus and
Phaselus are
prisoners

Herode de-
parts, and go-
eth secretly
to Rome.

Phaselus de-
spairingly kills
himselfe.

The cruelty
of our bro-
ther to Antio-
net.

The spoile &
hauck of the
barbarous
multitude, &
Hyrcanus led
away captiue.

The spoile &
hauck of the
barbarous
multitude, &
Hyrcanus led
away ca, tiue

men: which *Antigonus* formerly had promised to them; pilled and spoiled the city and the palace royall. And yet not satisfied with this booty, robbed many places about *Ierusalem*, without leauing any thing behinde them. And after they had ordained *Antigonus* King of *Ierusalem*: they withdrew their armed troupes home into their owne country, leading *Hyrcanus* (the soueraigne Sacrificer) along with them captiue.

Hyrcanus de-
liuered by K.
Phraates, and
sent into Ba-
bylon.

It was not long after, that *Phraates* king of the *Parthians*, beeing informed of the nobilitie whereof he was defended; did set him at libertie, and sent him into *Babylon*, to be President ouer the Iewes inhabiting there, where, for about five yeares he was in great honor. But hauing heard, that not onely *Herode* obtained the kingdome of *Iudea*, by *Augustus Cesar*; but also, that he was conioined to him in affinity, because hee had taken in marriage his Niece *Mariam*, the daughter of *Alexander*: he thought on returning him backe againe, promising him mountaines and meauiles, for the good will of *Herode*.

Herode wor-
keth with the
King of Par-
thia, for the
return of Hy-
rcanus into Iu-
dea.

About this time it fortun'd, that *Herode*, desirous to beget vnto him the courage of the Iewes, whom hee knew to beare great affection to *Hyrcanus*: repealed him backe by Letters and Ambassadors, and forthwith sent great Presents to the king of the *Parthians*, to pay the ranfome for his captiuitie. Whereupon, *Hyrcanus* thinking there would not be any further question of deferring; contrary to the counsell of al the Iewes which were in *Babylon* (who entreated him earnestly to stay there, as fearing that which followed after) returned into *Iudea*.

Hyrcanus ho-
nourably en-
terained by
Herode.

Herode wellcomed him very magnificently, and (for some time) vied him honourably; euen to the appealing of his father, and often conferring with him on the very principall affaires. Notwithstanding, he would not surrender to him the principallty of the high-Priesthood, for the defect of his eares: but, instead of *Antigonus* (slaine before) substituted a certaine man, named *Annelus*, come from *Babylon*, to enjoy the Priesthood. Soone after, he gaue manifest signes of his deadly hatred, against all the posterity of the *Asmoneans*. As, when (by a close ambush) he slew *Aristobolus*, nephew to *Hyrcanus*, and his most dearly affected wife *Maria-*

na, Niece also to the said *Hyrcanus*.

Finally, after the ouerthrow of *Mark Antony*, one of the 3 chief rulers, to whom *Herode* had bene companion, and sent him succors diuers times in war, as some sad thoughts ouertooke him, for feare of *Augustus* being Conquerours and of his aduersaries thorow the country of *Iudea*, but especially fearing the people (who loued him not) should mutiny by this occasion, & transferre the kingdom of their Ancestors to *Hyrcanus* (who only remained of the roiall family of the *Asmoneans*) began to lay snares and close contriuings against the life of the miserable old man. For, he imposed a false crime vpon him; that hee would haue vsurped the Kingdome: and to make it probable, he composed counterfeited Letters, whereupon he being condemned by sentence of the great Consistory, was executed, albeit he was about 80. yeares olde. All his lifetime was troublesome vnto him, being agitated with infinit accidents of fortune, yet he (naturally) affecting quietnes, and a meane estate. Only herein reprehensible, that he was too facile, in listening to such as prouoked him on to the attempting of fond nouelties.

Hyrcanus on-
ly left of the
noble Asmo-
neans family.

Herod caused
Hyrcanus to
be most wrong-
fully put to
death.

Aristobolus the second.

Brother to the aboue named *Hyrcanus* the second, and sonne of *Alexander*: As young a man as he was, and of hote and liuely spirit, yet notwithstanding, for nine yeares space, he left to his Mother the administration of the Kingdome, which *Alexander* (dying) gaue to him, contenting himselfe with a priuate life. But at the length, his mother being detayned by a long sicknesse, and very dangerous, and he (not a little offended) that all matters were guided according to the fancie of the Pharisees; by stealth made his recourse into the city, and conferred with the friends to his deceased father, who had the keeping of the Castles. Being ayded by them in bountifull manner, he gathered an army, by whose assistance, hee possessed himselfe of diuers neighboring places about *Ierusalem*.

Aristobolus
had a gallant,
youthfull and
hote ayd of
nature.

His strength-
ning himselfe
by his fathers
friends.

His mother *Alexandra* dying, vpon this his preparative for warre; *Hyrcanus*, who all the life time of his mother as Queene, had held the High-priest-hood: being

Hyrcanus is overcome by Aristobolus in battell.

The hope of Hyrcanus to recover the Kingdome againe from his brother Aristobolus.

Seaurus raiseth the siege which was laid to Ierusalem.

The coming of Pompey to Damas.

Pompey entered into Iudea with his Armye.

being the eldest son, made himselfe King by right of inheritance. And to defend his right by Armes, hee went to affront his brother neare to *Iericho*, with an army or dred in good equipage. But being left of his people, who revolted to *Aristobolus*, vnder hope and perswasion of better recompence; he had no other helpe, but to shield himselfe in the munition of the Temple, where he was for some time besieged by his brother, and finally deliuered, vpon condition, that he should leaue the Kingdome and High-priest hooide to his brother, and leade a priuate life by himselfe.

Some while after, hee conueyed himselfe covertly into *Arabia*, by the perswasion of *Antipater*; as hoping to regaine the Kingdome from his brother, by the meanes of king *Aretas*. *Aristobolus* knowing the comming of *Aretas*, King of the *Arabians*, with *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*, went forth to meete them: and being vanquished in a day of warre triall, hardly fled backe againe to *Ierusalem*, where hee was (for a time) besieged by the enemies, that closely followed his footing, vntill such time, as hauing promised 300. talents to *Seaurus*, Lieutenant to *Pompey*, he persuailed thereby so well; that *Seaurus* sending in the name of the *Roman* people to *Aretas*, commanded him to auoyd out of *Iudea*, except hee would be enemy to the *Romans*. By this meanes the siege was raised; and *Aristobolus*, desirous to be reuenged, assembled men, and made warre vpon the *Arrabes*, of whom he slew fixe thousand in one fight.

While these things were thus in working, *Pompey*, hauing pacified the East parts, came to *Damas*, where *Aristobolus* sent him a magnificent Present, accusing his brother *Hyrcanus* very strongly to be a perturber of the common peace. *Pompey* heereupon appointed, that at the Spring time, both the brethren should be personally present, before him at *Damas*. Where *Pompey* vnderstanding the difference betwene them, was more inclined to the case of *Hyrcanus*; as well for the equitie of his cause, as for his loue vnto *Antipater*. Neuerthelesse, he suffered *Aristobolus* to depart vnder conditions, which he cared not to keep, but (by machinations) made a mockerie at the matters commanded him; and (indeed) did

nothing at all. Heereat *Pompey* being highly offended, entred into *Iudea*, with the Army, which he had brought against the *Arabian Nabathians*. And because *Aristobolus* had againe mocked *Gabinus*, one of the Lieutenants to *Pompey*, not furnishing him (according to promise) concerning the deliuering of certaine summes of money: *Pompey* being much incensed by the disloyalty of *Aristobolus*, brought his Army and Engins before *Ierusalem*, and because the Iewes would not yeeld themselves, he tooke the Cittie by force, ayded by the councill of *Hyrcanus*; on the fasting day of the third month before *Pentecost*; and in the year when *Marcus Tullius Cicero* confounded the Conspiracie of *Cataline* in Rome.

In the surprisall of the Cittie two and twenty thousand Iewes were slaine by the Souldiers, and *Pompey* (with his friends) entred into the place called *Sanctum Sanctorum*, and intruded to see such things as were not lawfull, but onely for the Soueraign Sacrificer. And vnderstanding that there were great summes of Golde and gold money in the Treasury, and twelue tunns of siluer coyne; without taking anie thing, he departed thence, and commanded the place to be purified againe. Hee restored *Hyrcanus* to the high-priesthood, and caused the authors of the warre to be beheaded, who had bene motives to the rebellion of *Aristobolus*. Afterward, he demolished the walles of *Ierusalem*, and made all *Iudea* tributarie to the *Romaine* people. Also he adiudged to the Empire of *Rome*, the Citties and Townes of the *Asmoneans*, which were takē before from the Kings of *Syria*: restoring also such libertie, as in times past had liued in freedom. By this meanes hee locked vp the nation of the Iewes within narrow limits, that before had extended their dominion very farre.

At his departure, hee left two legions in *Iudea*, vnder the conduction of *Seaurus*, taking *Aristobolus* captiue, with *Alexander* and *Antigonus* his two sonnes, to leade them home in triumph: but *Alexander* (hauing deceived his keepers) escaped by the way. Here was the beginning of the feruente of the Iewish nation, who were thus enthrallē to the power of the *Romans*. The discord of two brethren gaue the first occasion of this calamitie: three-

* People of Atalia Felt betweene the Persian Sea and the Red Sea.

Ierusalem surpris'd by Pompey and his power.

The Sanctuaries polluted and profaned by the Romanes.

The Citties and Townes of the Asmoneans adiudged to the Empire of the Romanes people.

Iudea brought into slavery by the discord of a brethren.

The iniugement of heauen inflicted vpon Pompey

A towne on the edge of Egypt.

The death of Pompey.

The fort of Alexander newly strengthened.

Machabean pl. c. where Saint Iohn the Baptist was put to death.

three score yeares before the natiuitie of Christ; foure yeares before that *Aristobolus* (his Mother dead, and his Brother *Hyrcanus* deiected from the seate Royall) had taken the Kingdome of *Iudea*. Saint *Ierome* writeth, that *Iakin*, father to the euer-blessed Virgin *Marie*, was borne the same year that *Ierusalem* was surprized.

I thought it fit also, to insert heere the sad issue and successe of *Pompey*, considering, that it seemed to be done diuinely, that hee should be murdered face to face the place which hee had profaned, alwell by effusion of blood, as by foolish audaciousnesse. For, foureteeen yeares after the taking of *Ierusalem*, being vanquished by *Cesar* in the battaile of *Pharsalia*, and thinking to saue himselfe by flying to the Soone of *Ptolomie* the Fleutler, whom he had recommended to the *Romaine* Senate, when he was chased and banished out of his Kingdome neare to * *Pelusium*, coming forth of a small Barke, and aged about three score yeares; he was slaine by the command of King *Ptolomie*, in the presence of his wife *Cornelia*. And, as it is thought, *Virgill* wrote these verses on his death:

A great Trunk lying vpon the Sea shore,
A bodie without head; a head lying
Farre from the shoulders.

Pelusium is distant from *Ierusalem*, a little more then thirtie Germane miles, but iust confronting it, according to the calculation of *Ptolomie*. Scauen yeares after the surprizing of *Ierusalem*, *Aristobolus*, being escaped from imprisonment at *Rome*; came into *Iudea* with his other Sonne *Antigonus*, where againe he fortified the Fort of *Alexandria*, which *Gabinus* had destroyed. Many Iewes (affecting nouelties) ranne to him, so that being accompanied with eight thousand chosen men; hee dared to encounter with the *Romans*, which *Gabinus* (then Proconfull for *Syria*) conducted, who, but a little before, constrained *Alexander*, the other Sonne of *Aristobolus* (thinking to possess himselfe of the kingdome) to deliuer him vp those Fortresses, and to craue peace. But *Aristobolus*, sustaining the worst in a sharpe fight, retred with two bands of men, into the most strong towne of *Machabean*, situated on the Lake *Asphalida*, somewhat a little lower then the place where *Irdaine* enteth into it. In

which towne Saint *Iohn Baptist*, being a long while imprisoned, was finally beheaded. In two dayes the *Romans* conquered the towne perforce, and *Aristobolus* taken, was led to *Gabinus*, wounded as he was; and so the second time sent bound to *Rome*, with his two children.

Matters thus pacified in *Iudea*, *Gabinus*, attended by his Gendarmery, rescaited *Ptolomie* the Fleutler in his Kingdome, he being expelled thence by them of *Alexandria*; in which exiloe he was assisted by *Hyrcanus* the foueraigne Sacrificer, and *Antipater* the Idumean. At his returne, he found all in *Iudea* and *Syria* full of troubles and tempests, for *Alexander* rauaged againe throughout *Iudea*; but *Gabinus* overcame him in a day of battell (where he had worke enough to doe) and chased him quite out of *Iudea*; hauing massacred ten thousand Iewes.

Afterwards hee continued two yeares in the Prouince, gouerning all matters quietly, according to the testimony of *Iosephus*. And hauing repayed many Townes, which had bene much spoiled in the precedent warre; he left the Army in the power of *Marcus Crassus*, a verie greedy and couetous man, who attempting warre against the *Parthians*, arriued there in Ierusalem, in the year after his second Consulship, one and fiftie yeares before the birth of Christ.

This man hauing intelligence, that there was a great masse of money locked vp in the Temple of the Iewes, went to *Ierusalem*, and was admitted to the most secret place of the Temple, from whence (contrary to his former faithfull promise) hee carried away more then ten thousand talents, that is to say, three score tunnes of golde; beside a beame of gold, which weighed three hundred Minaes, or (as *Iosephus* expoundeth it) seven hundred and fifty *Romaine* pounds weight, amounting to fise Quintalles and more then an halfe of our weight. *Elaszar*, Guardian of the Temple, deliuered that beame to *Crassus* very willingly, because he had promised and protested by oathe, that hee would not touch any treasure of the Temple, no more then *Pompey* had done tenne yeares before.

Now, concerning this auaricious Proconfull, loone after, hee dearly payed for his wilfull periury and sacrilege; being miserably

Ptolomie the Fleutler rescaited to his Kingdome by Gabinus.

Io. in Ann. Iud. l. 9. c. 15.

Marc. Crassus receiued charge of the Armie.

Crassus beareth his faith plighte to Elaszar guardian of the Temple.

The iustice of heauen on Crassus for his periury & sacrilege.

miserably slaine by the *Parthians*, with his son *Publius*, an excellent towardly young man, and wel-neare thirty thousand *Romaines*, that rather would bee slaine, then taken; *Crassus* was then threecore yeares of age.

Pitholus a Jewraileth runneth on the behalfe of *Aristobulus*.

In the meane while, one *Pitholus*, a very powerful Jew, and friend to *Aristobulus* the captiue; after his second surprisall, beganne to raise tumults in *Iudea*, and weakened the side of *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*. But after the ouerthrow of the *Romaines* by the *Parthians*, when *Cassius*, Questor to *Crassus*, re-assembled the rest of the *Romaine* Armie, who had fled away, and brought them backe into *Syria*, and as he rancked the Cities of *Iudea* for want of mony: he was perswaded by *Antipater* and *Hyrcanus* the High-priest, to make triall of his forces againt *Pitholus*, whom he vanquished in the field of battell, and brought him captiue with the *Romaine* army into *Syria*, so that thereon ensued peace in *Iudea* for some time.

Cassius takes *Pitholus* prisoner.

Five yeares after, the warre was kindled betweene *Cesar* and *Pompey*, and *Cesar* comming to *Rome* (forsaken of *Pompey*) tooke *Aristobulus* out of prison, and sent him into the East with two Legions, to subdue *Syria* & *Iudea*. But being poisoned by the way, by them that tooke part with *Pompey*: hee remayned long time in the Ile of *Malta* vnburi'd, vntill *Marke Anthony*, one of the three Monarchs, sent his body into *Iudea*, and commanded that he should be interred in the Sepulchre of Kings.

Aristobulus poisoned and buried in the Sepulchre of Kings.

Such was the end of *Aristobulus*, after many mutations of fortune, hauing bene twice taken and sent to *Rome*, where hee was almost foureteeen yeares prisoner. He was of a factious and feditious spirit, for being moued with ambition, he quarrelled for the kingdome of *Iudea* with his brother *Hyrcanus*: vntill such time as hee caused his death, and brought his Countrey into miserable seruitude, which proued the ruine of all his nation.

The feditious spirit of *Aristobulus*.

He had two sons, and as many daughters; *Hyrcanus* the second his first sonne, soueraigne Sacrificer, who had a daughter named *Alexandra*, married to his cousin *Alexander*: a woman wife, but very vehement, whom *Herode* afterward put to death. *Aristobulus* the second had *Alexander*, *Antigonus* the second, *Alex-*

The Sonne murdered by his owne Father, to enioy his wife.

andra. First married to *Philippion*, sonne to *Ptolomy*, king of *Chalcis*, which is a Region on the coast of *Libanus*. Afterward, *Ptolomy* (inflamed with the loue of his daughter in lawe) slew his sonne *Philippion*, and tooke her in marriage. And after succoured and defended his brother *Antigonus*, againt *Herode* and the *Romaines*.

Alexander the second.

Surprized with his father *Aristobulus* by *Pompey*; before he arrived at *Rome*, deceived his guardes, and escaped. Five yeares after, assisted by an Armie, hee invaded *Iudea*, expelled his vncle *Hyrcanus* from *Jerusalem*, repayed the destroyed munitions, and planted there a Garrison. But *Gabinus*, Proconsull of *Syria*, being called thereto by *Hyrcanus* and *Antipater*, having fought with him in battell; held him a long time besieged in the City of *Alexandria*, vntill such time as he was constrained to yeeld himselfe, and put downe the chiefest fortifications. Being pacified by the entreaties of *Alexander's* mother (who alwayes condemned the foolish enterprises of her sonne againt the *Romaines*) hee obtayned pardon for *Alexander*. Neuertheless, *Gabinus* sent him to *Rome* with his father *Aristobulus*, and *Antigonus* his brother captiues: yet writing to the Senate, that it might stand with their good liking, to send backe the children of *Aristobulus* to their mother, because he had made such a promise in name of the Senate; in regarde that that valiant woman, had euermore take good part with the *Romaines*.

Alexander escaped from his keepers before hee came to *Rome*.

The exploits of *Gabinus* for the sonnes of *Aristobulus*.

The Senate was willing heerein to gratifie *Gabinus*, but *Alexander*, being returned into *Iudea*; returned bad recompence to *Gabinus*, and the Senate; for the great grace which they had granted him. For, seeing *Gabinus* to be hindred in *Egypt*, by much trouble (as hath already bene said) being fauored with thirty thousand men: againe he strove to subgiuate *Iudea*, and cruelly murdered all the *Romaine* Souldiers, that he could finde in the garrisons of the surprized Cities. For which cruelty, hee payed the iust punishment about five yeares after.

The ill-requell of *Alexander* to *Gabinus* and the *Romaine* Senate.

Gabinus being returned into *Iudea*, laboured first to appease these matters with *Antipater*: but no way preuayling, hee vnted the forces of the *Romaine* Armie, giuing

uing a violent and dangerous encounter to *Alexander*, wherein ten thousand *Jewes* lost their liues, and the rest driuen all in rout. *Alexander* (striving to saue himselfe, and seeing his attempts so often times frustrated, and his forces broken; lay close hidden for a while, vntill he vnderstoode, that ciuile warre was kindled betweene *Pompey* and *Cesar*, and his father *Aristobulus* (deliuered out of prison) came thither with two legions. Then he bestirred himselfe to leuy Souldiers also; but was taken in *Syria*, euen vpon the very beginning of his enterprise, and led to *Antioche* to *Scipio*. Before him the *Romaines* accused him of cruelty, which he had vsed againt the *Romaine* Souldiers in the Garrisons: whereupon, by Commaund receiued from *Pompey*, hee was beheaded before *Scipio*, who then helde *Syria*, some few moneths after the death of his father *Aristobulus*; forty sixe yeares before the Natiuity of Christ; and the selfe same yeare as *Pompey* was slaine in *Egypt*, as hath bin sayd.

Treacherie and dilloyalty lies in wait for his opportunity.

Alexander accused of cruelty before *Scipio*, & beheaded.

Alexander's children.

Antigonus was twice taken prisoner to *Rome*.

Antigonus complyeth to *Julius Cesar* against the gouernement of *Antipater*.

This *Alexander* had these children by *Alexandra*, daughter to *Hyrcanus* the second.

Aristobulus the third,
And
Mariana, whom *Herod* after espoused

But we shall speake hereafter of *Alexander's* children, because I am desirous first to relate somewhat, concerning the actions & fortunes of his brother *Antigonus*. *Antigonus*, the last sonne to *Aristobulus* the 2. was twice taken with his father, and sent to *Rome*: once by *Pompey*, and another time by *Gabinus*. But then (by the fauour of the Senate) he was returned into *Iudea* with his brother *Alexander*; & spent some time with his Mother in the City of *Ascalon*. Then hee went to *Ptolomy*, (Lord of *Chalcis*) his kinsleman, who refused to assist the fool-hardy and vnhappy attempts of his brother *Alexander*, for feare of the *Romaines*. But after the death of his father and brother, when as *Julius Cesar* had finished the war of *Alexandria*, & was come into *Spain*: he presented himselfe before him in al humility, and made a great complaint, as well of the pittifull ouerthrow of his father *Aristobulus*, as also of his brother ther *Alexander*, both being cruelly slaine by the partakers with *Pompey*.

He further proceeded, and taxed *Antipater* with vniust gouerning, who being but of a meane descent, and a stranger: had neuertheless vsurped the kingdome of the *Jewes*, and had left nothing to *Hyrcanus*, but the silly name of Soueraigne Sacrificer, doing all at his owne pleasure, to establish the power of his children, and pretending to take away the principallitie from the *Jewish*: the people (of the royall family of the *Asmoneans*) thereby to transfere it to his Sonnes. He said, that himselfe was the only man left, to whom the lawfull succession of the kingdome appertained; who notwithstanding, being spoiled of his hereditarie dignity, was forced to wander as a vagabond, a banished man and left to all distresse. Concluding finally with humble intercessions, hee requested, that the administration of the *Jewish* principality might be restored to him, and *Antipater* dismissed.

The allegations interred againt *Antipater* by *Antigonus*.

Whereunto *Antipater* answering, began to accuse *Aristobulus* and his sonnes before *Cesar*, because (contrary to all right and equity) he had violently rent the kingdome from *Hyrcanus* his eldest brother, and alwayes bene disloyall and an enemy to the *Romaines*: wherein, his sons had well followed his example, filling *Iudea* and *Syria* with tumults and blood: that being the maine reason, why *Aristobulus* was so long detained prisoner, and *Alexander* had his head smitten from his shoulders, for the cruelties he vsed to the *Romaines*. Afterward, hee procured faithfull witnesses, how modestly he had carried himselfe in gouerning, and what fauors he had euer extended to the *Romaine* Captiues. *Cesar* being thereto moued by these iust causes, licenced *Antigonus* to depart, and confirmed the High-priest-hood to *Hyrcanus*; and ennobling *Antipater* with new titles of Dignity, he constituted him Tutor of all *Iudea*.

Antipater accuseth *Aristobulus* and his sonnes before *Cesar*.

Antigonus dismissed from *Cesar* without any successe.

Antigonus much displeased with this refusal, returned to his kinsleman the king of *Chalcis*, where he contayned himselfe almost foure yeares space, vntill *Julius Cesar* was murdered by the Conspirators. For then, when all the world was vp in mutinie, and that *Cassius* (who was foraging in *Syria*, impeaching the warre againt *Marke Anthony*) had retired the *Romaine* Armies out of *Syria*: *Antigonus*, assisted by his kinsman *Ptolomy*, and other

Ecc neigh-

Antigonus in-
uaded Iudea
agayne with
treble forces.

An office for
gouerning
the fourth
part of the
Realme.

New deuises
and machina-
tions of Anti-
gonus to com-
passe his in-
tent.

What cannot
gold and wo-
men procure?

Authoritie
gotten by vi-
uall means
must needs
inioy the selfe
continuance.

Antigonus
bribes the Ro-
mane Cap-
taines.

neighbouring kings, inuaded Iudea with his Army againe; where *Herode* (his father *Antipater* being dead) being very powerful and strong, repelled and gaue him sharpe repulse, after the fighting of a battell with him.

Some years after, when *Anthony* one of the three Monarchs, had encreased the power of *Herode*, hauing ordained him (with his brother *Phaselus*) Tetrarches of all Iudea: *Antigonus* enraged with anger, thought it not tollerable, that the kingdome of Iudea should bee deuolued vnto strangers in this manner. Wherefore, to leuy a new Armie, hee had found out a young man of a fiery temper, named *Lysanias*, his kinsman and hoste; into whose hand the kingdome of *Chalcis* was fallen, by the death of his father *Ptolomy*, vnto whom (as hath afore bene sayd) *Alexandra*, the Sister of *Antigonus*, was giuen in marriage. As they were working vpon these conclusions, another occasion (very apt and opportune) offered it selfe, because (as then) the *Parthians* insulted ouer the Prouince of Syria, vnder the conduct of *Pacorus* and *Birzaphernes*. *Lysanias* hauing sent great presents to them, and a thousand Talents promised by *Antigonus*, as also five hundred women, excellen in nobility and beauty; they were hereby incited, to reseat *Antigonus* in possession of his fathers kingdome.

Before, in the life of *Hyrcanus*, we haue expressed the stratagem of the barbarous people, to surprize *Hyrcanus* and *Phaselus* (being Ambassadors) captiues, and how wickedly *Antigonus* did cut off his vnckles eares, sending him also captiue into *Parthia*, to the end, that hee might the more safely enioy the High-priesthood and the Kingdome. But this authoritie, gotten by such wicked cunning and practises, could not keepe firme, or last any long while. For soone after, *Herode* going to Rome, declared there to *Marke Anthony*, his flight and calamitie, complaining on the outrages and disloyaltie of *Antigonus*. In briefe, hee posed so well in his purpose, that instead of Tetrarch, he was proclaimed King of all Iudea, by consent of *Augustus*, *Anthony* and the Senate, and *Antigonus* adiudged enemy to the people of Rome. And although some *Romane* Capitaines, being sent with Legions into Syria, had charge to expulse *Antigonus*, and

put *Herod* in possession of the lew with kingdome: yet notwithstanding, by bribes and gifts, *Antigonus* kept them off from coming into Iudea.

At length, *Anthony* vnder taking warre against the *Parthians*, *Sofius* was sent into Iudea with a potent Army, to replant *Herode*; wherefore he and *Herode*, their forces being ioyned together, besieged some few monthes the Citie of *Ierusalem*. Finally, they tooke it by force, the seventh yeare after the death of *Cesar*, or of the Empire of *Octavius Augustus*, and the selfe same day that *Pompey* (seauen yeares before) had taken it.

At that time, as the Souldiers (indifferently on either side) slew and murdered one another, without sparing either age or sexe: *Antigonus*, not able to endure the sight of such a slaughter among the Cittizens, came willingly forth of the munitions of the Temple, and fell before the feete of *Sofius* the *Romane* Capitaine, crauing pardon for his offences, and desiring (about all else) that hee would reuizit the common people, who were no warriours, and to spare the Temple. But the proud Conquerour, making a mockerie of the suppliant King, called him oftentimes (in derision) *Antigonus*, and after sent him captiue into Syria to *Anthony*, who was returned from the warre of the *Parthians*.

Herode being possessed of the whole Kingdome, was aduertised, that *Anthony* purposed to leade *Antigonus* with him in triumph to Rome. And fearing withall, that in due consideration of his nobilitie, or in compassion of his miserie, *Augustus* and the Senate would free him from imprisonment, and send him backe agayne into Iudea: with much ado, he obtained of *Anthony*, by many reasons alleadged, and great gifts bestowed, that *Antigonus* was slaine.

The principal argument that made *Anthony* yeelde thereto, beyond all other, was, that Iudea would neuer be peaceable, so long as *Antigonus* liued. Considering, that many Iewes were so displeased by being subiects to him; as it was not possible, by horrible and extreamest torments, to force them acknowledge him the name of King. And therefore hee conceiued, that there would neuer want companions in seditions and mutinies, where such a Commaunder as *Antigonus* should beare rule,

Sofius sent
with an armie
to reuize Iu-
dea, as king of
Iudea.

Antigonus
yeeldeth him-
selfe to Sofius
who sendeth
him captiue into
Syria.

Herode sup-
plicious to the
re-adeuente-
ment of Anti-
gonus, vnto
ceith hee dead.

The reason
that moued
the death of
Antigonus.

rule, against the liking of the people.

And thus *Antigonus* the last King of the *Asimonians*, was slaine by the *Romains* in *Antioche*, after that *Herode* had expul- sed him, and led away his vnckle *Hyrcanus* hauing obtained about five yeares the kingdome of Iudea, by helpe of the *Parthians*: twelve yeares after the death of his father *Aristobolus*, and of his brother *Alexander*; thirty foure yeares also before the Natiuitie of Iesus Christ our Sauior.

Afterward, the Principalltie of the Iew with people, taken from the Sacerdotal Family of the *Asimonians*, and especial- ly, from the nation of the *Iewes*: fell into the hand of *Herode* the sounne of *Antipater* the *Idumean*, and of his sonnes, and sonnes sonnes. So that from the first yeare of Iu- das *Maccabaeus*, whom his Father *Mattathias* (dying) appoynted Duke of the war- like troups, vntill this yeare that *Herode* beganne to reigne, after the taking in of *Ierusalem*, and death of *Antigonus*, was an hundred and thirty yeares. *Antigonus* left not any heire male: but only one daugh- ter, who afterward was wife to *Antipater*, the sounne of *Herode*. But his brother *Alexander*, by *Alexandra*, the daughter to *Hyrcanus*, had these children.

S. Aristobolus the the third
Mariana.

This *Aristobolus*, was but foure yeares olde, when his father *Alexander* was be- headed at *Antioche* by the *Romaines*. Af- terward, coming to the age of 17. yeares: hee obtained at the beginning of *Neroes* reigne, the hie-priesthood by this occasi- on.

Herode being fully confirmed in the kingdome, would not establish in the hie- priesthood, his brother in law *Hyrcanus*, reuoked from his banishment in *Babylon*: as fearing to contrary the Lawe of God, that denied imperfect or dismembered people, to minister in the holy Temple, and such a one was the carelesse *Hyrcanus*; but exalted to the dignitie of Soue- raigne Sacrificer, another Iew of meane condition, named *Ananelus*, who was late- ly come from *Babylon*. *Alexandra* daugh- ter to *Hyrcanus*, taking it to heart, that *He- rode* made none account of her father, nor of her sonne *Aristobolus*, but had con- ferred the high-priesthood vpon a strange man; laboured by letters and gifts, to in-

cite *Cleopatra*, that by the means of *Marke Anthony*, the High-priesthood might be conferred vpon her sonne *Aristobolus*.

Herode hauing intelligence hereof, & receiuing letters from *Anthony*, where- by he was charged to send him *Aristobolu*; fearing lest *Anthony* (although a wicked minded man) would be inuiged with the beautie of the youth, and iudge him, not onely worthy of the Priesthoode, but likewise of some portion in the kingdome; made a modest denyall to *Anthony*, vnder colour, that if *Aristobolus* should be sent out of Iudea, it would be the occasion of many mutinies to arise in the kingdome, as in hope to enioy a new King: Neither desle, to pacifie *Alexandra* and *Mari- na*, who hee haue travelled so earnestly on the behalfe of *Aristobolus*, and to the end, they should compassse no more contri- butings, with working new caues to *Anthony* and *Cleopatra*: of this owne goodwill, hee depozed *Ananelus* from the High-priest- hood, and inuelted therein *Aristobolus*: Notwithstanding, being highly offended against his mother *Alexandra*, for work- ing such close and vnder-hand practises: he gaue order, that shee should be ar- rested, and more warily attended within the Pallace, because (hereafter) she should not attempt any thing in the like maner.

Shee being a Lady of great resolue, scorned this suspition and distrust in the King, holding it most dishonourable in him, to be so watchfully kept and obser- ued: by a saythfull and secret Messenger, signified all her misfortunes to *Cleopatra*; who againe commaunded, that *Alexandra*, accompanied with her sounne *Aristobolus*, should be sent to her in *Egypt*.

To compassse her intent the more cunningly, *Alexandra* had caused two Cof- fins and Beeres to bee prepared, such as the dead are vsed to bee carried vpon in- to buriall: wherein shee and her sounne should bee carried to the Sea side; and there a Shippe attended ready for them, for transporting them thence to *Cleopatra*.

Alexandra imparted this deuice of her owne wit, to a certayne Courtier, named *Sabbion*, whom shee knew to bee farre out of fauour with *Herode*: because hee stood suspected as one consenting to the death of *Antipater*, father to *He- rode*, who formerly had bene poysoned; and therefore shee made no doubt, but

Herode en-
uoyed Generall
to *Marke An-
thony*, vnto net-
tending *Aris-
tobolus* to go
thun.

Alexandra
kept with
watch and
ward.

The subtilie
deuice of A-
lexandra, to
escape from
the custodie
of Herode.

Sabbion would bee the more sure and fecret, in furthering of her escape from thence.

But hee considering, that now hee had an apt occasion thrust euen into his hand, whereby to treade downe the conceiued suspicion of poysoning, and make good proofe of his loyaltie to the King; declared the whole intent and purpose vnto him; and how it was to be perfourmed.

Especiall Spies and Guardes were appointed, to take knowledge of anie appearing accident, but most of all, when the Coffins and Beeres, should be transported away, and in such artificiall order every thing was carried: that *Alexandra* and her Sonne were both surprized, euen in the very bearing thence in the Beeres. Sharpe and feuerer threatnings were vttered by the King, to the no small affliction of *Alexandra* and *Arifobulus*, to be so treacherously preuented in the verie height of all their hopes: yet pretending pittie and commiseration, hee promised his free and gracious pardon for this offence, provided, that (afterward) they should not practise any such attempt againe.

This clemencie hee then vsed, fearing lest if he should haue inflicted any other execution on them: hee might thereby runne into the displeasure of *Cleopatra*, who was consenting to the manner of their escape. And yet hee would gladly haue punished this feminine boldnesse in her, but (about all) faine he would haue *Arifobulus* dispatched out of the way: because hee was the High-priest, and highly affected of the people, in regard of his Royall descent, and many singuler graces in him.

In the proiecting of these his wicked devices, it chaunced to be the Feast of Tabernacles, when *Arifobulus*, being richly adorned in his Priestly garments, performed the office of Soueraigne Sacrificer, with such extraordinary grauitie and decencie: that both in respect of his age, stature, and beautie of body, he appeared wonderfully pleasing in every eie, so that the people standing about him, shewed out aloude with ioy, applauding every gesture, and any thing that hee did or said, with clapping their hands, expressing the fauour and inclination of all the

people to *Arifobulus*, and what desire they had, to enioy a King of their owne Nation, in regard that their hatred to the present estate of the Kingdome, therein plainly appeared.

Herode ill diggelling this loue to his enemy, which he imagined would increase daily more and more; began to seeke into all contriuings, whereby he might (forthwith) compass the death of *Arifobulus*. And it came to passe, that the Feast being ended, *Alexandra* feasted him in the citie of *Jericho*, as hoping to qualifie all displeasure in the King. *Herod* there shewed him selfe so chearefull and gracious to the women, as possibly might be, and (about all) to the youthfull Lord, so that the whole day was spent in sports and delights of diuers kindes. At euening, *Arifobulus* walked with his company in the Kings Garden, where (after he had somewhat extraordinarily heated himselfe with running and leaping) the Guard of *Herode*, there-to appointed by the King; prouoked *Arifobulus*, to coole his sweating by swimming in a fith-pond neare adioyning.

Such was his gentle & flexible nature, and no way suspicious of anie intended treacherie, as hee was thereto soone perswaded. And as he came swimming neere to the bankes side: they threw water on him in iesting manner, holding his head diuers times vnder water, vntill at last he was quite stifled thereby, while *Herode* (walking by himselfe alone) seemed not to thinke on any such matter. But when one of the guard came, and informed him thereof, and in what maner it happened, without any mallice intended towards him: one while he grieved, another while raged, threatening the guard with death, for being so ouerbold with him. Before the Mother and Sister of *Arifobulus*, he presented himselfe in most woollfull maner, wringing his hands, and tearing the haire from his head, as if he had truly mourned for the Princes death; preparing a most magnificent funeral for him, and whereat there wanted no cost and pompe. By this hellish fraude in *Herode*, was *Arifobulus* the third innocently murdered, aged 18. yeares; and after hee had one yeare enioyed the High-priesthood, which *Herod* restored *Ananias* againe vnto, *Hyrcanus* the second, yet liuing, who remayned the onely masse of the *Asmonean* race, and

Herode conspired the death of *Arifobulus*.

Outward shewes are not all times to be trusted for honestie in King.

Herodes cunningly deceiued by appearing the vertuous death of *Arifobulus*.

Pompe and cost do many times count monstrous & borderlineous.

The last masse child of the *Asmonean* race.

was

was not fit to administer the Priesthoode, as hath already beene declared.

Mariana.

Sister to this *Arifobulus*, daughter to the second *Alexander*, the youngest sonne of the second *Hyrcanus*, was most excellent both for beauty and chastity. *Herode* espoused her, after he was declared King by the *Romans*, a little before the surprizing of *Jerusalem*, and the death of *Antigonius*: hee hauing repudiated his wife *Doris* of *Idumea*, by whom hee had a sonne named *Antipater*. This diuorce was the cause, that *Mariana* was continually in the dislike of *Ciprius*, mother to the King, of his sister *Salome*, and of some other women beside. Herselfe also (afterward) increased this hatred, because she, standing vpon the Nobilitie of her race, being illused and descended from Kings: despised the Mother and Sister to the King, they being strangers, and deriued but from meane condition.

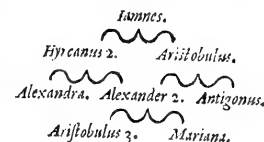
It may be, that shee grew the lesse familiar with the King, acquainting herselfe but seldome in his company; because hee had taken the Kingdome of *Iudea* from her father *Alexander*, and put to death her vnckle *Antigonius*, and had also (by treason) murdered her brother *Arifobulus* the third, a worthy innocent young Prince: Adding withall, that hee had executed her grandfather *Hyrcanus*, a good olde man, imposing vpon him, that hee affected the Kingdome. It was no great matter of maruell then, if this noble and high spirited woman, disdaind amiable conuersation with him, who had given her so many occasions of extreame affliction; considering also, that the eares of this young Lady were daily pestered, with shamefull iniuries and complaints, which her Mother *Alexandra* continually made against the house of *Antipater*.

Finally, she grew to be suspected by the King, for matter of adultery (as I shall hereafter more at large relate in the life of *Herod*.) And *Salome* the Kings sister, confederated with other Ladies of the Court (abounding in hatred more and more against her) maintayned strongly the suspicion; adding moreover, an intent of impoysoning him. Wherein she

taking no care to cleare herselfe, relying vpon *Herodes* intimate loue vnto her, and her owne innocencie: shee was accused by *Herode* before his friends, and slayne by the sentence of them. Shee left five children liuing, which shee had by *Herode*, three sonnes, and two daughters, of whom afterward came the two *Asiripae*, to whom the Royall power in *Iudea* remayned, vntill the destruction of *Jerusalem*.

All the other race of *Herode*, which hee had by nine other wiues, and in great number, slayed, as shall be declared in their due places.

Almost all the whole family of the *Asmoneans*, being thus expressed, there remaineth now for me, that I should write of the posteritie of *Antipater*: but *Alexandra* yet resteth of the *Asmoneans*, who was daughter to the second *Hyrcanus*, and wife to the second *Alexander*. And although we haue already sayd somewhat of her, and are yet to speake of the actions of *Herode*: yet notwithstanding, I haue thought good to decipher heere summarily, the woollf misaduentures of this Ladie: for, amongst all other miserable women that we reade of, the seemeth to me the most vntfortunate, as well by accident, as thorow her owne defects. And that they may be the better vnderstood, I haue in order here inserted her parentage.



First of all, this *Alexandra* being but a young maid, saw, after the death of *Alexandra* her grandmother (who reigned but nine yeares after the deceasse of her husband) the hereditarie Kingdome and High-priesthood, taken perforce from her father *Hyrcanus*, by his brother *Arifobulus*, who had long time besieged him in the munition of the Temple.

Afterward, being very young, she was married to his cousin *Alexander*; and the Citie of *Jerusalem* being surprized by *Pompey*: she saw the pittifull fortune of her father, most vnhappy performed, to the

The death of *Mariana*.

Herodes illused by nine wiues vntill hee was destroyed.

Alexandra remained of the race of the *Asmoneans*, and most vntfortunate.

The kingdom and High-priesthood taken from her father.

The diuers
admitties &
calamities
happening to
Alexandria.

A second sub-
jection of A-
lexandria to
the flaue of
the Romaues

His expul-
sion out of Iu-
dea: a poore
exile, and
flamell ex-
ecution.

Hard and wo-
full extreni-
ties for a La-
die to suffer
and endure.

Her imprison-
ment with o-
ther Ladies
in Iudaea.

great harme of the country and her selfe,
being accomplished with horrible maffa-
cres, foule prophanation of the Temple,
slaughter of infinite Citizens, beside ro-
beries of their goods. Moreover, the de-
struction of the Cittie walles, insuppor-
table exactions, with a perpetuall yoke
of most feuerie dominion of the *Romaines*:
beside the captiuitie and transport of her
vnckle *Antiochus*, her husband *Alexan-
der*, and her cousin *Antigonus*, to be led
villainously (in derision) through the Ci-
tie of *Rome*, to grace *Pompeys* triumph. No
doubt but these mighty misfortunes, were
causes of no meane griefe to *Alexandra*.

Shee likewise beheld the escape of her
husband *Alexander* by the way, who came
to make newe rumults in *Iudea*: but being
ouerthrowne in many encounters, and
beside depoyled of alienabling forces:
the saw him againe sent captiue to *Rome*
by *Gabinus*, with his father *Antiochus*,
and his brother *Antigonus*.

Againe, shee saw him sent into *Iudea*,
where growing as tempestuous and trou-
blesome as before: he was agayne chased
out of the Countries limits, wandering
from thence as a poore vagabond and ba-
nished man. At length, he heard that (by
the commaund of *Pompey*) he was shame-
fully executed at *Antioche*, and that (but a
little before) his father *Antiochus*, after a
long detention of his person, being (with
great difficulty) deliuered from imprison-
ment, was poisoned.

Next, shee saw the Cittie of *Ierusalem*
taken by the *Parthians* treacherie, and her
father *Hircanus* (by fraude and deceite in
Antiochus) apprehended, his ears cut off,
and led away into the enemies land. Shee,
in this perillous surprisall of *Ierusalem*, got
forth by night with her Mother, the wife,
the sister of *Herode*, and many other La-
dies, hauing her son with her, aged a do-
zen yeares, and her daughter little more
then he: but both exposed to infinite in-
juries, as well of Souldiers violence, as of
great wrongs to their tender yeares, the
barbarous people spoyling and rauishing
all wherefoeuer they came.

From thence she was sent (with the o-
ther Ladies) to a strong fortresse in the
City of *Sussas* in *Iudaea*, in great feare
and danger of *Antigonus*, then reigning:
where shee remained about two yeares,
vntill such time as *Herode* (hauing obtai-

ned the title of King by the *Romaines*) re-
turned into *Iudea*; and finding there his
power to be strongest, deliuered her and
the rest from imprisonment.

A third time also she saw the City of
Ierusalem taken, ransacked, and filled with
murders, by the Souldiers of *Herode* and
Sossus: her cousin *Antigonus* led prisoner
to *Marke Anthony*, and afterward put to
execution.

Alexandra sawe and felt all these extre-
mities, before the Kingdome of *Herode*
could be confirmed: which being once
effected, she likewise beganne to breathe,
seeming fully acquitted from all calamities.
Nay, which is more, she might haue
feled her estate in the height of happines,
if shee could haue made vse of Fortunes
fauours, as they shewed themselves in
plentiful manner vpon her.

For *Herode* being King, had diuorced
his first wife *Doris*, and deposed his sonne
Antipater, from all hope of succeeding af-
ter him; hauing married *Marians*, the
daughter of *Alexandra*, whom hee most
singularly affected, as well for her beauteie,
as many other graces of spirit wherewith
she was plentifully endowd. Hereupon
ensued, that her Mother *Alexandra*, being
called to the Court, was worthily respec-
ted, and had great credite with the King
and all other. Her Father *Hircanus* also
(already returned from exile) was reuoc-
ed home into his countrey: to him *He-
rode*, and the rest (by the Kings example)
yeilded great honour, as vnto their Fa-
ther.

But *Alexandra* overthrew all this hop-
pines, by her vehement ambition, fierce-
nesse and impatience; so that (at length)
she became to be enuelped with mighty
calamities, and was the cause of her
owne death. For, taking in high displea-
sure, that *Antimelus* was authorized with
the High-priethood, without any regard
of her sonne *Antiochus*, to whom it ap-
pertained by hereditary right: she grew
to machinate many dangerous matters,
to exalt her sonne to that dignitie of the
Priethood, procuring (by the means of
Cleopatra) to incense *Marke Anthony* a-
gainst *Herode*. Which being discovered,
she yet attained the felicitie, that her son
was made soveraigne Sacrificer: but her
selfe was not in so noble estate as before,
because shee was heedfully guarded, as

Ierusalem ter-
rified a third
time.

The gifts of
fortune should
haue bene vnto
made of them

The great fa-
uours and ho-
nour done to
Alexandra in
the Court.

Alexandra o-
uerthrew all
her faire hap-
pines, & de-
posed her owne
vnckle
deadly.

At *Antiochus*
advanced to
the high-prieth-
ood.

Her secret
pride of
light to Cle-
opatra, and
consequence.

Shee accused
Herode before
*Marke An-
thony* for his
sons murder.

Shee coun-
celled her rather
to fight her
Herode.

Augustus con-
sidered in the
day at *Antium*.

Hircanus put
to death, be-
ing aged. 80
yeares.

one dangerously enclined, and much su-
spect by the King.

Shee, not able to endure this intolla-
rable rigor of the King, being shut vp from
the vse of her libertie; practised secretly
to escape to *Cleopatra*, as hath already bin
said, and being taken with her sonne in
the very act, wel vnderstood, that she was
then runne into the vnrecoverable hatred
of *Herode*. Shortly after, the extreame
sorrow she suffered, to see her sonne *Antiochus*
so treacherously murdered, might well haue admonished her: that it
much better auayled, to conquer Iniurie
by Patience, then roughly to wrastle with
a Kings courage, naturally addicted to
wickednesse.

Then againe, bringing *Herode* into
danger, by accusing him before *Anthony*,
for the murdering of her sonne: shee won
nothing thereby, but much more con-
tempt and hatred in the King. Insomuch,
that her daughter (otherwise choicely
cherished by the King) found his affecti-
on to waxe coole; but not without cause
and suspition, in regarde of her Mothers
cunning contriuings. Adding withall,
that her father *Hircanus* was not so much
honoured, neither respected by the king,
as he was wont to be. Whereby *Alexan-
dra* tooke occasion, to incite her father a-
gainst *Herode*, aduising him to flee to *Ma-
lichus*, King of the *Arabians*, euen then,
when (after the battaile of *Actium*) the
King was in great danger, standing then
in no meane feare, because *Augustus* was
Conquerour. For the wily woman did
thinke, that if shee could procure displea-
sure in *Augustus* against *Herode*, for his
friendship to *Marke Anthony*, the Sep-
ter would be taken from the *Idumeans*, and
restored to the true heires of the house of
the *Asmoneans*.

This vnhappy counsell being discou-
ered, by the means of intercepted letters;
was the cause of putting to death the
good olde *Hircanus*, aged foure score
yeares, and bringing *Alexandra* into the
very depth of forrowes. Neuertheless,
her stomack stroken with so many wounds;
and, euen hardened (as it were) against all
grievances whatsoever, was scarcely sen-
sible of any of these oppressions; after the
losse of so many neare kinned, dispatched
by diuers kinds of strange and vnworthy
deaths. Among whom, her husband *A-*

lexander, and *Antigonus* his brother were
beheaded. Her vnckle *Antiochus*, who
was likewise her father in law, was poison-
ed: her onely sonne *Antiochus* trayte-
rously drowned, by the procurement of
Herode. Her father *Hircanus* (so neare to
his graue) dispatched by an ignominious
infliction.

Her onely daughter *Marians* remay-
ned, who being married to the King,
might somewhat comfort her in these ex-
tremities. But this violent woman, swel-
ling in hatred against the King, declared
herselfe most strangely troublesome vnto
her husband, by continuall reproaching
the *Idumeans* house, and compayning
of the Kings horrible cruelties: So that, af-
ter the became to be suspected of adul-
terie; and a false crime imposed on her, that
shee practised to poison her husband: *He-
rode* was the easier wonne to her death,
albeit hee loued her intirely, and shee had
borne him five children.

Now, notwithstanding so great cala-
mitie, in the miserable & vnworthy death
of her daughter; *Alexandra* could not yet
be conquered, neyther vnderstand, how
many inuinciblenes her attempts turned
by misfortunes to her and hers; yet, so
many other that truly putted her indig-
nition. Nor could shee be admonished,
moderately to beare precedent and pre-
sent mishaps (whereof continually shee
gaue the occasion) but rather prouoked
nouell extremities, by her impatience
and pcevish folly: for, after the execu-
tion of *Marians*, *Doris*, mother to *Antipa-
ter*, and formerly diuorced: six yeares af-
ter was recalled to the Court, and her
wonted lodging in the Kings Chamber,
and it appeared, that her sonne *Antipa-
ter* was now become accepted, and enterta-
ined by the King, in hope of succeeding
after him, and the sonnes of *Marians*: ex-
cluded quite.

Alexandra perceiuing, that the onely
remained of the *Asmonean* royall family,
and that shee was to take care of hir daugh-
ters children: affected rather to tunne in-
to extremity, then after such frequent
causes of griefe, to liue in the despite and
contempt of *Doris*, *Salome* and *Antipa-
ter*, who was to reigne after his father, and to
see the same *Antipa-ter*, borne of *Doris* the
Idumean, and not noble (euen when *He-
rode* liued but in priuate condition) to be
preferred

The kinde of
Alexandra per-
to death in
diuers man-
ners.

Marians most
intirely
long her au-
dace.

A woman of
an vnder-
stand and vn-
conquerable cou-
rage.

Herode recal-
led home to
Court his for-
mer diuorced
wife *Doris*.

Such yefesom
and offensiue
fights as Alex-
andra was not
able to endure

preferred the sons of *Mariana*, who was a Queene, and they borne in the time of *Herodes* reigning. Hereupon, she began to confider on some apt opportunitie, to exploit a certaine desseigne, which shee imagined to be diuinely instructed to her foule; in regard that the King (being very greatly perplexed in mind, grieved extraordinarily for his wives execution) was sicke, euen to death, in the city of *Samarit*: which made her (by faire promises) sollicite the Kings Garrisons to revolt from him, whereof there were two, one in the Cittie, the other in the Temple, and these being reduced to partake with her, it would be a very ealie way for her to enjoy the Kingdome.

Alexandra exhorted those warrelke bands by faithfull messengers (considering the incertitude of the Kings life, or rather the assurance of his death :) to possesse themselves of the Pallace, before that *Antipater*, or any other should invade the kingdome, and to preferre the succession thereof, for the sonnes of *Herode* by his Queene *Mariana*, till they came to lawfull age, because they were the legitimate heires, and the Kingdome (by right) belonged to them. But the Souldiers, hauing duely considered on the matter among themselves: concluded, not to follow the perillous and ill-advised counsell of this audacious woman, whom they knew to be most maliciously inclined to the King. For (indeede) they greatly feared the Kings dangerous nature, most couetous of reigning and commanding, and accustomed to reuenge (very feuerely) any attempts, in such as hee held the least suspicion of, being any way affected to the kingdome: as hee witnessed most euidently, in the punishments inflicted vpon his owne children.

One of the Souldiers thinking, that by revealing the aduice of this woman, hee should winne great grace and fauour of the King: poaited to *Samarit*, and there disclosed to the sicke King, all the machination of his mother in law: which grew the more tedious to *Herode*, in regarde of very impatiently enduring the anguish of his discafe: and therefore (wholly overcome with rage and choller) hee sent instant command to *Ierusalem*, forthwith to put his mother in law *Alexandra* to death, as a trayterous conspirator against

his life; and it was accordingly perforced.

Thus after infinite calamities, *Alexandra* ended her dayes in this tragick manner; for, being neuer contented with any present fortune, the daily begate nouell miseries, one still in the necke of another, only through distasting any instant condition. Otherwise, she was a woman graue, discret and ingenious, but ouer violently giuen vp to ambition, hatred and anger (very vile and bad counsellors) more then needed. She had out-gone the compass of three score yeares, when she was thus put to death; and so became the family of the *Asmoneans* quite extinct: but only what remained in the heires of *Mariana*, deriued from an *Idumean* father.

Let this Discourse Iustice, concerning the noble house of the *Asmoneans*, which from a small beginning (in the defence of a most honest and good cause) became exalted to soueraigne glory and dignity, by their owne industry, but (more especially) the helpe of heauen. Afterward, hauing left the principall cause, they began to seeke after power and riches, according to the fashion of Pagan Kings, and to stirre in many vnnecessarie matters: partly trusting to their owne might, and partly relying on the assistance of strangers. Whereon ensued, that, being first distracted by domestick discordes, and next, admitting entrance to strange enemies: they beganne (by little and little) to diminish; and finally, to leaue the whole possession of the *Ierusalem* kingdome, to the dominion of strangers. Euen after they had held the principality of the people, from *Judas Maccabaeus*, vnto the beginning of *Herodes* kingdome, for an hundred and thirty yeares, and had kept the High-priesthoode an hundred and seuenteen yeares.

CHAP. XI.

A brieue entrance into the description of the posteritie of Antipater, holding the principalltie of Iudea, but not the High-priesthoode.

Now wee should come to describe the third Family, that retained the posteritie of *Antipater* the *Idumean*, who (in different

The High-priesthoode must be admitted by strangers.

The High-priesthoode graunted by fauour or rewards.

A taxation laid vpon Iosephus the high-priest, for not fully paying the foueraigne Sacrificers.

The first family of Iosephus the same of Iudea, and how they held the High-priesthoode.

The reason for such a multitude of High-priests.

differently) held the principalltie of *Iudea*, but not the foueraigne Sacrificers Office (for it was not lawfull, that so sacred a charge should bee administered by strangers) vntill the destruction of the Cittie, and the Temple of *Ierusalem*.

For the High-priesthoode was in the hands of others, who indeede were *Iewes*; but yet of diuers and obscure Families, enlaid by *Herode* and the *Romaines*, eyther by fauour or rewards.

It is no ealie matter to describe their succession, neither doe I hold it any way necessary for this discourse: considering that afterward, the foueraigne Sacrificers were neuer potent or powerfull; and beside, the foueraigne gouernement remained in the hands of *Romaine* Captaynes and Princes.

Iosephus also was not very carefull, curiously to number the foueraigne Sacrificers; but rather satisfieth himselfe, with declaring, that in the kingdom of *Herode*, accounting from his reigne, vntill the destruction of the *Iewish* nation; there had beene nine and twentie High-priests, which space of time continued little more then an hundred yeares. For, from the beginning of *Herodes* reigne, vnto the second yeare of the Empire of *Vespasian*, I finde by computation, an hundred and sixe yeares.

But in the first Familie of *Iesus*, which held the High-priesthoode, after their returne from *Babylon*, vntill the time of *Antiochus* the Noble; there are accounted fiftene foueraigne Sacrificers onely, although the time was thrice as long as the latter. For, as we haue already elsewhere related, that from the first yeare of *Cyrus*, vntill that of *Alcimus*, are found three hundred eightie and sixe yeares, or thereabout. The cause of this multiplicitie of High-priests, grew by so often and frequent changes, one still defeating and ouerthrowing another: one while by the power of money, fauour, or both; another while by might, and assistance of enemies.

The third Family.

CHAP. XII.

Concerning the Posteritie of Antipater the Idumean of Ascalon, transferring the High-priesthoode (at their pleasure) to strangers: hauing violently got it from the Asmoneans, and held the principalltie of the Iewish people, vntill the destruction of Ierusalem, vnder the reigne of Vespasian.



Idumea is the vmost part of the Land of *Canaan*, confining *Egypt* and *Arabia*, and closing vp the coast of *Iudea* towards the South, holding on that part, which the Tribe of *Iuda* had by lot in their inheritance. In elder times, it was inhabited by the posteritie of *Efaun*, (brother to *Iacob*) who was also named *Edom*, that is to say, *Red-hayred*. Of him they came to be called *Idumeans*, and hauing lost the true doctrine, and holy seruices commanded them by God: they fell to the worshipping of Idolles, with their neighbouring nations.

King *Dauid* first of all brought them into subiection, and made them tributarie to the Kings of *Iuda*.

About an hundred and fiftie yeares after, they revolted againe vnder *Iorim* King of *Iuda*, sonne to *Iehosaphat*, and rebelled against the *Iewes*, diuided into two kingdomes. And although the succeeding Kings compelled them diuers times, to vnder-goe againe their former seruilitie: yet notwithstanding, they defended their libertie by armes, vntill such time as *Iudas* was led captiue into *Babylon*. And then, they tooke many Citties from the *Iewes*, which afterward (by the Edict of King *Darius*) they were enforced to restore vnto them againe, when they were returned from *Babylon*.

Not long after, *Iohn Hyrcanus*, sonne to *Simon the Asmonean*, hauing overcome them in a very difficult warre: constrained them, to make profession of the same doctrine and religion with him, causing them

A description of the situation of Idumea.

The Idumeans descended of Efaun brother to Iacob.

Dauid first made the Idumeans tributaries.

Diuers reuolts and rebellions of the Idumeans.

The Idumeans vanquished by Iohn Hyrcanus.

She laboured the kings gar-risons to revolt from him

Her endeuours for aduancing her daughters children to the kingdome.

Herode verie jealous of any that affected his kingdome

The enterprise of Alexandra was disclosed to the King, and she put to death.

them to vndergoe Circumcision. Heere-
hence it ensued, that they trafficked the
more freely with the *Jewes*; so that they
were called to their warres, and to the
Courts of the *Jewish* kings.

Antipater came of this *Idumean* nation,
whose sonne named *Herode* hauing after-
ward obtained the *Jewish* kingdome, and
fearing to vse himselfe with them as a
stranger: would be esteemed a *Jew*, be-
cause (as hath bene said) the *Idumeans* had
receiued Circumcision vnder *Iohn Hyrcanus*.
Iosephus thus recordeth this family.

Antipas the Father

The issue of
Antipater the
father.

Cephelion stone
in warre by A-
ristobulus.

Antipater the fa-
miliar of Hyr-
canus Turour
orall iudge.

Cyris an Idu-
mean wo-
man.

These children came of Antipater.

Antipaters
issue.

Phaelus Herode
gouernour King of
Iudaea.

Solippus Herode
gouernour of Iudaea.

Phiroras Salome
Tetrarch daughter
of Iudaea.

Antipater go-
uernour of
Iudaea.

Antipas the *Ascalonite*, father to *Anti-
pater*, was appointed *Gouernour* of his
Countrey of *Iudaea*, by *Alexander Lam-
nes*, and beside afterward enjoying it still
(sometime) vnder the Queene *Alexandra*,
he gathered great store of wealth, and ob-
tained the principall authority in that Re-
gion.

Antipater.

Succeeded in the government of *Idu-
mea*, after his deceased father, during
which time, he not only wonne the hearts
of his owne nation, augmenting and con-
firming his wealth, by aliance with neigh-
boring Kings and Cities; but also strong-
ly insinuated himselfe into good grace
with *Hyrcanus* the second, by many ac-
ceptable seruices. For he being instituted
Soueraigne Sacrificer by his mother, who
then ruled the kingdome. *Antipater* had
great hope, that the fauour of *Hyrcanus*
would (in time) aduance him to higher
degree. Now, he perswaded himselfe, that
the mother being dead, hee should come
to imoy the kingdome by hereditary right.
Wherefore, *Antipater* was very diligent
towards him in all kinds of courtesies,
making no account at all of the younger
brother: which made him wonderfully

Therefor
why Antipa-
ter laboured
to keepe him-
selfe in fauour
with Hyrcanus

hated by *Aristobulus*, as it fell out after
in open apparance. For, their mother be-
ing dead, *Aristobulus* hauing fought with
his brother *Hyrcanus* in a field of battell,
& afterward held besieged in the temple:
he was at length constrained, to dismis-
himselfe, both of the kingdome and high-
Priesthood. And then (by slowe and po-
litique degrees) he deposed *Antipater* from
the gouernement of *Iudaea*, for his so
many good seruices to *Hyrcanus* in war.

This iniurie more and more enflamed
the hatred of *Aristobulus*, and because hee could not reuenge
himselfe by power: hee incited the great-
est Lords of the *Jewes* against King *Ari-
stobulus* by secret accusations. About all,
he handled *Hyrcanus* in diuers kindes (hee
being of his owne nature, modest and
temperate) one while terrifying him
with strange feares, another while chea-
ring his hopes, with vndoubted coming
to his Crowne againe. He told him that
his brother *Aristobulus*, (a man nicerely
vile by complexion) sought all occasions,
either by close contriuings, or open vio-
lence, to preuaile against his life: for his
more secure enioying of the kingdome,
whereto hee had aspired by such wicked-
nesse. Hee auouched, to haue certayne
knowledge, of diuers enterprises in *Ari-
stobulus* by euident signes: either because
they were truly so indeede, or for the
more prouoking *Hyrcanus* against his bro-
ther. Moreover, he shewed the meanes
and wayes, whereby *Hyrcanus* might re-
gayne the Kingdome belonging to him,
to wit, if they both fled thence to *Aretas*,
king of *Arabia*, with whom he had ancient
amitie and alliance, and who (he doubted
not) could satisfie their desires.

Hyrcanus was at last wonne by these
speeches, being formerly wounded with
the wrongs which his brother had offered
him; so that accompanied with *Antipater*,
and some other, who not a little desired
the dominion of *Aristobulus*, he secretly
went to *Aretas* in the city of *Petra*. There
humbly himselfe before the King, hee
desired assistance of him against his wicked
and cruell brother, who not only had
deprived him of the High-priesthood,
(contrary to all right and equitie) which
hee had peaceably enioyed nine yeares in
his mothers life time; and not onely al-
berest him of the kingdome, which by the

Antipater de-
posed from
the gouern-
ment of Iudaea

The cunning
dealing of An-
tipater with
secretly Hyr-
canus.

Incitation for
flight to Aretas
king of Arabia.

Hyrcanus go-
eth with An-
tipater to Aretas
king of Arabia
and made his
complainte
him.

law of Nations belonged to him, as being
the eldest sonne: but (beside) layed daily
trappes and traines for his life. Where-
upon he promised, that it hee should be
restored to his Kingdome; he would sur-
render to him ten Cities, which his fa-
ther *Alexander Lamnes* had taken from the
Realme of *Arabia*, and other honourable
recompences beside.

Aretas, more moued by the perswas-
ions of *Antipater*, then all the praier and
promises of *Hyrcanus*, invaded *Iudaea* with
fiftie thousand men. *Aristobulus* encoun-
tering with him, was vanquished, chiefly
by the valiance of *Antipater*: and being
abandoned of his fouldiers, the most part
yeelded themselves to *Hyrcanus*. *Aristo-
bulus* got closely into the Citie, and there
(with some of the Sacrificers and Citti-
zens) kept within the forresse of the tem-
ple, being provided of all things necessa-
rie to endure besieging. But yet before
this extremite, he had sent an ambassage
(in great haste) to *Scaurus*, Lieutenant, a-
biding then in *Syria*, intreating succour
him against the *Arabes*: promising him
four hundred Talents, that is, two hun-
dred and fortie thousand crownes of the
Sunne.

Aretas pursuing *Aristobulus* with his
Armie, entred into the Citie, to lay his
siege before the Temple; the Cittizens
yeelding themselves to *Hyrcanus*, and the
Cittie also. But some *Jewes* forekeing,
that this debate betweene the brethren, would
cause the ruine of the whole country; left
there their goods, and fledde into *Egypt*.
Other of the Cittizens ioyned with the
Arabes, besieging the munition, and pres-
sed the inclosed Sacrificers very narrow-
ly; yea, much more nearly then the ene-
mie, vning deceipts and subtilities with their
crueltie. For they drew out of the secret
Sanctuarie (where this ciuile warre was
most vnciuilly maintained) a holy man,
named *Onias*, who in an extreme drought
and dread of sterility, made his prayers
to God, desiring raine in that needefull
season: and would haue compelled him,
to curse and damne the besieged to the
duell, because they would not yeelde
themselves. But hee (on the contrary)
made his prayers aloud to God, that he
would neyther heare the Sacrificers, or
Priests besieged against the people, nor

the people besieging against the Priests,
for which cause the *Jewes* stoned him.
And when the feast of Easter was come,
when there was neede of many bealls for
Sacrifices; the Priests required, that such
store might be deliuered them, as was ne-
cessarily to be vsed in such solemne Sa-
crifices, agreeing to pay a thousand drach-
mes for each beast; that is to say, an hun-
dred crownes of the Sunne. But after that
the *Jewes* had receiued so great a summe
from the Priests: they descended from
the walles, and would not performe a iore
of that which they had promised, but
mocked the sacrificing Priests, who were
ouer credulous in beleueing them.

But the Lord God being offended with
this wickednes, and taking vengeance for
their foule transgressions; sent a sharpe
winde on the Corne then almost ripe,
which being vterly spoyled, the famine
was so great, that a bushell of wheate was
solde eleuen times more deare, then vsu-
ally it was wont to be; to wit, at cleauen
drachmaes, whereas before (in euery
yeare) it was sold for a drachma, and lesse.

The besieged beginning to feeble the
want of foode, and that nothing hindred
them from yeelding, but onely to heare
an answer from *Scaurus* (vnder the hope
whereof, *Aristobulus* encouraged the
Priests, to endure all difficulties of the
siege) it fortunely (very successfully for
them) that *Scaurus* sent Ambassadors
to King *Aretas*, that he should withdraw
his Army out of *Iudaea*, except hee meant
to prouoke the displeasure of the *Romaine*
people. *Aretas* obeyed this command,
and so much the rather, because his army
was in great distresse for foode. By which
meanes, (without doing anything else)
Hyrcanus and *Antipater* returned backe to
Arabia with the King.

Soone after, *Pompey* came out of *Arme-
nia* into *Syria*, wherupon, *Antipater* pro-
cured many of the most potent *Jewes*, to
accuse *Aristobulus* before him. Himselfe
likewise, as an Ambassador sent from *Hyrcanus*,
went to *Pompey*, and pleaded the
cause of *Hyrcanus* against *Aristobulus*, and
entred into such respect with *Pompey*, that
after the surprizing of the Citie, *Hyrcanus*
was restored to the High-priesthood,
but not to the Kingdome. And from
thence forward, *Antipater* beganne to
grow great, gouerning (well neare) all
occasi-

Falle and
trauall dea-
ling in the
Jewes with the
sacrificing
Priests.

The iniurie of
heauen on the
Jewes for their
wickednes.

Ambassadors
sent to King A-
retas.

Antipater
procured Ari-
stobulus to be
accused be-
fore Pompey

The cunning
inimities
of Antipater
with the Ro-
man captaines.

Antipater
procures
peace betwix
Scurus and
Aretas, King
of the Arabi-
ans.

Rich Cassius,
and his gene-
rall Cassius.

The actions
of Antipater
in Egypt, and
his faithfull
service to Ju-
lius Caesar.

Antipater
made a Ro-
maine Bour-
geisse by Ju-
lius Caesar.

occasions whatsoever, because *Hyrcanus*, (being a lover of quietnesse) left all to his rule. And so gracious was he with the *Romaine* Captaines, in all such services as possibly he could do for them: that he innuinated farre into their friendship, causing *Hyrcanus* daily to bestow magnificēt gifts, and himselfe receiued all the thanks and profite for them.

First, he was very diligent, to furnish *Scarus* with all kinde of munition, when he was left in *Iudea* with two legions, and made warre vpon the *Arabes*. Next, being sent in embassage by the same *Scarus* to the King *Aretas*: hee procured peace, in regarde of his auncient amitie with the King, and perswaded *Scarus* to bring his Army out of *Arabia*, after he had receiued of the King three hundred Talents, as much to say, as an hundred and foure-score thousand crowns of the Sunne. Afterward, he assisted *Gabinus* against *Alexander*, sonne to *Aristobolus*, but especially in the restitution of King *Ptolomey* the Fleustler: where he made passage for *Gabinus*, to goe from *Iudea* into *Egypt* by *Iudaea*.

By the like subtile and cunning means, he qualified rich *Cassius*, and his General *Cassius*, being removed from the *Parthians* warre; fearing lest any thing should be attempted, that might be hurtfull to *Hyrcanus*, who (from time to time) was accused to the *Romaine* Captaines, as well by the sonnes of *Aristobolus*, as by diuerse powerfull Iewes, that were of the same faction.

But, for the more sure establishing of his power, hee ayded *Julius Caesar* more then all the rest, to whom he performed faithfull service in the *Alexandrian* warre, in bringing him three thousand Iewes, & procuring the *Arabes*, *Iudaeans*, and *Iews* dwelling in *Egypt*, to be his companions in that warre. And when *Mithridates* of *Perseus* (who went with a great Armie of *Cilicia* and *Syria* against *Caesar*) was repulled in *Egypt*: *Antipater* (*Damiata* being subdued) brought helpe to *Caesar*, and saved him by the way; when he was compelled (in an encounter) to giue place to the enemy, his men being ready prepared for fight.

For these desertis (the *Alexandrian* war being ended) *Julius Caesar* confirmed the High priesthood vnto *Hyrcanus*, permit-

ting him to builde vp the City walles a gayne: Moreouer, he appoynted *Antipater* to be Tutor of all *Iudea*, and sent him into *Iudea*, honoured with the title of a *Romaine* Bourgeisse, and perpetual immunities beside.

Antipater seeing himselfe exalted to such dignitie, deuised also how to aduance his sonnes. Whereupon, *Phasaelus* (being the eldest) he appointed him to be gouernour of *Ierusalem*, and the neighbouring places about it: in regarde of the negligence and carelesnesse of *Hyrcanus* in the gouernement. Next to him was *Herode*, and he as yet but yong: yet he gaue the charge of *Galilee* to him. Both of them very commendably performed their seuerall offices, which caused their father to bee much more esteemed generally, and won the fauour of many powerfull persons, by both his owne, and his sonnes liberalitie.

Hereupon it hapned, that some Iews grew iealous and suspicious of *Antipater*, seeing him (purposely) to maintaine the remission of *Hyrcanus*, onely for the exaltation of his owne sonnes: abusing also his riches and reuenues, to bestow great fauours and gifts vpon the *Romains*. In this respect, some of the best aduised Iewes, and of the better sort, feared not to reprehend *Hyrcanus* publicly, for his neglect and slouthfulness, in referring the totall administration of all things, onely to *Antipater* and his sonnes, who were scarcely started out of childhood. Having already gathered such heaps of wealth and cheuillance, onely to curry fauour with the *Romains*, that they were become dreadfull to the whole nation. They bad him to be well aduised, whereto tended this power in the *Iudaeans*, shewing him withall, that he dealt vnjustly and indifferently, hauing so many Iewes, excelling in valour and expertnesse of armes: to reliefe them from managing publike affaires, reposing his whole trust in the defence of a stranger, who intended no profite to the Iewish nation, but only how to leaue the kingdome of *Iudea* to his owne sonnes.

Now, albeit these speeches did a little moue *Hyrcanus*, himselfe also fearing the power of *Antipater*: yet notwithstanding, he could not forget, what benefites he had receiued by him, and what loyalty he had declared towards him, hauing alwayes kept him in extreame dangers. Beside, he

Antipater ex-
alted his son-
s to seuerall
dignities.

Diuers Iews
began to be
suspicious of
Antipater.

Hyrcanus re-
prehended by
some of the
best Iewes for
his great
negligence.

Hyrcanus
fearfull of
Aristobolus
and his sons.

Conspiracie
how to com-
passe the
death of An-
tipater, by
Malichus a
Iudlew.

The horrible
rapines of
Cassius in
Iudea, to of-
fense himselfe
dunne.

Thereadies
of Antipater
to please the
Romains.

feared *Aristobolus*, and his sonnes, against whom he thought he stood in need of a powerfull defender, which made him answer; that he could not dismisle *Antipater* from gouerning the generall affaires, in regard he had receiued his authoritie from the *Romains*; who he might by no means offend, without both hazarding himselfe, and the whole Country to vnauidable dangers.

When the accusers of *Antipater* perceived, they could worke nothing on the slow and neglect nature of *Hyrcanus*, they began to consider on some subtile means, whereby they might put *Antipater* to death. And one of them being named *Malichus*, excelling all the rest in wealth, wisdom, and corage, sought how to intrap *Antipater*, by secret plots and ambuities prepared. But *Antipater* getting intelligence thereof, withdrew himselfe beyond *Jordane*, where he leuied an Army, by aide from King *Aretas* his deare friend, with full deliberation to reuenge this injury. Neuerthelesse, he was appeased by *Hyrcanus*, because *Malichus* purged himselfe by oath, that he neuer intended any treason against him.

This hapned immediately after that the Conspirators had slayne *Julius Caesar* in the Senate house, when *Cassius* (Author and chiefe in the coniuration) was come into *Syria*, and from thence into *Iudea*: where he villainously ransacked the Cities and Townes, onely to get money, so that he sold the Magistrates of some places, with their whole families, and pillaged foure great cities in *Iudea*, selling all the Citizens for slaues: because they had made refusal, to giue such a large summe as this insatiable beast demanded. As he asked of the Iews seven hundred talents, (which summe amounted to foure tunnes of gold of our coyn, and twenty thousand Crownes of the Sunne): *Antipater* gaue charge to leuy this money, partly of his Sons, and partly of the most powerfull Iewes; so that the whole summe being suddenly paid in: *Antipaters* sonnes were the better welcomed among the *Romans*. And so farre it proceeded, that *Cassius* (euen then) made promise of the kingdom of *Iudea* to *Herode*, who ouer & about the summe whereto the taxation mounted, carryed store of gold to the campe in *Syria* when he had ended the war against

Marke Anthony and *Octavius*. But for the present he commanded the Province of *Syria* to *Herode*, and the Army by Sea.

Malichus well obseruing, that the power of *Antipater* so mightily encreasing, was not (by any patient means) to be endured; practised & dealt with the Taster or Cup-bearer to *Hyrcanus* the High-priest, by great gifts and summes of money: so that one night, as *Antipater* was at Supper with *Hyrcanus*, the Taster poisoned him; albeit the sayd Taster had twise bin deliuered from death by *Antipater*, & held his life of him. Thus was *Antipater* murdered, in the yere following the death of *Julius Caesar*, he being (vndoubtedly) a man very excellent, wise, and prouident. Some imagined, that *Hyrcanus* was not ignorant of the deed doing, or (at least) it was not doone in any delpight of him: although *Antipater* by the means of *Pompey*, got him restored to the Soueraigne Priesthood, and afterward (for the space of 22. yeares) alwayes kept and defended him against the violence of his enemies.

Perhaps one way he had offended *Hyrcanus*, that (to satisfie the couetous desires of *Cassius*, and to forestall perills incident to himselfe) he was somewhat ouer-rude in vrging money from him, he being an old man, sparing by nature, and the more gripple in holding, in regarde of his age. For which fault, *Hyrcanus* declared no great distaste in the murdering of his Benefactor. Because many times it comes to passe, that some men, hauing receiued good benefites for a large length of time, and yet growing (at length) to be displeased: they forget all good deferences past, and resting not so contented, proceed to diuers dangerous practises against them. Of such ingratefull men, *Philip Melancton*, my worthy master, & good father, wrote certaine Verses to this effect:

Some men there are, it thou transport their States
With yompe to Rome, and plant'st them in the gates;
Such fauour they require not with due grace,
But (like ingratefull wretches) all deface.

Not long after, *Hyrcanus* payd dearly for this his foolish ingratitude, because (the yere following) *Antigonus* compassed the means to bring the *Parthians* into *Iudea*; when *Hyrcanus* being taken, & led into a strange land by the enemyes well found (but ouer-late) what defence he had lost by the death of *Antipater*, and then in

F f f vaine

Antipater being
at supper
with *Hyrcanus*, the High-
priest, was
poisoned by
his Taster.

Some reasons
wherby *Hyrcanus*
might be
offended
with *Antipa-
ter*.

*Philip Me-
lancton*
verses on in-
gratitude.

Hyrcanus
payd dearly
for his ingra-
titude to *Antipater*.

vaine lamented his owne folly, in listning to *Malichus*, and other *Boute-feux*, against so deare a friend as *Antipater* had alwayes bin to him.

CHAP. XIII.

A further entrance into discourse, concerning the race and Posteritie of Antipater, for the better clearing of some obscure doubts in diuers Authors, and full satisfaction of the Reader.

Of the Sonnes of Antipater.

Phaselus the eldest.

The worthie performance of *Phaselus* in his charge.

He being constituted by his Father, to be Gouvernor of *Ierusalem*, and the round neighbouring places, to assist *Hyrcanus* (carelesse, and very vnapt for administration) in regard of his age; discharged his Commission

most commendably for fixe yeares space, during the life time of his father. He being dead, hee appealed (by his vertue) a great trouble arising in *Ierusalem*, in regard that a certayne man, named *Felix*, driuen by *Cassius* into *Ierusalem* with Souldiours, being corrupted with money from diuerse *Iewes*; laboured to ouerthrow it. But this *Felix* was vanquished by *Phaselus*, and for a while kept in prison; but afterward releas'd vpon certayne conditions.

Next, it was no little ioy to him, to see *Malichus* (the murderer of his father *Antipater*) punished for his wickednesse: who labouring to inuade the Principallity of *Iudea*, was slayne by the Souldiours of *Cassius*, and by the industrious meanes of *Herode*.

Cassius being conquer'd, *Marke Anthony* came into *Syria*, and made *Phaselus* & *Herode* Tetrarches of *Iudea*: notwithstanding all the criminall accusations, alledged by the *Iewes* against them. But *Phaselus* enjoy'd not that dignity any long while; for the year following the death of his father, the City being surpris'd by the *Parthians* and *Antigonus*: he was (by subtilty) taken with *Hyrcanus*, and slew himselfe remaying prisoner, as I haue already related in the life of the second *Hyrcanus*.

Felix Liberator con-
founded *Iudea*.

The death of
seditious *Malichus*.

Phaselus and
Herode made
Tetrarches of
Iudea by
*Marke An-
thony*.

Phaselus left a sonne
named

Herode King.

Mariana the
Asmonean.

Phaselus, to whom *Salome*, daughter to *Herode* and *Mariana* was married, by whom he had these children.

Antipater, of whom *Herode* and *Alexander*, both dying young children.

Alexandra, married to a *Iew* of *Cyprus*, beeing barren.

Iosippus the third Sonne of *Antipater*.

Concerning the brethren of *Phaselus*.

Herode commeth next after *Phaselus*, in respect of his age. But I holde it more conuenient to speak first of his brethren, whose actions were of lesse fame and esteeme.

Iosippus (called by some *Gisippus*) the third sonne of *Antipater*, was appoynted Gouvernour of *Idumea* by his father, who

had obtained the Principallity of *Iudea*. After his fathers death, he valiantly defended the family and affaires of his brother *Herode*, they being driuen into exile by *Antigonus* and the *Parthians*: withdrawing them into the City of *Messada*, against the sayd King *Antigonus*, enduring there a very difficult siege, vntill that his brother

Iosippus defended his
brothers cause and all
his friends.

brother *Herode* (being returned out of *Italy*) deliuered him and them, and was afterward proclaymed King by *Ottavius Augustus*, and by *Marke Anthony*.

Within a while after, when his brother *Herode* went to *Marke Anthony*, who besieged the City of *Samosata*, neare vnto *Euphrates*; the charge of the Army was giuen to him. But going inconsiderately foraging for *Corne*, with fixe silly bands of Souldiers: he was taken in the Straits of the mountains neare to *Iericho*, and there slain with all his men by *Antigonus*, about foure yeares after the death of his father.

His head being finitten off, was carried vp and downe in a mockery, and finally bought of *Antigonus*, by his brother *Pheroras*, for fifty Talents, that is, 30000 Crownes of the Sunne. He had a sonne named *Iosippus* also, to whom his vncle *Herode* gave in marriage, *Olympia*, the Sister of *Archelaus*, of whom he begat *Marians*, afterwards marry'd to *Herode* the lesse, King of *Chalcis*.

Antipater

Iosippus Pre-*Herode* King *Marthaca* a
sident of *I. of Iudea*. *Samaritanes*
dumca. his wife.

Iosippus, his wife *Olympia*.

Of them was borne *Mariana*, wife to *Herode*, son to *Aristobulus*, King of *Chalcis*.

Pheroras, the yongest sonne to *Antipater*, when his brother *Iosippus* was slain; being as yet but young, he continued alone, yet ayded his brother *Herode* valiantly, managing dangerous warres (on his behalfe) against *Antigonus*. At the request of *Herode*, *Augustus Caesar* made him Tetrarche, and vied him very honorably; yet returning but bad recompence therefore to his brother. For, hauing procured him, to put his wife *Mariana* to death, and his two sonnes *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*: he at the length compacted with *Antipater*, to compasse the death of his brother also. But being preuented by sudden death, hee escaped punishment. He dyed some few yeares before his brother *Herode*, and left two sonnes, to whom *Augustus* marry'd two daughters of de-

ceased *Herode*, *Roxana* and *Salome*, endowing each with fife and twentie thousand Crownes of the Sunne. Hee had a daughter also, marry'd to the sonne of *Antipater*, yongest sonne of King *Herode*.

Salome, daughter of *Antipater*, Sister
to *Herode* King of *Iudea*.

In her first marriage, shee was giuen to one named *Iosippus*, who being constituted guardian of *Mariana*, wife to *Herode*, was slaine by the Kings commaund, because hee would not reueale some matters of secrecie. Afterward shee was married to *Costabarus*, Gouvernor of *Idumea*, from whom shee seperated her selfe by diuorce, contrary to the Lawe of *Moses*: which permitted Husbonds to leave their Wiues for some cause of importance; but not Wiues to leave their Husbonds. Neuerthelesse, *Salome* vied this licence, confiding in the power of her brother: and afterward was the cause, that the sayd *Costabarus* dyed miserably. Finally, in despite of her selfe-will, *Herode* made her marry one *Alexis*: although shee was almost made in loue with a potent *Arabe*, named *Syleus*, an vtter enemy to *Herode*, and one that would not be circumcised.

This *Salome* was a meere Fury in the Court of her brother, and a flaming firebrand of domestick discordes, whereon many murders ensued. For, being wholly ouercome with hatred against *Marians* the *Asmonean* (who despised her, because she was not nobly borne) shee ceased not to enflame the spleene of her brother: contriuing false crimes of adultery and poisoning against her, vntill *Herode* had put his dearly affected wife to death. Which being done, and *Salome* fearing some reuenge to be inflicted on her: be-ganne to prouoke the father against *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, the sonne of *Mariana*, seruing her turne heerein with *Antipater*, the sonne of *Herode*, who stood in feare, that these two yong men should be aduanced and preferred before him to the kingdome.

Shee praye'd so well by her cunning plots and practises, that they both standing accused, for affecting the Kingdome, and preparing of poisonys, they were condemned; and, notwithstanding all their excellent partes and perfections, they

Her first husband slaine
by *Herodes* commaund.

Salome sepe-
rated herselfe
from her husband.

Salome was
wed in her
third marriage

Salome a fire
brand of con-
fusion in the
Court of King
Herode her
brother.

Alexander &
Aristobulus
both execu-
ted.

were strangled by their fathers command.

Moreover, by her secret and subtle reports, she wrung *Antipater* into his fathers ill opinion and disgrace, although hee had bene her companion in all her wickednesse; plotting and preparing all the treasons against his father, whereof he had fallily accused his most innocent brethren, the sonnes of *Marians*, vntill himselfe was caught in the same snare, and (by his fathers command) dispatched also.

Shee, the minister of so many monstrous cruelties, did suruiue her brother *Herode*; who left her (by his last will and testament) three most opulent Cities, to wit, *Lamnia*, *Azot* and *Phaselus*; beside two millions and an halfe of silver coine,

which amounts to fifty thousand crowns of the Sunne.

Moreover, she being familiar (by Letters) with *Livia*, wife to *Augustus* (whom *Iosephus* continually calleth *Iulius*) the said *Augustus* gaue her the Castle royall in the City of *Afcalon*. And she received annually out of the fore-named Cities, three score Talents, which arise to thirtie fixe thousand crownes of the Sunne.

Hauiug liued twelue yeares after the death of her brother *Herode*; shee dyed a yeare before the departure of *Augustus* out of this life, and left (by her testament) to *Livia*, wife to *Augustus*, those Cities which she formerly held. She left a sonne named *Antipater*, and a daughter singularly beautifull, called *Berenice*, of whom came these children following.

Caftabarus President
of *Idumea*.

Salome sister to
King *Herode*.

Cypria daughter of *Antipater* espoused her, albeit shee was his cousine.

Berenice married to her cousine *Aristobulus*, the *Idumean*.

Cypria.

Alexas son in law to *Salome*, King of *Idumea*, sister to *Herode*, by the 3. husband.

Aristobulus, mentioned in the gospel.

Marians.

Cypria.

Agrippa

The second, succeeded in the Kingdome of *Chalcis*, after his Vnckle *Herode*.

Herode, the second sonne of *Antipater*, whom some doe call the Great, was the first King of *Iudea*, being of a contrary Nation.

Herode being as yet but young, was ordained President of *Galilee*, by his father *Antipater*, soone after *Iulius Caesar* had finished the warres in *Egypt*. He gaue immediate probation of his industry and valour, hauing destroyed and slaine *Ezechias* the Jew, and a troop of theues that wasted *Syria*: for the which being highly commended by the *Syrians*, hee found great grace and fauor with *Sextus Caesar*, who then gouerned the Prouince of *Syria*. It fortuned, that by the instigation of them that enuyed *Antipater*, *Hyrcanus* the

Soueraigne Sacrificer (contrary to his will) gaue personall summonses to *Herode*, in regard of the *Jewes* by him taken and slaine in *Syria*: without listening to the sentence of soueraigne Iudgement, which then was tearmed *Sanhedrin*, of the Greek word *Syneon*, as I conceiue, and consisted of seauenty and two Iudges, who were called the seuentie Ancients. *Philo* writeth, that before the kingdome of *Herode*, the Iudges of that Councell were chosen out of the posteritie of *Dauid* only. *Herode* hauing aduertisement (by Letters)

The royall castle of *Afcalon* gaue to *Salome*.

The death of *Salome*, and what issue shee left.

ters from his father, appeared at *Ierusalem* on the day of Affignation, accompanied with a reasonable guard, and recommended by *Sextus Caesar*.

Hyrcanus perceiuing, that the Iudges were heauily incensed by the aduerfaries of *Antipater*, and that they would not faile to giue sentence in sharpe manner: desiring to gratifie his friend *Antipater*, he secretly admonished *Herode*, to withdraw himselfe out of the city, before he were condemned by the *Jewes* sentence, and thereupon conuayed to punishment.

The young man returned backe into *Syria*, very impatiently bearing the iniurie, which hee conceived to be doone him by the Iudges, declaring to *Sextus Caesar* the treacherie of the Cittizens, and hauing received from him part of the *Romaine* Army, and the regiment of the lower *Syria*: hee resolved to reuenge the wrong which the Councell had offered him: So, going vp to *Ierusalem* with a maine Army, hee could hardly be withheld by his father, and his brother *Phaselus*, who met him by the way, and made him to retreat his army into *Syria*. But yet he could not remoue his mallice, which still he continued against the Conffitorie: and which hee vterly quailed and ouerthrew, after his coming to the Crowne.

Not long after the death of *Iulius Caesar*, by a close ambush, and ayde of *Cassius* his Souldiours; he procured *Malichus* to be slaine, being the murdurer of his father *Antipater*. Which being done, once more hee expelled out of *Iudea* *Antigonus*, the sonne of *Aristobulus*, whom hee ouercame in warre, albeit hee had recovered part of *Iudea*.

After that *Cassius* and *Brutus* were vanquished neare to *Philippi*, when *Marke Anthony* was come into *Syria*; *Ambassadors* went from the *Jewes* to meete him at *Bithynia*, accusing there *Phaselus* and *Herode* to him, because the lawfull heires of the kingdome were expelled, and they (by force) holde the whole gouernement of *Iudea*. *Herode* also met them there, well furnished with rich and sumptuous gifts, to bestow on *Marke Anthony*: of whom hee was entertained most benignely, for the loue hee had borne to his father *Antipater*, when being Lieutenant to *Gabinus*, hee was still in warre, during the peace of *Syria* and *Iudea*. Wherefore,

howsoever hee listened to the *Jewes* accusations, yet hee ordained *Phaselus* and his brother *Herode* Tetrarchs of *Iudea*. And because the *Jewes* ceased not to lend Embassie vpon Embassie, and continually in great number, amounting to a thousand men in the end. *Marke Anthony* punished them with imprisonment. And because they neuer would giue ouer, but daily irritated, that (by no meanes) they might be subiected to *Herode*; hee caused some of them to be put to death.

Hyrcanus descended to *Anthony* in *Syria* (already conioyned with *Herode* in affinity, to whom hee had giuen his younger sister *Marians*, daughter of *Alexander* and *Alexandra*: who was honourably entertained by *Anthony*, and confirmed in the possession of the High-priesthood; and obtained those cities and persons (seduced by *Cassius* into seruitude) to be deliuered and enfranchised; and that the rapined goodes should be restored to their first owners.

The yeare following, *Facorus* hauing subdued *Syria* (attracted by great promises) brought *Antigonus* backe againe to *Ierusalem*, as hath formerly bene sayde. Where *Herode* (hearing that his brother *Phaselus* and *Hyrcanus* the foueraigne Sacrificer were detained prisoners, contrary to the lawes of Nations, knowing also, that the *Jewes* were affected to *Antigonus*, fearing both his enemies and the Cittizens) he departed forth secretly in the dead time of the night, with his Mother *Cypria*, his wife *Doris*, his sister *Salome*, his affianced *Marians*, his mother in lawe *Alexandra*, and eight hundred other women, beside a great company of friends, and (with much adoe) got nor safelie into *Idumea*. For his mother was forewounded by the way, by reason of the Waggon's ouerthrow vpon her: so that *Herode* (as halfe desperate) thought to haue slaine himselfe, because hee was ouer-closely pursued by the barbarous people, whom (neuerthelesse) hee valiantly droue backe, and quite ouercame.

There he left all his company, and such goodes as they carried with them; in a strong Citie named *Masada*, vnder the charge and protection of his brother *Isidippus*: and went very secretly (attended but with a few Souldiours) to king *Aretas*, relying vpon the loue and friendship

FFf 3. which

Antipater disgraced by her meanes, and brought to his death

The fountaine of *Herode*: to which *Antipater* at last came.

The kindnes of *Hyrcanus*, in declining him from the Iudges sentence.

Herode goeth with an army against *Ierusalem*, but is repented by his father & brother.

Herode reuenges the death of his father.

Brutus and *Cassius* fouled at *Philippi*. *Herode* becometh an enemy against the diuellers.

Fazechias the Jew and his accomplices were slaine by *Herode* in his yong yeares.

Herode summoned to appear (onall appearance) by *Hyrcanus*.

Anthony is put to death the *Jewes* Ambassadors.

Hyrcanus goes to *Anthony* in *Syria*, & is kindly welcomed or him.

Herode teacheth himselfe by night, and a great company with him.

Herode leaues his company in *Masada*, and goeth secretly to King *Aretas* in Arabia.

The arrival
of Herode at
Rome with
Marke An-
thony.

The grace &
favour that
Herod found
with the Ro-
mane Senate

Antigonus de-
clared enemy
to Rome; and
Herod pro-
claimed King
of Iudea.

The Romane
captains cor-
rupted by
gold sent from
Antigonus,
kill Herode.

which was betweene him and his father *Antipater*. But being hindered from entering into *Arabia*, hee passed (with great difficultie) into *Egypt* to *Cleopatra*, who furnishing him with needfull things: hee tooke shipping in the worst season of all the year, and shaped his course directly for *Rome*; where being arrived, hee acquainted *Mark Anthony* with the fraud of *Antigonus*, his owne flight, and perill of the people hee had in charge; humbly entreating him, that hee would not suffer him to be thus trampled on by his enemies, to whom hee had expressed kinnesse, and oftentimes exalted them.

Anthony reported the complaint and request of *Herode*, to his companion *Augustus* in the Empire, and both they together commended their suppliant friend to the Senate: remembering the perpetual deuotion & loyalty of his father *Antipater*, towards the Captaines and Souldiours of *Rome*, and especially to *Julius Caesar*. In briefe, they preuailed so farre, that (by common voice) *Antigonus* was iudged enemy to the people of *Rome*: and the kingdome of *Iudea* conferred on *Herode*, the seauenth day after his coming to *Rome*. He was conducted to the Senate house going in the middle betweene *Augustus* and *Anthony*; *Domitius Calpurnius*, and *Asinius Pollus*, Consules, going before him, accompanied with other Magistrates and Senatours, euen all the way thence to the Capitole, where the Sacrifices were performed. And this beeing the first day of his reigne, hee was magnificently feasted by *Marke Anthony*: fourre yeares after the death of *Julius Caesar*; two yeares after them of *Cicero*, and thirty seuen before the birth of our Sauour Christ.

Herode being returned into *Iudea*, had a very difficult warre against King *Antigonus*, which continued the space of fourre yeares: because that the *Romane* Captaines (as *Ventidius*, *Sile* and some other, who had the charge of placing *Herode* in full possession of the kingdome) were corrupted by gold sent from *Antigonus*, desiring nothing more then deserting, and neuer earnestly assisted *Herode*. Besides, many *Iewes* (ill affected to the house of *Antipater*) moued many troubles against him.

The beginning then of *Herodes* reigne

was wonderfully difficulte, and yet (notwithstanding) by his industrie, diligence and vertue, and softly steppe by steppe hee ouercame all hinderances, and possessed himselfe of *Galilee*, *Samaria*, and the very greatest part of *Iudea*.

Afterward, *Ventidius* sent some bands to succour him, conducted by one named *Macherus*; but *Herode* perceiving him to be dull and slowe, and that hee went but coldly about the businesse, as expecting, that *Antigonus* should still furnish him with fresh handfulls; without expecting any further ayde from such Captaines, hee vndertook great iournies, to encounter with *Antigonus*, who besieged *Samofata*. And (by the way) sped very successfully, against diuers theues that hindered his passages.

As thus he drew nearer to his enemy, *Marke Anthony* came to meete him, and did him such honour as became a King, with the greater part of his Armie. After hee had heard his complaints, concerning the disloyalty of some Captaines, who (corrupted by the gifts of *Antigonus*) had executed no part of the command from *Augustus* and the Senate: hee sent two legions of olde Souldiours into *Iudea*, and commaunded *Sofius* (one of his faithfull Captaines) to follow them with an other Armie, so soone as the City of *Samofata* was surrendered.

In the absence of *Herode*, his brother *Iosippus*, fighting to his owne disadvantage; was slaine with his Armie, by the Souldiours of *Antigonus*, neare to *Iericho*. Also, the *Galileans* revolted, and many rebelled in *Iudea*: wherefore *Herode* returned with those olde bands, and hardly appeased them of *Galilee*. Afterwards, by many encounters, wherein hee had one while the best, and another while the worst, he so weakened the forces of *Antigonus*: as (at length) hee withdrew into the fortesse of *Ierusalem*.

Herode brought his Armie against the Cittie, and after hee had raised his munitions, and builded diuers engines needfull for batterie: hee left the Armie vnder certaine Captaines and iournied in to *Samaria*, to elpouse *Marianna* the *Assyrian*, who (as I haue formerly tolde you) was daughter to *Alexander*, the youngest sonne of *Hyrcanus* the second, who (fourre yeares before) was affianced to *Herode*, that

Herod came
with his
hinderances
whithout
sustenance.

Herod march
against An-
tonius be-
sieging Sam-
ofata.

Marke An-
thony comes
with Herode,
and vied him
very honour-
ably.

Herodes bro-
ther Iosippus
slaine, and
Galilee reuol-
ted from him.

Herode goes
to Samaria
to marry
Marianna.

CHAP. XIII.

How Herode, after all these tumultuous troubles and molestations, attained to the sole Government of the Kingdome of Iudea.



After that the Cittie was taken in this manner, and *Antigonus* (the last King of the *Aymoneans*) slaine: *Herode* enioyed the Kingdome of *Iudea*, three and thirtie yeares before the Natiuitie of Christ. Having taken order for the Realmes affaires, hee cruelly murdered all those great Lords, that had ioyed themselves with *Antigonus* against him. And seeing that hee had consumed and wasted all his goods, as also those of his kined and friends, in gifts and charges of the warre, by an especiall Edict, he compelled the Citizens, to bring all their Jewells of gold and silver to the kings castle, and all such money as they had be-
 He appointed likewise Guardes at the gates, to search all such as passed in or out: yea, such as carried the dead to buriall, fearing lest (in any manner) they should conuey thence coine, or any precious thing whatsoeuer.

At this time happened a famine, in regard of the seueneth yeare of rest, wherein it was not lawfull to sowe the grounds. And in the former yeares past, the fields remayned (in many places) vntilled, by reason of the continuall ciuile warres. So that the estate of the Cittie was very miserable, being fallen into wofull stermitude, whereof the better sort of people, as *Simeon*, *Zachary*, *Ioseph* and some such other tooke part: who neuertheless, in these sad spectacles and miserable calamities, cheered vp their drouping spirites, by hope of the *Messias* his coming, who should saue them. And they perceived it to draw neare, because they obserued, that the Scepter was now wholly taken from the house of *Iuda*.

Herode standing in feare of the displeased people, by his horrible rapines and cruelties: to appease and quiet them, re-
 pealed

that is to say, before that the *Parthians* had invaded the Countrey.

In the meane while, *Sofius* being sent from *Anthony* with his Souldiers, marched on diligently, and ioynd his armie with the other belonging to *Herode*, whose nuptials being ended, and hee returned to *Ierusalem*: the two Captaines beganne to assaile the Cittie manfull; in diuers places. The besieged *Iewes* had great want of principall munitions, and yet notwithstanding, they thought, that they should be diuinely deliuered. For they continually vied to say, that they fought for freedom of the people for their lawfull king against strangers, for the Temple and Religion against Pagans; sustaining (for some length of time) a very sharpe besieging, and much molesting the enemy by their sallies. But finally, the City was surprized in the moneth of Maie, the very same day as (seuen and twenty yeares before) *Pompey* had conquered it, as hath bene said, *M. Agrippa* and *Candius Galles* being then Confuls.

The *Romane* Souldiers being much displeased at so long a siege, and losse of many of their people; made pitifulle slaughter, not onely of the armed *Iewes*, but also of such as had no defence at all. King *Antigonus*, throwing himselfe at the feete of *Sofius*, humbly desired pardon: but hee was iniunctiously reiected, and being strongly bound, sent to *Marke Anthony* at *Antioche*, where, at the request of *Herod*, he was slaine.

In this Militarie furie and combustion, *Herod* had worke enough to do, to hinder the *Romans*, from entering into the most secret place of the Temple, to robbe and carry thence the sacred treasures. Moreover, hee was glad to promise an infinite summe of mony, to obtaine such fauour, that the goods of the Citizens might not bee imbezeled, and borne away by the Souldiours. And in this troublefome tempest, we will giue conclusion to this Chapter; because we enter now into the reigne of *Herode*, and are to speake of matters concerning those times.

Sofius ioynd
his forces with
Herods army.

A foolish
hope and per-
suasion in the
Iewes for their
deliuerance.

Ierusalem
conquered by
Herode and
Sofius.

Antigonus
sawes Anti-
oche, and there
slaine by He-
rodes instiga-
tion.

The furie of
Souldiers is
very easily
induced to
robberie and
licentiousness.

At what time
the reigne of
king Herode
beganne.

Herodes cruel
money vpon
the people.

A great fa-
mine among
the people.

Hope of the
coming of
the Messias, a
great com-
fort to the
faithfull.

Hyrcanus to
called from
banishment
by Herode, &
highly hono-
red.

repealed (by his letters) from banishment *Hyrcanus* the second, who lived then in *Babylon*, because he had married the daughter of his daughter, and sent presents to the king of *Parthia*, for the ransom of his captivité. When he was come to *Jerusalem*; hee did not make him foueraigne Sacrificer, because hee was mutilate or imperfect: but in recompence thereof, bestowed great honours vpon him, so that in publique assemblies, he caused him to sit in the highest roome. At the same time he substituted (in stead of *Antigenus* in the High-priesthood) another *Sen* come from *Babylon*, named *Ananias*, a matter greatly offensive to him and the people. Which *Herode* perceiuing, hee depouled *Ananias*, and placed in his stead *Aristobolus*, brother to his wife *Marianna*: whom hee caused to die by detestable fraude a yeare after, rendering the High-priest-hood to the layd *Ananias* againe. Whereupon, *Alexandra* accused him of this crime to *Cleopatra*, and he being appealed by *Anthony* to *Laodicea*, to render an account for this imputation; rather pacified him by golden giftes, then any vaine and vnaudible excuses.

* Towne and Promontorie of Ephe, where Augustus, after hee had conquered Anthony and Cleopatra built the ciue Nicopolis.

Fortune both fauorable and aduersie to Herode.

An earthquake, which killed many people in Iudea.

The warre at *Actium* being now on foote, as *Augustus* and *Anthony* prepared themselves, to contend who should remaine the master: *Herode* conueyed himselfe to *Anthony*, and voluntarily made him offer, of whatsoeuer he could doe against *Augustus*, hauing forces in readinesse for him. But *Anthony* made him answer, that he had not any neede of such succour; giuing him charge (by the perswasion of *Cleopatra*) to make warre on the *Arabes*, who would not pay the annuall penion of two hundred Talents, whereof, he had made promise to *Cleopatra*. At the very entrance into this war, he ouerthrew the *Arabes* in one day: but Fortune afterward changing her fauour, hee lost (well-neare) all his armie, and was taken likewise in the field.

Beside this calamity of the *Iewes*, a sudden Earthquake happened, which slew aboue ten thousand persons in *Iudea*: euen when the Armies by Sea of *Augustus* and *Anthony*, encountered together at *Actium*, in the seventh yeare of *Herodes* reigne. Hee hauing (so well as he could) vniited his forces together againe; repulsed the *Arabes*, and compelled them to returne

home into their countrey: which otherwise had conuerted to the *Iewes* heavier calamities, because they (encouraged by their wofull miseries) put all to fire and sword throughout *Iudea*. And this earthquake, as also the inrodes of the enemy were followed by a dreadfull pestilence: which made lamentable spoyle and haucke, both in the fields and cities, and likewise in the Kings campe.

After these apparent and publique calamities, meeting together in such grieuous manner; *Herode* fell into a great personall danger. For, after the day at *Actium*, wherein *Anthony* (the chiefe friend to *Herode*) was foyled, and dying thereupon: *Herode* was in no meane dismay, for feare of *Augustus* the Conquerour; and the people well perceiued his feare, because hee knew not how to determine of himselfe. Whereupon, some of the people (vnable to endure this dominion of a stranger) beganne to exalt their spirits, vnder hope of some sudden noueltie, and ioyed at the danger wherein *Herode* was. Aboue all the rest, his mother in law *Alexandra* (imagining the time to be now come, wherein shee might reuenge the death of her sonne, and recreate the kingdom againe to her own family) solicited very strong and firmly her father *Hyrcanus* (now very aged and decrepitate, and one that alwayes affected quietnesse) in regarde of his many iniuries; to flee into *Arabia*, to the end, that if *Herode* were ill entreated by *Augustus*; he might the easilier inuade the kingdom, being assisted by the *Arabes*.

Dositheus, a most disloyall seruant, deliuered the Letters (intended for this purpose, and sent by him to the King of *Arabia*) to King *Herode*: who desiring to be more fully informed in the fact, sent *Dositheus* into *Arabia* with the Letters, and after hee had receyued answer from the King, concerning the Letters sent vnto him: he caused *Hyrcanus* to be condemned, by the sentence of Iustice as a traitour, and so put to death. Some others write, that *Herod*, fearing the perill wherein hee sawe himselfe to be fallen, and the multitude of the *Iewes* (of whom he was deeply hated) might easly be moued by such an occasion, to transierre the Kingdom to *Hyrcanus*, who onely remayned of the *Asmoneans* race: imposed a false crime

One misdeed following in the race of another.

Herode lost Mark Anthony his best friend.

Herode in great feare of Augustus.

The proceeding of Alexandra against her sonne in law Herode.

All her hope frustrated by Dositheus an vnfaithfull seruant.

Hyrcanus condemned and executed as a traitour, by the cunning treachery of Herod.

crime vpon him, and preyed so well by counterfeited letters, that the good olde man was condemned to death.

This being done, hee sent his mother, his sister, their other kined, and all their attendants, as also his brother *Phorcas*, to a strong munit Cittie in *Iudea*, called *Masada*. But withdrew his mother in lawe *Alexandra*, and his wife *Marianna* (who hee thought could not well agree with the other women) to another Fort, named *Alexandria*; giuing the charge of them to *Isippus*, Generall for the finances of the kingdom, and to *Soemus* his most certaine and singular friends. And this trust also he imposed on them; that if *Augustus* offered any ill to him: they should kill the two women instantly, and conferre (so much as in them possibly lay) the kingdom for his sonnes, vntill they were come to age, by the assistance of his brother *Phorcas*.

These matters being thus ordered and appointed, hee trauelled on to *Augustus*, who then heard all Ambassadors in the Isle of *Rhodes*, where, leaving off his diadem and kingly robes, keeping all the rest of royall liberty, as trusting in his cause and the Emperours clemencie; he confessed, that hee had bene a friend to *Marke Anthony*, and would haue sent him succour, if he had required it; but that he was diuinely withdrawne from his company (in how miserable condition soeuer) by the warre which hee then made vpon the *Arabes*. Wherein he had sustained so many losses and misfortunes, that hee was sufficiently punished for his friendship to *Anthony*, and for the seruices he had done vnto him. But if now it pleased *Augustus* to experiment his faithfulness; hee would make it apparent vnto him, by as true seruices.

Augustus tooke such delight in the magnanimous confession of *Herode*, that hee embraced him amiably, restoring him to his Crowne, and assuring him, to expect as many kinde beneuolences from him, as euer hee had receiued by *Marke Anthony*.

Herode finding *Augustus* so gracious, tooke courage from the former despayre wherein hee was, assuring now the possession of his Kingdom the more firmly to him. Wherefore hee exceeded his abilities in gifts to *Augustus*, as also to his

friends and the Army. Hee bare the Emperour company beside, at his sayling into *Egypt*; and when he came into *Syria*: hee receyued him with entertainment more then royall, hauing borrowed all necessarie prouision, throughout all the parts of *Iudea*.

Augustus finding so many great respects, meerey flowing from *Herode*, restored that part of *Iudea* to him, which *Anthony* had giuen to *Cleopatra*: adding thereto likewise *Samaria*, and other Cities on the Sea-coastes, whereby the wealth of his kingdom was greatly augmented.

Herode hauing mette with all this happiness and felicitie abroad, at his returne home into *Iudea*, found all things there very bitter and troublesome, by priuate and domesticke hatreds. For, his wife *Marianna* had already gotten intelligence (two feuerall times) by the Guardes, that they had charge to kill her and her mother; if eyther *Anthony* before hand, or *Augustus* now in this doubtfull time, disclosed otherwife then well of him. Whereupon, at their meeting, *Marianna* by no means would come neare him, notwithstanding all the flatteries or signes of ardent loue hee shewed to her: reproouing him for such cruell commands; and plainly telling him, that they were no testimonies of a true husband. *Herode* entred into suspicion, that it was not possible for him to be disclosed, or his secrets knowne to the Guardes: but eyther it must be by *Isippus*, or lastly, by *Soemus*, therefore he grew very chollericke, and studied how to taxe and punish her for adultery. And yet such was the power of his loue, that hee could not credite all that he suspected, neyther exercise any crueltye against so faire a woman, of great Nobilitie, endowed with all graces belonging to a body of such singularitye.

At length, his sister *Salome* remooued all these hinderances in him, and prouoked him on to an execrable execution; for, finding apt occasion to reuenge her owne contempt, she kindled a fierce fire in him of suspection, namely, in the matter of adulterie, adding withall, an intent of poyson prepared for him, which shee approoued to the King, by testimonie of his owne Taster or Cup bearer, whome shee had wonne thereto by liberrall gifts of money.

Herods bounde to Augustus, true beyond his power & ability.

Augustus enlarged the power and authority of Herode.

Marianna informed of Herodes intention by the Guardes.

Herodes suspicion of his secrets disclosed, and practising, sent his wife.

Deadly is the malice of one woman to another.

Mariana the wife of King Herod wrongfully executed, for which he repented heavily afterward.

A grievous pestilence in Judea, King Herode himself lying dead in Samaria.

The death of Alexandra.

Herode cruel to his familiar friends.

Theaters erected in Jerusalem for lewd and dissolute sports.

money. Heereupon, the King grew outrageously incensed against her; and having caused her to be condemned by the sentence of his friends, commanded her to be immediately executed, although she had beene the mother to him of five children. But soone after hee repented his vnauided rashnesse, and so extremely desired his wives company agayne; that he fell into an extraordinary languishing, shunning all societie whatsoever. And, vnder colour of riding on hunting, hee would secretly steale into Caues and Dennes in the Forrest, as hoping there to finde some alluaging of his sorrows; and being vnable to withstand the extremitie of melancholie, hee fell into a deadly disease.

At the same time, there was a great plague or pestilence in Judea, whereby multitudes of people were consumed: so that many men were periwaded verily, that God had sent this punishment for the Kings cruelties. And as the King himselfe lay extremely sick in Samaria, where every one was in mightie despaire of his life: *Alexandra* (his mother in law) strove by large promises, to winne the Guardes of the Temple and Cittie to partake with her. But the conspiracie being revealed, *Herode* gaue order for her sudden execution. The King then seemed outwardly to be somewhat recovered, but yet carryed himselfe most cruelly against those friends, that were of greatest familiaritie with him; because his sicknesse (howeuer shadowed) increased daily impatience, which made him the more inclined to all vilenesse and tyrannie.

When he perceived, that there remained not any one of the *Asmoneans* Family, or of any other side, to interrupt him in his power, only the multitude excepted; hee grew to such assurance of himselfe, that he did many things repugnant to the lawes of God, and the customes received by the *Iewes*. For, in the Cittie of *Jerusalem* it selfe, hee builded a Theater and an Amphitheater, wherein were performed foule and dissolute plays, huntings, and combats of Fencers, according to the manner of the Pagans. He instituted also (at every five yeares end) a Ioust and Tournament, in the honour of *Augustus*, proposing there publickly the *Cæsars* Images, and the Victories ob-

tayned by them. But vnderstanding, that the people were greatly offended with these vnsual things, prohibited by the Lawes of God, and prouoking many to practise his killing, as also conspiring means whereby to effect it: he fortified diuers places very respectiue, against all ambushes and seditions; as *Alexandria*, *Herodium*, *Hircanian*, and others, and planted strong garrisons in the most commodious places.

Hee builded also newly (or else magnificently repayed) diuers Citties and Townes, which hee filled by the names of Emperours, or of his friends: the principall whereof was the Tower of *Straton* on the Sea side, which hee called *Cæsarea*; and *Samaria*, distant a dayes iorney from *Jerusalem*, which hee called *Sebasta*, that is to say, *Augustus*, according to the Emperours name. Also, he repayed *Athelion*, which hee called *Arrippion*, of *Agrippa*, the kinteman to *Cæsar*. Hee builded *Antipatrida*, by the name of his father, in the field of *Capharsalama*. Also *Phaselida*, by the name of his brother, neare to *Ichicha*; and *Herodium*, by his owne name, on the Marches of *Arabia*.

In the thirteenth yeare of his reigne, there happened a great dearth throughout the Land, by reason of an extraordinary drought; which was the cause, that a great famine did accompany the preceeding mortalitie of men and beasts: during which time, *Herod* caused diligent search for corne, & brought great quantities out of *Egypt*, and other neighbouring Regions beside, which hee distributed (by the poule) to the people. But, because money grew short for such a distribution, in regarde that the royall treasure had bene wasted, about those sumptuous and excessive buildings; hee employed all his vessels of golde and silver, and all his Jewells besides, in the buying of corne. By which bounteous liberality, hee not onely redeemed the losse of his credit, by the offences done to his people, but also drew great fauour and affection from them.

In the seventeenth yeare of his reigne, *Augustus* comming into *Syria*, gaue the Kingdome of *Chaldea* to *Herode*; adding also thereto *Drachonitis*, and *Batanea*. Moreover, he gaue him power, in this his long sicknesse, to appoynt and leave

Fortification of Herodes, made upon the top of his line.

Citties and towne newly builded or repayed by Herode.

A wonderful famine, together with the pestilence of men and beasts.

Herode spent all his Plate and Jewells for buying corne to feed the people.

A region of Syria bestowed by Augustus and the Læse Tribunes. A place neare to Ephrates.

A Temple dedicated to Augustus.

Spies and intelligencers appointed to stirre the people what spee they were vnder of him.

The oath of silence & silence exacted by Herodes.

The Pharisees excepted from the Oath.

The Pharisees excepted from the Oath.

which of his sonnes he pleased, to be his heire and successeur. In recompence of which large bountie, *Herode* dedicated a goodly Temple to *Augustus*, which hee builded in *Pneada*, neare to the fountes that feede the riuer *Jordane*. Which Pagan flattery of his, estranged agayne the multitude of the *Iewes* from him; and therefore to please them, hee quitted the third part of their taxations. Notwithstanding, as he could not containe some of them, crying out incessantly, that it was intolerable to erect temples to mortal men in *Judea*, and there to reuerence them as Gods: so he sought to restraine other by violent torments, sending Spies and Pickethankes into publique and private Assemblies, who reported vnto the King whatsoever was spoken of him. It is further reported of him, that himselfe (sickely as hee was) in a common habite or disguise, would often walke abroad in the night time, listening in such companies as conferred together, to know what they said, concerning the present estate of the kingdome.

At length, finding neither loue nor fidelitie in the people, hee strove to binde them fast to him by oath; wherein hee preuayled, attracting some by large and goodly promises, to giue him their oath of Allegiance and Loyaltie: others hee constrained by feare of torments; putting some to death in diuers kindes, that peremptorily refused to sweare. Onelie the *Pharisees* stood excepted, whom hee pardoned, in loue to a few aged men, that hee reuerenced for their sanctitie of life, and which made them deare to the people. Neuerthelesse, hee condemned them in great fines and amercedments, which were payed by the wife of *Pheroxas*, to binde that Sect in loue to her. He quitted also the *Essenes* from taking the Oath, holding them in no meane admiration: as following a manner of living most holily, and farre exceeding humane nature; being singular in fore-telling things to come.

In the eighteenth yeare of his reigne, being desirous to vnitie his subjects to him by farre greater benefites, and to abolish the remembrance of his preceeding excesses: hee vnderooke to builde the Temple of *Jerusalem* most magnificently, the former building (if heerein wee

may beleeue *Iosephus*) being vtterly beaten downe, which building had continued five hundred yeares, after the returne from *Babylon*. This worke, admirable in greatnesse, sumptuousnesse and cunning, was finished in eight yeares, and dedicated with great solemnitie: wherein hee gaue three hundred Oxen for the Sacrifices, seauen yeares before the Natinitie of Christ.

Afterward, the Disciples declared the magnificence of the building. And, as Christ fore-tolde, after that the Temple had continued about foure-score yeares; it was vtterly ruined by the *Romans*, from the top to the bottom.

The building of the Temple being ended, hee would needs be carried to *Rome*, to salute the Emperour *Augustus*: From thence hee brought with him his sonnes *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, whom hee had by his murdered *Mariana*, and had sent them tenne yeares before to *Rome*, to be brought vp in the house of *Asinius Pella*. And the reason of his bringing thence into *Judea*, was, to quicken and cheare their hopes; that they were to succede him in the kingdome. And first of all, he bestowed wises on them; and giuing to *Alexander*, *Glaphira*, daughter to *Archelaus*, King of *Cappadocia*; and to *Aristobulus*, *Berenice*, daughter to his sister *Salome*.

These young Lords and Ladies, were very gracefull both in minde and bodie, which made them the more choicely affected of the people. But *Salome*, and some other (who had induced *Herode* to murder his wife, fearing if they should come to the Crowne, they would reuenge the death of their mother) laboured, by little and little, to kinde hatred in *Herode* against them, deliuering aspersions abroad; that they disdayned their fathers company, because hee had put their mother to death.

Herode growing into health, by weak degrees, and these wicked deuices proceeding on; newes came, that *Agrippa* (neare kinsman to *Augustus*) was arrived in *Asia*, and *Herode* journeying to meete him, quickly perswaded him to visite *Judea*. Having giuen him there most honourable entertainment, and shewne him the munitions and other buildings; he returned to his Campe, making

The Temple of Jerusalem newly builded by King Herodes.

Month 24. 1. Markes 13. 1. Luke 21. 5.

Herode is carried to Rome to see the Emperour.

Asinius Pella, a noble Romaine.

The marriages of Herodes two sonnes.

They that haue once dealt in blood, are alwayes suspicious of themselves.

Agrippa kinsman to Augustus came into Asia.

king great haste in going thither. The winter being ouer-past, *Herode* followed him, when he crossed to *Pontus* his armie by sea, and kept him company during the time of that expedition. Returning soon after to his owne home, hee found all in disorder, by domestick hatreds purposefully prepared. For his sister *Salome*, and his brother *Pheroras*, immediately accused *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* (being the sonnes of *Marians*) affirming, that they had openly complayned on the vnjust death of their mother, and threatened to be reuenged for it. Heereto they added, that winning the Vulgars fauour without any dissimulation; they had prepared a traine for their aunient father: trusting to the power of *Archelaus*, father in lawe to one of them, and to the friendship of the *Romaines* on the other side, which they had long both wrought to this intent, with the very mightiest in the Court of *Augustus*.

False accusations imputed on Alexander and Aristobulus, by Salome and Pheroras.

Herode layes traines to entrap his innocent sonnes vpon the treacherous, free chies of his brother and sister.

Herode enduring continually any thing, much rather then the least suspicion of vndermining his kingdome; became amazed mightily at these allegations, appoynted some of his intimate friends, to be present at banquets, and other familiar conferences with his sonnes, to be the better assured of their words & attempts: When (perchance) the young Lords (neither proiecting or suspecting any ill) might utter some one word more liberally then other (being thereto prouoked by crosse language in the vrgers) purposefully deliuered forth, to draw somewhat from them, in extolling the nobilitie and vertue of their Mother, which is the bounden duty of any childe to doe. But this serued the turne sufficiently, for *Herode* to credite, that whatsoever his sister had reported, was true. First of all therefore, he reprehended them very severely; next, to induce their better modesty and reuerence to their father, by feare and ialousie; he beganne to countenance, and carefully respect his sonne *Antipater*, (who was borne of *Doris*, when she liued a person of priuate condition) that they might thereby gather his intention, for making him to bee his successeur in the kingdome.

This did more vehemently distaste the young Lords, and made them now to complaine more bitterly of their father,

as also of their owne unhappinesse and ill vsage; all which behauiour in them, was imparted to their father by the afore-sayd intelligencing spies. Beside, *Salome* compelled her daughter *Berenice* (by frequent iniuries incited betweene her and her husband) to disclofe what secrets passed betweene the two brothers, and what priuate conferences they had together. All which she made in much greater manner to the King, then they were indeed, one by hir vile additions, and falsifications, incensing him still so extremely against them, that he tooke them both with him to *Rome*, and accused them of treason before *Augustus*.

A mother worketh a daughter against the list of her owne husband.

There, after the infortunate Gentlemen had made satisfaction to *Augustus* and some other Iudges, by euident purgations, teares and intreaties, they were reconciled again into their fathers grace, and returned home with him to *Iudea*: where the Multitude beeing met together, he declared before them the cause of his iourney, and to what happie successe it had forced. Adding withall, that (by the liking of *Augustus*) *Antipater* was next to succcede after his death, as being his eldest sonne; and then afterward, *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* should enioy their right, in reigning each after other; all which hee reported to the people in a long discourse, which we haue formerly related in our Militarie Orations.

Augustus consulted the friends to their father.

From this time forward, *Antipater* insisted the more audaciously, in whetting the fathers spleene against his brethren, by false, forged and crafty calumniation; beside diuers other reports of nouelties, meereley deuised for the purpose. He being highly displeased, that they should haue any title or claime at all to the kingdome: as fretting extremely, that their credite held more specially with the people then theirs did, for the mothers sake of whom they came. In briefe, he neuer ceased, till (by the helpe of *Pheroras* and *Salome*) till he had perswaded his father, that his two sonnes *Alexander* and *Aristobulus*, were growne proude vpon their reconciliation, and practised (instantly) to possesse themselues of the Kingdome. *Herode* beeing further informed of those accusations, by such as were employed for the purpose; by racking, torturing and other cruelties, put to death many of his

Antipater still worketh maliciously against his brethren, insinuating that they should liue.

Herode ready to death, many friends that were once of his sonnes vpon false reports.

his owne friends, and of his Sonnes. And yet no other harme could bee appointed against them, but onely youthfull and vnadvised complaints, of excessive cruelty in their father; and his ouercastie facilitie, in lending eare to false reports, only through the detestable impietie of their brother *Antipater*, and them of his linage.

Herode impatient at so many suspitions, and fiered hourly with the diuells of his house, *Salome*, *Antipater* and their complices: once more, by his letters sent to *Augustus*, he flatly accused *Alexander* and *Aristobulus* of treason. Now, because *Augustus* had giuen him permission, to punish his sonnes according to the exigence of their crimes: hee accused them before *Saturninus* and *Volumnius*, Governours of *Syria*, and other *Romaine* Citizens his friends there present, whom he had caused to come from *Iudea* to *Beritha*, a Cittie of *Syria*. After that they were condemned by pluralitie of voyces, he sent them to be strangled in *Schists*: where likewise were executed three hundred persons more, who were said to giue consent, to an imaginarie flight imposed vpon the two innocent Princes. *Aristobulus* at his death left three sonnes and two daughters, which hee had by his wife *Berenice*; and *Alexander* two sonnes by *Glaphyra*, besides some daughters, whereof we will speake in their due place and time.

The two brethren accused againe by letters to Augustus.

Herode murdered his two sonnes & 300 persons beside.

The chief of Alexander and Aristobulus.

Antipater, conspired the death of his father.

Pheroras poisoned by his wife.

From this time forward, *Herode* beganne to be very vnfortunate, because all his Court was troubled with bitter hatreds, dissidences, suspitions and treasons: so that *Antipater* (compacting with *Pheroras* and some other Courtiers) determined to kill the King his father. And as hee was plotting priuily, how he might be called to *Rome* by *Augustus*, for better strengthening himselfe with the Emperours power, and winning friends in his Court by gifts: it came to passe that *Pheroras* dyed, whose wife was accused before *Herode* by some of her owne friends, to haue poisoned her husband. *Herode* making inquisition after this offence by tortures, chaunced (by little and little) to come to the knowledge of farre greater crimes, and the treasons of his sonne *Antipater* plainly appeared.

Heereupon, the King being extremely

enraged, spared not any of his Court from torturing cruelly; no not so much as the women and their daughters, very neare in loue and kinned to him, if hee could suspect them in the very least manner. And as hee stroue to informe himselfe, by all his best and diligent means, so much the more hee grew to be hated of all his followers, so that (consequently) he became worse then miserable.

Onely his Sister *Salome*, was faithful to him, who compassed the meanes by craftie Spies, to finde out the plots of all the Conspiratours, which shee still revealing to her brother, enflamed his fury extraordinarily: making him to distrust them that were most familiar with him, by forged tales and faithlesse suspitions. So that *Herode* accused *Antipater* (who was taken with the poyson readily prepared for his father) before *Quintilius Varus* (who was slayne by *Arminius Cheruschus* in *Germanie*, twelue yeres after with Legions) and beeing convicted of the sinne of parricide, and condemned; hee commaunded him to bee kept prisoner, vntill by Letters and Ambassadors, hee vnderstoode the will and pleasure of *Augustus*, concerning his punishment.

In the meane while, hee executed many, both men and women, as beeing consenting to *Antipaters* attempts: amongst whom were diuerse innocents, wrongfully accused by malicious enemies, and meereley swallowed vp in *Herodes* furie, as in the roaring billowes of the Sea.

Soone after, beeing about the age of seauentie yeares, quaint and confounded with domestick calamities: his former sickenesse grew now to farre greater violence vpon him, which made him ten times more cruell towards his subiects. For now hee was verily perswaded, that the Lewes reioyed as much at his homebred miseries, as they did at the extremitie of his disease. Wherefore hee deuised very cruell punishments, for matters of silly or small offence: for hee burned aliue fortie young Schollers, of the very chiefeest houses in *Iudea*, with two Maisters that were excellent men: because (being moued with iust griefe, to see the Temple of God prophaned) they had ouerthrowne (somewhat violently) an Eagle of golde, placed in the Portall of

Herod terribly his courtiers cruelly.

Salome only constant to her brother Herode.

Antipater taken with poyson prepared for his father.

Malice will hardly want matter to worke on.

Herods sicknesse increased vpon him.

The cruel tyranny of Herod in his last sicknesse.

Forty schoolers and their maisters burned alive.

Sanhedrin the ancient Judges of Iudea slain.

The husband of Salome flaine.

The murdering of the young infants in Bethleem and other places.

A witty saying of Augustus.

A most horrible intention in King Herode.

the Temple, and in the honor of *Cæsars*, a thing very costly and magnificent, but contrary to the customes of the Jewish nation. The monstrous crueltie inflicted vpon these young men, was the cause of great troubles in the Cittie, after *Herodes* death.

Hee exercised also other great cruelties, amongst which, *Philo* the Jew recorderth, that in the thirtieth year of his tyrannicall reigne, he slew the *Sanhedrin*: to wit, the ordinary Judges of the house of *Dauid*, and substituted other (newly conuerted to Iudaisme, or skillfull in the Lawe) in their stead. Moreouer, he slew the husband of his sister *Salome*, who was of the Tribe or Linage of *Juda*, and a Sonne, which hee himselfe begate of a woman of the same Tribe; because hee had sayd, that Christ our Saviour was already borne, who was promised in the Lawe, and by the Prophets, to be of the house of *Dauid*.

Also Saint *Matthew* the Euangelist, in the second chapter and sixteenth verse, maketh mention of an other notable example of his crueltie, where he writeth, that being aduertised by the wife men of *Persia*, that the *Messias* was borne; hee gaue strict commaund, that all the masse Children should be murdered, in the Towne of *Bethleem*, and all the villages round about.

Macrobius is a witnesse of this most inhumane act, who recounteth (among the witty conceits of *Augustus*) that hearing report of the Infants slaughter, from two yeares olde and vnder, caused by *Herode* to be done in *Syria*, and his owne sonne, being also slayne among them, hee sayd: That he had much rather be *Herodes Hogge*, then his Sonne.

Moreouer, feeling his entrailes to rot and putrifie, his blood and flesh boyling, and vermine creeping all ouer his bodie, despayring of liuing any longer: by Edict he assembled the chiefeest of the *Jews*, such as excelled the rest in wisdom, wealth and authoritie; causing them to come from all parts of the Kingdome to *Iericho*.

Being there arriued vpon his commaund, they were shut vppe in the place appointed for Triumphs, as if hee purposed to conferre with them before his death, of some important matter con-

cerning the State of the Kingdome. But hee gaue charge to his sister *Salome*, and to her husband *Alexas*, that so soone as hee had giuen vp the Ghost: they should dispatch the liues of the mightiest Iewes by the Archers of his Guard, conuoying by this meanes, to make a wofull lamentation amongst the Iewes, who else would reioyce at their Kings miserable end.

Besides, that they should thus keepe (without any manner of impeachment) the possession of the Kingdome for his sonnes, when they of greatest power were dead and gone.

Now, albeit *Salome*, and her husband made promise to the King, for the execution of his bloody will: yet after his death, and before they made any declaration thereof, they let loose all the Iewes, without offering them the least iniury, accounting it to be neyther safe for them, nor the children of *Herod*, to obey such a barbarous and inhumane injunction.

A little before his death, the Ambassadors which returned from *Italy*, did bring him Letters from *Augustus*, whereby hee gaue him power ouer his Sonne *Antipater*, eyther for life or death. But the rage of the Father was now somewhat cooler, wherefore hee commaunded, that his Sonne should be brought to *Iericho*; but yet to keepe him still in bands.

It fortuned, that *Herod* (liuing in such horrible and extreame torments, with stinking putrification of his body:) sodainly caught a knife, and sought for the fittest place to ridde himselfe out of those paines.

But *Archelaus*, one of his kinsemen, and other seruants (beeing by) hindered his violent intent of murdering himselfe: wherevpon, a great tumult and out-cry ranne throughout the whole Pallace; euen as if the King had bene dead. *Antipater* being prisoner, and vnderstanding, why these cries came thus from every place: beganne to be very iocund and mirthfull, euen as if his father were dead indeede, and would haue induced the Guardes to let him haue liberty, vpon very liberall promises he made to them.

But he that had the especial charge of him, fearing the crueltie of the King, went

A commaund more then barbarous, yet still relieving the heauie of death.

The Iewes released without any harm done to them.

Herode receiued letters from Augustus before his death.

Herod intended desperatly to kill himselfe.

Antipater seemed to corrupt his keepers.

to

to see whether he was dead or no: reporting to him his sonnes merry disposition, and the matter which he had so earnestly moued him vnto.

Herode mightily offended at these tydings, commaunded, that (without any delay) his son *Antipater* should be slayne in prison. Which being done, himselfe liued but fiae dayes after his sonne. So that, what with the violence of his sickness, encreasing the torments of his soule, he died: hauing reigned foure and thirtie yeares after the surprisall of *Ierusalem*; and seauen and thirtie yeares after the *Romanes* had proclaimed him King. A man equally cuell to all men from base and lowe degree, exalted to eminent place of honour, by industrie, bountie and friendship: very happy abroade, vnfortunate amongst his owne, and hated (both of his subiects and domesticks) for his crueltie.

All the time of his gouernement, hee had contention and quarrell principally with three aduersaries. First of all, against the Family of the *Asmonians*, which hee stroue vtterly to extirpate by all his pollicies. Secondly, against the Iewish people, who could not endure the dominion of a stranger: and although they kicked continually against him, yet finally they were charged with a hard yoke of seruitude. The third aduersarie; more troublesome and difficult then both the rest, was his owne householde people. For, as hee slew one part of them (beeing no way guilty or offensive towards him) by listening to false reportes of the enuious, and according to his owne suspicions, still to support his greedy desire of rule: so did he punish others taken in the fact, who indeede conspired against him, vntill such time, as beeing more broken and battered by his domestick encumbrances, then by extremitie of age; hee payed the tribute due to Nature. *Philo* the Iew writeth, that hee reigned fixe yeares lawfully, and one and thirtie yeares tyrannically.

In the three and thirtie yeares of his reigne (as it is aouched by *Epiphanius*) vnder the first description of the World: *Iesus Christ*, our blessed Saviour and Redeemer, was borne in *Bethleem* of the Virgine *Mary*. At the age of two yeares, by the Angells admonition, hee was

with-drawne from the crueltie of this wretch, by his father and mother, who fled with him into *Egypt*. Afterwards, hee was brought backe againe into *Iudea*, at the beginning of the Primacie of *Archelaus*.

Herode altered his Will three severall times: The first change was, after hee had put to death his two sonnes by *Marina* the *Asmonian*, and then hee sent it by the hands of *Antipater* (hee going to *Rome*) to *Augustus*. That Will confirmed as his heire in the Kingdome, *Antipater*, his eldest sonne by *Doris*: but yet with this condition, that if he dyed before the time, his sonne *Herode*, whom hee had by the daughter of *Simon* the high-priest, should succede him. To whom (vpon this occasion) according to the opinion of *Josephus*, hee had giuen in marriage *Herodias*, the daughter to *Archelaus*, sonne of *Mariam* the *Asmonian*.

After the death of *Phororas*, brother to *Herode*, the treasons began to be discovered, and the King beeing informed, that the Mother of *Herode*, his destined Heire, (and daughter to the Soueraigne Sacrificer) had consented in wicked council with *Antipater*: hee razed the names both of *Antipater* and *Herode* out of his Will, frustrating them from all hope of euer coming to the Crowne.

Beside, hee expelled the two mothers, *Doris* and *Mariam*, out of the Pallace, despoyling also his father in lawe *Simon*, of the High-priesthoode.

In his second Testament, hee left the Kingdome to his last sonne, named *Herode Antipus*, and hee to succede after his death, beeing borne of *Martha* a Samaritan. Therein hee made no mention at all of *Archelaus*, nor of *Philip*, who were elder in yeares then hee: because, by the suggestion of *Antipater*, some of his friends had falsely accused them by Letters, in the time of their studying at *Rome*.

By the same Testament, hee left a thousand Talents to *Augustus*, which amounteth to three score thousand of Golde. To *Livia* the wife of *Augustus*, and to the children and enfranchised friends of *Augustus*, hee gaue five hundred Talents, that is to say, thirtie thousand of golde.

Last of all, after that (a little before

The first alteration of his Will, three severall times.

Joseph in Antipater's Will.

Antipater & Herod razed out of their fathers testaments, & their mothers excluded the Court.

The second alteration of his Will.

A thousand talents given by Herode to Augustus.

The third
and last alter-
ation of his
testament.

his death) hee had caused *Antipater* to be slayne, for diuerse conspiracies against his father and brethren: he grew into good liking of his two elder sonnes, which was the reason of altering his will the third time, leaving the Kingdome of *Iudea* to *Archelaus*; prouided also, that it might bee as pleasing to *Augustus*.

In stead of King, hee made *Antipater* Tetrarch of *Galilee* and *Peres*, that is to say, of the Region situate beyond *Jordane*.

Herode Anti-
pas and Phil-
ip made both
Tetrarches.

In like manner, hee appoynted *Philip* Tetrarch of *Gallanitida*, *Traconitis*, *Batanea* and *Panæda*. To his Sister *Salome* (who amongst all his kintred) he had onely found faithfull to him, and helpfull in all his aduersities, hee left three wealthy Citties, *Tumna*, *Azot* and *Phaselida*, with fiftie thousand Crownes besides.

Hee assigned great reuenues to his other sonnes, and to their children, whom hee left in priuate condition, and augmented the Legacies which he had sent to *Augustus* and other at *Rome*. But *Augustus* (afterwards) distributed all the money to him appoynted to *Herodes* kintred; retayning nothing to himselfe, but onely certayne costly vessells, as a token of remembrance for the dead.

Herodes boun-
tie in his le-
gacies to Au-
gustus and o-
ther.

CHAP. XV.

A briefe Collection, concerning the children of Herode the Great, which hee had by his tenne wiues; as also the order of their severall successions.

Iosephus va-
rieth from the Euange-
licall historie.



Thought it verie necessarie, heere to set downe the order and succession of *Herodes* children; because it doth giue great light to the Euangelicall Historie, in regarde that the Description made by *Iosephus*, is somewhat dissenting. Especially in *Herodias*, whom *Iosephus* sayth, to be sometime married,

not to *Phillip* the Tetrarch, as the Euangelist *Saint Mark*, in the sixteenth chapter and seauenteenth verse of his Gospell auoucheth, but to *Herod*, sonne to the daughter of *Simon* the High-priest, who soone after was aduanced, and ioyned with *Herode Antipas* Tetrarch of *Galilee*, that slew *Saint Iohn Baptist*.

He sayth besides, that the dauncing daughter of *Herodias*, was married to *Phillip*: But the authoritie of the Euangelists ought to be of greater weight with vs, then to that of *Iosephus*, who in this Genealogie of *Herode*, speaketh things very contrary, which is not much to bee marvelled at, in a Familie of so great ex-tendure. For King *Herode*, according to the ancient manner of the Kings of *Iudea*, had many wiues together, in all being tenne, two whereof were barren.

Doris his first wife.

Her he married in priuate condition, taking her from a place of slender repute, her father beeing as then liuing. Of her hee begate *Antipater*, whom hee disinherited, his mother *Doris* beeing diuorced, after he was married to *Mariana* the *Assmeane*: nor would hee permit her to be present in *Ierusalem*, but onely at three famous solemnities.

But after that *Mariana* was put to death, hee receiued *Doris* againe into his Court, and gaue her admittance to his bedde, recalling home the sonne also: beeing fully resolu'd, to haue left him heyre to the Kingdome, if hee had not bene the cause of his owne ruine and death, by wicked machinations, continued against his father and brethren; beside, hee brought his owne mother into the dislike of his father.

Antipater tooke to wife the daughter of *Antigonus*, the last King of the *Assmeane*, by whom hee had also *Antipater*, to whom was married the daughter of *Phoror* his great vnckle. Afterward hee married *Mariana*, daughter vnto his brother *Aristobulus*, whom he caused to be murdered.

The gene-
alogie of He-
rodus very great

Antipater the
sonne of Doris
the first
wife of Herod

Doris recei-
ued againe into
his Court so-
metime

Antipater
had a sonne
named Anti-
pater also.

By

By his second wife *Mariana* the *Assmeane*, he had many heires, thus following in order.

The issue to
Herode by
Mariana, and
their matches
in marriage.

Mariana,
Glaphyra, daughter to *Archelaus* king of *Cappadocia*; *Alexander*, slaine by his father.

Herode,
Aristobulus, slaine by his father, left fife children by *Berenice*, as followeth after.

The third dyed immediately.
Salome was married to *Phaselus*, sonne of *Phaselus*, brother to *Herode*, of whose children we haue spoken before.

Cypris was married to *Antipater*, the sonne of *Salome*, sister to the King.

Alexander,
Tygranes, who was sent by *Nero* King into *Armenia*.

Tygranes was King of *Armenia*, and afterward accused at *Rome*, dyed without issue.

The names of Aristobulus his children, by Berenice.

Aristobulus, strangled by the command of his father *Herode*.

Berenice his wife, daughter of *Salome*, sister to King *Herode*.

Agrippa the first King of *Iudea*.

Herode the fourth King of *Chalcis*.

Aristobulus, to whom was espoused *Iotapata*, daughter to the king of the *Emesians*, by whom hee had *Iotapata*, a deafe daughter.

Herodias, who left her husband, and had a daughter *Salome*; who for the reward of her goodly dauncing, required, and had the head of *Saint Iohn Baptist*.

Mariana, affianced first to *Antipater* the sonne of *Antipater*; but afterward *Antipater*, sonne of great *Herode*, tooke her to wife.

Mariana daughter to *Simon* the four-raigne Sacrificer, the third wife to *Herode*, of whom came.

Herode the second, who had a daughter named *Salome*, married sometime to his vnckle *Phillip* the Tetrarch; and af-

The issue by
the third wife
to King He-
rode.

terward to *Aristobulus*, sonne to *Herode* king of *Chalcis*.

Herodias his wife, yongest daughter of great *Herode*, and also the daughter of *Aristobulus*, slaine by his father.

Herode affecting this *Mariana* for her rare beauty, who was the daughter to a filly sacrificing Priell, he perceiving that he could no otherwise enioy her, but by lawfull marriage; made her father *Simon* (sonne to *Boethus*) High-priest, by deposing *Iesus*, the succellour to *Annas*.

Of her hee begate *Herode* the second, whom he had instituted (in his first Will) second heire after *Antipater* his eldest sonne. But growing offended (afterward) for some fault in his mother: hee altered his Will, and deprived him of all hope of succeeding.

Iosephus writeth, that this *Herode* the second (who alwayes afterward liued privately) tooke to wife *Herodias*, the daughter of *Aristobulus*, slaine by his father; who afterward was exalted by his brother *Herod Antipas*, contrary to all right and reason. But (as I haue already said) this Genealogie of *Iosephus* agreeth not with *Saint Marke*, who ruleth it in this manner.

Herode the second, borne of the High-priests daughter, liued without publike charge.

His wife *Herodias* that left him, married with the brother to her husband.

Herode Antipas, Tetrarch of *Galilee*.

Phillip the Tetrarch, who died without children.

The daughter *Salome* was married to both, each after other, and engendred by the last;

Herode, Agrippa, Aristobulus, of whom I finde nothing at all recorded.

The fourth wife of *Herode* was *Martha*, or *Malthaea*, a Samaritane; of whom were borne;

Archelaus, who by the last Testament of his father, was ordaind to be his succellour. But by *Augustus* he was instituted to be *Ethiarche*.

Herode the third, called also *Antipas*, Tetrarch of *Galilee*; the rauiſher of *Herodias*, and murderer of *Saint Iohn Baptist*: he was called also, the Fox for *Christ*.

Mariana the
daughter to
Simon, ad-
uanced to the
High-priest-
hoode.

Herod the se-
cond depri-
ued from suc-
ceeding in
the Kingdome.

Iosephus re-
proueth in his
Genealogie.

The Genea-
logie accord-
ing to the
description of
Saint Marke.

The issue of
Herode by
his fourth
wife.

Olympia, married to *Iosippus*, sonne of *Iosippus* the brother to King *Herode*: Of whom came this Posteritie following:

Mariana, espoused to *Herod* the fourth, King of *Chalcis*, and had a sonne named *Antipater*, who (by *Nero*) was instituted Governor of *Armenia* the lesser. He had to wife *Salome*, the daughter of *Herodias*, as formerly hath bene declared.

The fifth wife of *Herode* was *Cleopatra* of *Jerusalem*, whose children were

Phillip, who (by the last Testament of his father) was appointed Tetrarch of *Trachonitis*.

Herode, of whom I finde nothing recorded in any Historie.

But, considering that *Iosephus* saith, that this *Phillip* was brother to the father and mother of *Archelaus*; I make some doubt of diuers other places before mentioned by him, where (perhaps by want of memory) he wrongeth himselfe in the numbering of *Herodes* children; as in the second Chapter of the same Booke. And that of the same mother *Marthaea*, were borne *Archelaus*, *Phillip* and *Olympia*: And that of this *Cleopatra*, issued only *Herode*, called *Antipas*. From whence it proceeded (as I thinke) that *Iosephus* attributeth two sonnes vnto this *Cleopatra*, *Phillip* and *Herode*: of whom (neuertheless) he maketh not any mention in his Historie.

I thinke then, that *Antipas* should be placed for *Phillip* vnder *Cleopatra*; for, because he nameth *Herode* also: some (not very skilfull) haue attributed two sonnes to *Cleopatra*: euen as if I should say, that *Julius* and *Cesar* had bene two Consuls. Assuredly, this coniecture seemeth to be confirmed, because *Archelaus* (being vpon his departure to *Rome*, after the death of his father) left all the care and managing of the kingdomes affaires to *Phillip*, as to his nearest and dearest brother; and not to *Antipas*, whom he ought to haue preferred before *Phillip*, if hee had bene his germaine brother by the same mother. But this shewes it selfe much more evidently, in regard that *Iosephus*, in the thirteenth and fourteenth Chapters of the same seventeenth Booke, saith: That *Archelaus* journeying to *Rome*, tooke a-

long with him his mother *Marthaea*, who dyed there, before the suite (concerning the succession) was decided; and that (soone after) *Antipas* followed him, who likewise was accompanied with his mother. It must needs follow then necessarily, that they had diuersitie of mothers. Wherefore it somewhat amazeth mee, that *Iosephus* repeateth in the Historie of the Iewes warres, to haue spoken ill in his Antiquities: to wit, that *Archelaus* and *Antipas* were brethren by one mother.

The sixth wife of *Herode*, was *Pallas*, who had a sonne named *Phaselus*, of whom *Iosephus* writeth nothing.

The seauenth wife was *Phadra*, who had by *Herod* (being then ancient) a daughter named *Roxana*.

The eight wife of *Herode*, was *Elpis*, by whom hee had a daughter named *Salome*.

Afterward, *Augustus* married the two sonnes of *Phororax*, to these two sisters, *Roxana* and *Salome*, being but young when their father died. To whom (beside the Legacies of their father) hee added (of his owne) in their dower, two hundred thousand peeces of silver money: which summe, if *Iosephus* doe vnderstand *Drachmas* thereby, as I imagine, it amounteth to five and twentie thousand crownes of the Sunne.

The ninth wife, was the daughter of his brother, whom *Iosephus* nameth not.

The tenth, was his Cousine germane, ynnamed also.

By these two wiues *Herode* had not any children.

All this so great lineage of *Herode*, failed (well-neare vnterly) within the space of seauenty yeares, the most part of them living in priuate manner. Such as attained to gouernment of affaires, and succeeded in some small portions of their fathers dignitie; were only three sonnes of *Herode*, to wit, *Archelaus* the Ethnarch, *Phillip* and *Antipas*, Tetrarches, and two younger sonnes, the first *Agrippa*, King of *Iudea*, and *Herod* the fourth King of *Chalcis*; *Agrippa* the last, in whose reigne was the Iewish warre, and the destruction of *Jerusalem*. I will speake briefly of them all in order.

CHAP.

Antipas and his mother were allies to *Rome*.

Pallas, *Tetrarch* and *Elpis* with their issue by *Herod*.

The bounty of *Augustus* to the marriages of *Roxana* and *Salome*.

A gratefull vnderstanding in a lull of yeares.

Of them that succeeded in gouernment.

CHAP. XVI.

Of the Ethnarchie of Archelaus, and the plea of him and his Brother *Antipas* before *Augustus*, for the right of Gouernment.

BY the last Testament of the Father (as I haue already sayd) *Archelaus* was appointed successor with royall power; provided, that *Augustus* would be so pleased. But scarcely was the fathers body interred, when a great mutiny arose in the City, and he lost his peoples affection by cruelty. For some of the kindred & parents of the young scholars that were burned alive, about beating down the golden Eagle, returning to the Feast at Easter, mouing the people by their teares and complaints to challenge reuenge of certaine slanderous persons, and deposition of the Soueraigne Sacrificer, whom *Herode* had established in the ending of his dayes: *Archelaus* sent his Light horsemen against the people, and made a bloody slaughter, to the number of three thousand, beside diuers put to flight. After that, the tumult was for a time appeased, hee left the charge of his kingdomes affaires to his brother *Phillip*, and tooke his journey to *Rome*, accompanied with his mother *Marthaea*, and some other friends, to requite of *Augustus* the full establishment of his Fathers Will.

By the suggestion of their Aunt *Salome*, *Herode Antipas* followed after his Brother, to contend with him for succession in the kingdome before *Augustus*. There hee accused him of cruelty, approouing, that the Crowne should rather bee his, than any due to *Archelaus*; because by the second testament, he was onely ordained heire to the Royall dignity; when his father *Herode* was found both in bodie and memory. And such a Will so made, ought to bee of farre greater respect and weight, then the last to neere his death; when both body and mind were vncapable of sense and reason.

Soone after, fifty Ambassadors were sent from the people of *Iudea* to *Rome*, to

entreate, that they might no longer be gouerned by a King: but rather that *Iudea* (being reduced to the form of a Province) might be vnder command of the Romane Captaines (as afterward it was, but to the Iewes no great aduantage.) But if needs they must haue a King, and of *Herodes* posterity: they openly confessed, that they much rather affected *Herode Antipas*, then *Archelaus*, who (at his very entrance) gaue them sufficient vnderstanding, what mildnesse and moderation they should afterwarde expect in him.

While this sute was thus in hearing, and *Augustus* consulted thereon, with some of his most intimate friends; greivous tumults chanced to be moued, first by *Sabinus*, Procurator for *Cesar* in *Jerusalem*, and afterward in diuers other places of *Iudea*. For some people (of no worth) emboldned by the Kings absence, hauing gathered together certaine companies of Theeues; durst attribute vnto themselves, both the Royall dignity and Ornaments. During which time, *Iudea* was wonderfully waisted in manie places with fire and sword; vntill (by the vertue of *Quintilius Varus*, who scattered the armies of the Theeues, and hanged vpon a tree two thousand, such as were chiefe Leaders in the sedition) the danger was well ouer-blowne.

These troubles being certified by Letters to *Rome* by *Varus*, caused *Augustus* (hauing ended the sute concerning the succession) to send backe the Sonnes of *Herode* to *Iudea* againe. But he had diuided the whole kingdome of *Herode* into two partitions: one whereof hee gaue to *Archelaus*, whom he named Ethnarche, which dignity hee afforded to be greater then that of Tetrarche, & yet much lesse then Royall power. Promising (neuertheless) that he would make him King, after he had made triall of his industry & moderation in this gouernment. Moreover, hee diuided the other part into two Tetrarchies, which he gaue to the two Brethren to *Herode Antipas*, *Galilee* and *Perea*; the reuennues whereof amounted to two hundred Talents, that is fixe score thousand Crownes of the Sun. But the Ethnarchie of *Archelaus*, which contained *Iudama*, *Iudea*, and *Samarria*, valowed fixe hundred Talents in reuennues.

Arche-

Archelaus made by the Iewes, soe he no longer gouerned by a King.

Seditious and tumults happening in *Iudea*, and other places of *Iudea*.

Herodes sons sent backe to *Iudea* againe, and the kingdome diuided into partitions.

The diuision of the two Tetrarchies.

The issue of *Herod* by his first wife.

Iosephus in *Antiquities* Iud. lib. 17 cap. 10.

Iosephus foild contradiction to himselfe.

The journey of *Archelaus* to *Rome*, after the King his fathers death, and his mother with him.

The cruel be-
haviour of Ar-
chelaus to his
subjects after
his returne a-
mong them.

Archelaus being come backe into Ju-
dea, enflamed with hatred against his sub-
jects (by whose accusation, hee had not
only lost his Kingly authority, but almost
the halfe part of his government) began
to carry himselfe cruelly towards them,
and (for small or no causes at all) did put
to death such persons, as hee imagined
had desired the alteration of the State.
Moreover, he highly soyled his reputa-
tion, with marriage prohibited by the laws
of God. For at his returne from Rome, as
he passed thorow Cappadocia, to visite his
kintman king Archelaus; hee found there
Glaphyra (widdowed the second time)
who had bene first married to Alexander
that was put to death by his Father Herod
with his brother Aristobulus. After his
death, her Father in law Herode, sent her
(with her dowry) vnto her owne father,
where she was remarried to Iuba King of
the Numidians; who being likewise dead,
she came and lued with hir father againe.
Archelaus (moeigled with her beaucie)
tooke her to wife, notwithstanding these
had bene married to his brother Alexan-
der, divorcing his owne wife, named Ma-
rianne. This Glaphyra died a little before
Archelaus was sent into exile, being af-
frighted with a dreame; wherein shee se-
emed to see the ghost of her first husband,
reprooving her for this wicked marriage
with his brother.

The death of
Glaphyra, af-
frighted by a
fearefull dream

Archelaus
sent to Rome, his co-
uision and
death.

Pomius Pilate
sent gouernor
into Iudea.

Finally, as he ceased not from commi-
ting extraordinary cruelties, so he chan-
ced to be accused at Rome, by some of the
principall Iewes: after he had nine yeares
held the principality, from the death of
his Father Herode. Whereupon, Augu-
stus summoned him to his appearance; &
after he had bene conuicted by sufficient
Witnesses, hee was sent into Dauphine,
where he died, without leauing any chil-
dren that were knowne. His goods were
confiscated to the Romaine Emperour,
and the Countries of his Ethnarchie
were (for a time) ruled by the Romaine
Gouernors: as by Coponius, Marcus, and
Annus Rufus, who gouerned the Coun-
treies (each of them) two yeares, euen vntill
the death of Augustus, whose succe-
ssor Tiberius, sent Valerius Gracius into Ju-
dea. Eleuen yeares after, he sent Pontius
Pilate alio, who behaued himselfe cruelly
in Iudea: and (amongst other notorious
matters) hee condemned our Lord & Sa-

uour Iesus Christ to be hanged vpon a
Crosse, in the seauenth yeare of his Go-
uernment, and the eighteenth of the Em-
peror Tyberius.

CHAP. XVII.

Of Phillip, sonne to Herod the Great, & how
he gouerned in his Tetrarchie.

King Herod, by his last Will
and Testament, left his
sonne Phillip Tetrarche of
Tracopitis, & of the neigh-
bouring Regions beyond
Iordane; euen from the Sea of Tyberius or
Genesareth, to the springs of Iordane, and
the foot of Mount Libanus. He gouerned
this his Tetrarchy the space of tenen and
thirty yeeres (with great commendation
for iustice and modesty) which hee also
beautified with many goodly Buildinges:
For in Pancea, neere to the fources of
Iordane (where sometime his Father He-
rod had erected and dedicated a Temple
to Augustus) hee builded a Cittie, which
he called Cesarea of Philippi; and another
vpon the lake of Genesareth, named Besh-
saida, which encreasing and growing in-
to great wealth, hee called it Iuliasa, after
the name of the wife to Augustus.

Iosephus writeth, that this Phillip tooke
in marriage Salome, the daughter of He-
rodius, whereas Saint Marke the Euan-
gelist, in his sixt chapter and the seauen-
teenth verse writeth, That the Mother
Herodias was espoused vnto Phillip: and
afterward being carried away, was con-
iointed with his Brother.

He dyed without any heyre, in the 20.
yeare of Tyberius the Emperour, that is to
say, two yeeres after Christ was crucified,
rose from the dead againe, and the Gos-
pell was spread abroad by the Apo-
stles, from forth Iudea to Neighbouring
Nations. His Tetrarchie was annexed
(by Tyberius) to the Province of Syria.

CHAP.

The large ex-
tension of Phi-
lipes Te-
trarchie.

The building
of Cesarea
of Philippi,
and Besh-
saida by Philip
Iuliasa.

At what time
Phillip the Te-
trarche died.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of the life and death of Herod Antipas, bro-
ther to Phillip, and Tetrarche of Samaria
and Peraea, &c.

His Herode Antipas, by the
second Will was instituted
successor to his Father. But
the Testament being alread,
he was ordained Tetrarche,
and had (for his partage) Samaria and Pe-
rea, which is a most fertile Region be-
yond Iordane, betweene the Lakes of Ty-
berias and Alphaltida. Neuerthelesse, be-
ing not contented with his Fathers gift,
and trusting to the precedent Will; hee
contended at Rome with his Brother
before Augustus, touching the possession
of the kingdome. All which notwithstanding,
hee obtained nothing else but the
Tetrarchie left him by his father, & then
again confirmed to him. He took first to
wife the daughter of Aretas, King of Ara-
bia, liuing with him more then fifteen
yeares. But afterward, being called to
Rome, passing along by Phillip the Tetrar-
che, or (as Iosephus writeth) by Herode the
second, borne of the daughter to the high
Priest: being enamoured on Herodias,
daughter to his brother Aristobulus, hee
contracted marriage with her, promising
to repudiate his Arabian wife.

Samaria and
Perea a most
fertile coun-
try.

The first wife
of Herod An-
tipas.

Antipas falls
in love with
Herodias, &
contracted mar-
riage with her.

Herodias and
her daught-
er Salome
are carried away
by Antipas.

Salome Re-
pudiate her
husband by Au-
tipas, & is re-
promising his
fatherly
care, and
here becom-
eth a

the meanes (afterward) to haue his head
smitten off. The same Herode laboured
subtly to entrap Christ, as he was teach-
ing in Galilee; and afterward, when Pilate
sent him prisoner to him, hee sent him
backe againe opprobriously, because (at
his request) Christ would not worke any
miracle before him.

He likewise embellished his Tetrarchy
with faire buildinges; for (to his great
charges) hee builded Sephorim, a Cittie of
Galilee, which hee caused to bee called An-
tocratorida. Hee called another Iuliasa, by
the name of Augustus wife, which before
was named Betharama. After the death of
Augustus, because hee had bene a kinde
friend to Tyberius; hee builded a new City
in honour of him, neere to the Lake of
Genesareth, which hee commanded to be
called Tyberias. But because the place
was prophaned by great heapes of dead
bodies there buried, so that (by Moyses
Lawe) it was not lawfull to dwell there,
hee allured some (by diuers commodities
and immunities) to builde there, making
habitations for poore people; compell-
ing the rich and mighty, to inhabit (with
their families) in this new City.

In the second yeare of the Empire of
Caius Caligula, when Agrippa the Brother
of Herodias returned from Rome into Ju-
dea, adorned (against all attempts) with
the royall dignity: Herode, by the con-
tinuall injuries of his wife, was enforced to
vndertake a iourney to Rome, to entreat
the royall dignity of the Emperour. For
this woman (burning with ambition) said
it was vn-sufferable, that her Brother A-
grippa (being but a while before poore &
beggery, and so farre indebted, that hee
was made seruaile to his Creditors) should
now triumph with a Kingly Crowne; sur-
mounting his Vnckle in power and dig-
nity, hee hauing bene to him as a nursing
Father, and adiuaged (by the second tes-
tament) worthy of the kingdome.

Antipas, prouoked by the incessant in-
stigations of this arrogant woman, went
vnto Rome with her; desiring of the Em-
peror Caius, to enioy the name and dig-
nity Royall: beside, by manie greuous
accusations, hee practised to make Agrip-
pa hateful to the Emperour. But Agrippa
(advertisd of his Vnckles voyage and in-
tent) preuented him, and sent letters be-
fore him by an intimate friend: wherein

Citties that
were builded
by Antipa-
in his Tetrarchie.

The new citie
of Tyberias.

Agrippa the
Brother of
Herodias,
highly respect-
ed by the
Emperour, and
adorned with
royall dig-
nity.

Antipas accus-
ed his Vnckle
Brother A-
grippa before
the Emperour
Caius Calig-
ula.

he informed *Caius*, that *Herode Antipas* was consenting in the conspiracie of *Sejanus*, against *Tiberius*; and that now (having close intelligence with the King of the *Parthians*) there was some noultie intended against *Caius*. A matter easily to be conjectured, by the great preparation for Armes which *Antipas* made: whereby, in an instant, he could be suddenly furnished with an Army of three-score and tenne thousand able fighting men.

Caligula, incensed by this report from his friends, demanded of *Herode*, what provision hee had in a readinesse for his Tetrarchie; Whereunto hee answered: That he had all things fitting for a King. Whereupon *Caius* instantly commaunded, that hee should be carried prisoner to *Lions* in *France*, and there kept in perpetual exile. Moreover, by his Letters, hee gaue all his goods, with the Tetrarchie of *Galilee* and *Perea*, to *Agrippa*: except what appertained in propriety to his sister *Herodias*, whom hee put in innocent, and for her hee would have all to be intirely referred, if it would returne into *Judea* againe. But *Herodias*, thanking *Caius* for his liberallitie, replied: That presently she could not make any use of this great fauour, because she held it vnreasonable, to leaue her husband in this calamitie, whom she had alwayes accompanied in his flowing prosperitie, and tasted thereof verry royally.

Thus spake this subtle woman, as hoping thereby, that the Emperour would alter his rigorous sentence, concerning the condemnation of *Herode*, and that shee should not vndergoe the selfe same sentence, considering his supportall of her innocencie. But *Caius* (being highly displeased at her haughtie flatterie) commaunded, that being d' spoiled of all her goods, shee should walke with her husband in the same nature of exile. Thus *Herode* was the instrument of his owne harme, by listening (ouer-lightly) to the persuasions of this ambitious woman: for, if he could haue contented himselfe with his estate, hee had longer time enjoyed peaceably his dignitie of Tetrarch. But they both deferred lustily this heauie penaltie; because, being ioyned together by incestuous marriage, and charitably aduincelled in the greatnesse of

their sinne: they did put to death the most innocent man *Saint Iohn Baptist*, vnder colour of a rash oath, pretending conscience.

This great downe-fall happened vnto them, about tenne yeares after the beheading of *Saint Iohn*; eight yeares after *Herode* had hunted *Iesus Christ*, and sent him bound (clothed like a foole in white) as vnwilling to endure his prefectie. There is not any thing recorded of his Posteritie, but that the Principallitie of *Judea* went from the sonnes of Great *Herode*, to a younger sonne of another sonne *Aristobolus* and *Marianus* an *Asmonaeus*, to wit, to *Agrippa* and *Herode*, of whom I haue here left downe the Anceilers and Posteritie.

Marianus, an *Asmonaeus*.
Cypris, daughter of *Salome*, sister to *Aristobolus*.
Agrippa the second, King of *Chalcis*.
Drusus dyed in his youth.

Herode the Great.

Salome his sister.
Berenice his wife
Aristobolus, *Herodias*, *Marianus*.

Aristobolus dyed by his father.
Agrippa the first King of all *Judea*.
Herod, the fourth King of *Chalcis*.
Berenice, married to his vncle *Herod*, King of *Chalcis*, who being dead, shee remained with *Polemon* King of *Sicily*.

Marianus ioyned with *Archelaus* *Helichis*, and begate *Berenice*. Leauing him, shee wedded *Demetrius* of *Alexandria*, by whom shee had *Agrippina*.

Drusilla most faire, being but young, five yeares olde, was affianced by her father to *Epiphanes*, sonne of *Antiochus*, King of *Comagene*. But he making refusal to be circumcised, her brother *Agrippa* gaue her to *Herod Antipas*, King of the *Emesians*. Afterward *Felix*, brother to *Pallas*, Governour of *Judea* (by power of Promises) made hir to leaue hir husband, and tooke her to wife. By whom shee had a sonne, named *Agrippa*, who dyed with his wife, at the burning of the Mountaine *Sefenus*: which made an innumerable spoyle and waste in *Terra di Lano*, otherwise called the *Great Campagna*.
Sunt

Saint Paul maketh mention of this *Drusilla*, in the foure and twentieth chapter of the *Acts* of the Apostles, and the foure and twentieth verse, affirming her to be wife to *Felix*.

CHAP. XIX.

The life of Agrippa, the first man of that name, coming to be King of *Judea*.



Little before the death of his grand-father *Herode*, being as then but eight yeares olde, this *Agrippa* was sent to *Rome*, and there nourished with *Drusus*, the sonne of *Tiberius*. Hee was greatly affected by *Anthony* mother of *Germanicus* and *Claudius* the Emperour, in regarde of his mother *Berenice*; whom shee loued as if he had bene her sister.

Being come to age, he retired into *Judea*, after the death of *Drusus*: because *Tiberius* expelled from his court, altho that had bene friends to his deceased sonne; as fearing lest the sight of them, should bee the renewing of his sorrow. But *Agrippa* became charged with great doubts, whereinto he had entred at *Rome*, after the expence of all his owne meanes. Wherefore he wandred abroad for (some times) with his wife *Cypris*, beggerly, poore, and vterly abandoned of his friends; so that at length, shame and pinching pouertie would haue prouoked him to shorten his life. But his wife *Cypris* making humble supplications to *Herodias*, the sister of her husband: she prevailed so farre, that *Herode Antipas* the Tetrarche, builded a house for him in the city of *Tiberias*, and assigned him there a yearly renew. Not long had *Agrippa* enjoyed this benefite by his brother in law, but *Herode* growing offended at his table, for some wordes spoken by *Agrippa*, ouer-boldely reproofed him angrily, terming him a begger, and a vagabond, and that he liued by his bounty.

Agrippa grieved at this reproach, forsooke this fauour afforded by *Herode*: and borrowing some small store of money, of

one that respected him, but at extreame interest; once more hee intended to visite *Rome*, and there againe to make triall of his fortune. Hee went to salute *Tiberius* in the Isle of *Caprea*, where he found gracious entertainment for a few dayes: vntill some Agent for the Emperour, wrote backe from *Judea*, that *Agrippa* did owe thirtie thousand Crownes of the Sunne, to the Receiueurs of the Emperour. Beside, that he had formerly made many escapes, euen when the dayes for repayment came, vsing nothing but subtle and colosing shifts.

Tiberius much offended at these rydings, commaunded *Agrippa* to auoyde his Court, vntill hee had made full satisfaction: which hee did (with great difficulty) by the meane of Madame *Anthony*. Wherewith *Tiberius* was so well pleased, that hee appointed him the guardian of his twinne sonne *Tiberius*. But a little before the death of *Tiberius*, once againe he fell into his disfaour. For, being at supper one night, with *Caius*, the young adopted sonne of *Tiberius*, among other speeches passing at the Table; *Agrippa* wished, that olde *Tiberius* might quickly die, to the end that *Caius* should enioy the Empire.

This with comming to the eares of *Tiberius*, *Agrippa* (by the Emperours commaund) was clapt vp in close prison, and there so kept, vntill such time as *Tiberius* deceased. *Caius*, well assisted by his warlike troupes, and by his father *Germanicus*, came to enioy the Empire, and having released *Agrippa* out of prison; adorned him with the habits bebecoming a King, subiecting also those countreies to him, which *Philip* the Tetrarch, and *Lysanias* formerly had commaunded. Moreover, he gaue him a chaine of gold, of equalitie in weight to the yron chaine, wherewith he was bound lying in prison. Hee remained a yeare with the Emperour *Caius* at *Rome*; and then tooke leaue of him for his returne to *Judea*, to take possession of his kingdome.

Thus you see, that hee who (before) was not onely despised, in regard of his necessitie and great debts, but also durst not abide in any place, for the importunite of his creditors; was (to the admiration of all such as sawe him in that wofull miserie) raised to the magnificence royall, which

Agrippa procured his brothers accusations to the Emperour.

Herod interpreted in his own answer, and sent him banishment in Lions in France.

The subtle answer of Herodias to the Emperour.

The punishment inflicted on Herod and his wife Herodias.

Translation of the principalities of Judea.

The line of descent, showing the line of the great.

Herod called Herod, in Acts 12:1.

Agrippa was educated at Rome with the Emperours sonne.

The great poore and distressed Agrippa and his wife Cypris.

Herodias is a woman to receive their misery.

Agrippa for-fakes Herod, and takes his fortune elsewhere.

Miserie founer meeteth with enemies then succours.

The strance and variable condition of Agrippas fortune.

The coming of Caius to the Empire, and read- uancement of Agrippa.

The returne of Agrippa to possesse his kingdome.

Honors heaped more and more vpon Agrippa by the Emperour.

Agrippa maketh a journey to Rome.

Philo the Jew sent Ambassadors for the Jewes.

A great complaint made to Caius against the Jewes.

A command to erect the Emperours statue in the holiest place of the Temple.

Petronius coeth with a powerful army to Ptolomaeus, to execute the Emperours command.

which caused some to tremble, that denied and refused to aide him, or had iniuriously repulsed him, while he liued in priuate estate and extreame pouerty. Soone after, *Caius Caligula* gaue him *Galilee* and *Berea*; with all the cheuifance of *Herode Antipas* his emulatur, and of his sister *Herodias*, as in our last Chapter we haue related: wherefore, after he had taken order for his kingdomes affaires, hee tooke his journey towards *Rome*, with gifts and presents, to declare (on his owne behalfe) what seruices and acknowledgement hee made, for so many gracious fauors done to him by *Caius*.

During the time that *Agrippa* was at *Rome*, there happened a strife betweene the Citizens of *Alexandria*, and the *Jewes* dwelling in the same Cittie: so that (by lottes) Ambassadors were sent on eyther part to the Emperour. Amongst whom was *Philo* the Jew, whose testimony we haue diuers times made vse of, in the course of this present Historie. There the *Jewes* were sharply accused by a *Greeke* named *Aprian*, for many faults, and especially, for oblitaine contempt of the Imperall dignitie: because in all parts of those Citties where the *Jewes* dwelt, they would not suffer any Statues or Images of the Emperour *Caius* to be erected; but if any were set vpp, immediately they would throw them downe very opprobriously.

Caligula being very furiously moued with this complaint, repulsed the Jewish Ambassadors, somewhat rudely, and wrote to *Petronius*, (who from the beginning of his Empire, he had sent Gouvernour into *Iudea*) that with all the haste he could possibly vse, hee should erect the Emperours Statue, in the most holy place of the Temple of *Ierusalem*, if not by consent of the Jewes, yet in despite of them, and (by force of Armes) whether they would or no.

Petronius, willing to obey this comānd, yet knowing the execution would not be easie; called the Legions from all parts, & being prouided of sufficient succor, went from *Syria* to *Ptolomaeus*, carrying a braue army along with him. But first he made knowne to the Jewes (by Ambassadors and Letters,) wherefore he came in such dreadfull manner, as grounded vpon the Emperours commaunds; desiring the peo-

ple, that he might rather perforce it by their good liking, then by the course of force & violence. The *Jewes*, not a litle affrighted at these newes, came from a great number of Townes and Citties, into the fields before *Ptolomaeus*, bringing no arms or weapons with them: but entreating *Petronius*, not to fulfill so wicked a commaund, protesting, that they would rather endure a thousand deaths, then suffer the Temple to be prophaned with the Statue of a man.

Contrariwise, *Petronius* admonished them to take heede, lest this their stiffnecked opiniō, should procure the countries deuastation by fire and sword; alledging fil vnto them, the sterne commaunds of the Emperour, how gracious hee had bene towards him, and (being angrily moued) he did not admit no mercy, to such as disobeyed him in the least manner, approving his speeches by examples, of diuers tormented in strange kinds. He further desired them to pardon him, in not denying to execute the Emperours charge imposed on him: because they knew well enough themselves, that neuer any refused to fulfill his commaund, but was extremely punished for it. Wherefore, hee rather intended to aduenteure his life, in fighting against their whole Nation: then to bee held remisse or negligent, in what the Emperour had enioyned him.

Heereupon the multitude resolved to insist, entreating him to pardon their religion and iust constancie, if (more fearing God, the Creatour of heauen and earth, and hauing often experimented his heauy wrath, by their transgressing his commandements) they did now oppose themselves against the Emperours will, being full of impieci. Considering also, that *Petronius* himselfe confessed that he stood in such feare of a mortall man (whose life was vncertaine) that he held it no safetie for his person, to transgresse the least of his commaunds.

Petronius, amazed at this obstinacie in the people, and (after that the assembly was dispersed) finding himselfe in great perplexitie, what hee should doe in this dangerous case; paused a while vpon it. For, hee had bene particularly admonished by *Aristobolus*, brother to King *Agrippa*, and some other Princes of *Iudea*, with earnest imprecations, not to foyle himselfe

What impartialce paied betweene the Jewes and *Petronius*.

Petronius perswaded the people to stand in feare of the Emperours strict commaunds.

Arguments alleged to *Petronius* by the Jewish multitude.

himselfe, with the innocent bloud of so great a multitude, by the wicked commaund of the Emperours; because in so doing, hee should brand the Romaine Empire, with so infamous a note of cruelty, as the like was neuer heard of before, destroying a whole Nation, for refusing to suffer the Image of a sinfull man, to be aduanced in their most holie Temple. Which diuine honour, no man (of vnderstanding or good iudgement) did euer couer before: but contrariwise, many, to whom such an offer had bene made, did holde it in no meane detestation.

They further aduised him, that hee would write to the Emperour, and let him vnderstand the peremptorie resolution of the people, in defence of the doctrine and ceremonies given them by Almighty God, calming his displeasure so well as hee could, from proceeding in so cruell a sentence. But if it should so come to passe, that the humour of the Gouvernour might not bee altered; yet then hee had enough to goe on in, and (when hee did please) to proceede in Armes.

Petronius desiring to consider in these matters more maturely, and to trie the peoples inclination yet a litle further: went with his Army to *Tiberias*, where an infinite number of *Jewes* met him, incessantly entreating him, that their fared Temple might not bee prophaned. Why? answered *Petronius*, Dare you warre with the Emperour? Feare you not the power of the Romaine Empire, knowing how weake your strength is, to contend against so mighty a Monarch? Wee resist not by Armes so great a power (cryed out the *Jewes*) but humbly lay downe our liues at *Caisars* foote: rather then, against the Lawe of our God, we will see the Statue of the Emperour, to bee erected in the holiest place of our Temple. Which words were no sooner spoken, but they all fell flat vpon their faces, prostrating their neckes to any that would smite them.

Petronius perceiving them so resolute and inuincible, that they rather would die, then suffer their Temple to be violated; considering also, that already (for the space of fortie dayes) they had not toucht the earth with any labor, although

it was the onely apt time to sowe their seede: after he had consulted with some of his friends, hee coucloued, that hee would write to the Emperour. Yet, before he would make any publication thereof, he meant to presse those people somewhat further. So, causing a mighty multitude of the vnarmed *Jewes* to meete at *Tiberias*, and to feare them in most dreadfull manner; he engirt them on all sides with warrelike troupes, and his horsemen ready prepared to ouer-runne them. Once more hee declared to them, the rigorous commaund of the Romaine Emperour, the obedience of all the people in the like case; the danger wherein he and al his were, if they did not effect what hee had commaunded. Wherefore hee exhorted them, that the Emperours anger might be endured: because such facylty not to reuenge cruelly, the breach of any thing commaunded by him.

But when the *Jewes* cryed out all with one voyce, that hee ought to make more account of Gods commaund, then of any mortall mans whatsoeuer, to trample them vnder his horses feete, or slice them in peeces with their Swords, that so all the *Jewes* being extirpated, he might vse the Temple at his owne pleasure: *Petronius*, entirely moued to mercy, his heart throbbing, and his eyes ouer-flowing with teares, commaunding silence by a Trumpet, thus he spake.

¶ The Oration made by *Petronius*, to the *Jewes* assembled at *Tiberias*.

Seeing you are so resolute, that you desire rather to die, then violate the Law given you by God, I am not the man, that (by a wicked kinde of obedience) will I soyle your Temple; for which I see you endeavour so much. Nor will I doe seruice to the Emperour my Maister, in a matter so monstrous and inhumane: but rather will be a partaker in your perill, then purchase my life, by the innocent bloud of so great a multitude. Be comforted then in this your Religion, and returne to your labour, which (for so many dayes) you haue omitted. For mine owne part, I will labour by my friends and mine owne Letters, to alter this opinion in the Emperour. If hee commaund me to *Rome*, and condemne mee

A further trial vrged by *Petronius* vpon the people in warlike manner.

The answer of the people to *Petronius*.

The honourable disposition & great piety in *Petronius*.

A noble resolution in so powerfull a Commander.

to death, I will gladly endure it: knowing, that by my death, a people living in great daunger, may yet preserve their Religion to themselves. For your part, pray to God, that what I enterprize for your safetie, may have a good issue for us all.

When the Jewes had heard this Oration; as people extraordinarily ioyfull, they beganne (with loude voyces) to extoll the pietie of *Petronius*, wishing to him all felicitie. And sodainly, vpon the Assemblies seperation, there fell a mightie shouere of raine (all the day before, and the whole moneth fore-going, the Heauens were so cleare and bright, that the earth was burnt by extremity of heat) and this the Jewes interpreted to bee a signe of their happinesse.

While matters proceeded thus In *Iudea*, King *Agrippa* being at *Rome*, vnder stood the troubles in his kingdome, and the occasion from whence they proceeded. Whereupon, he made a magnificent feast for the Emperour, consisting of all the delicacies that possibly could be deuised. *Caius* wel knew, that *Agrippa* would not launch out in such liberal expences, but that hee intended some especiall suite to him: wherefore, with a gracious countenance and franke spirit, hee bade him boldly ask what he would, protesting, that he should not be denied. In a long & well prepared Oration, *Agrippa* resolved the Emperour, that he desired not any enriching of his kingdome; but humbly craved pardon for the Jewish people, if, in feare to be punished by God; they had not received his Statue into their Temple of *Ierusalem*.

Caius accounting it a shame and disgrace to him, if heerein he should refuse his friends request: wrote to *Petronius*, commending his care for the execution of his command. Adding withall, that if (with the peoples liking) the Image was already placed in the Temple, so to let it rest: but if the people would not voluntarily suffer it to bee doone, by no means to offer them any violence. Soone after came the Letters sent from *Petronius*, concerning the slowe resolution of the Iewish Nation: which quite altered him from his former minde, and made him highly displeased with his Captaine, for not performing what hee had enjoy-

ned him.

Wherefore hee wrote againe to him, that if he would not be brought to *Rome*, and there be massacred with most horrible torments: hee should make choice of what kinde of death himselfe pleased, as a punishment for the contempt of his command.

It came to passe, and (no doubt) diuinely, that the ship which carried these cruell Letters, was greatly tardied by boysterous tempests: so that an other shippe (bringing the newes of *Caligulas* death) arrived there in *Iudea* before it. Fearfull indeede was his death, but well worthy such a monster, who shortly after hee had written these terrible menaces to *Petronius*, was massacred, with his wife and daughter, by *Chereas* and his confederated conspiratours. Whereupon *Petronius*, being insourmed of the Emperours death, and thereby exempted from all feares, received the other Letters of his death. Thereby he plainely perceyued, that almighty GOD had miraculously preferred his life, for the good hee had doone to the Iewish Nation.

About the same time, *Claudius* was saluted Emperour by the Souldiours: who, because hee had bene both counselled and assisted by *Agrippa*, at such time as hee remayned in *Rome*: he confirmed vnto him (by publique Edict) the Kingdome of *Iudea* giuen him by *Caligula*, adding also *Samaria*, and all the other parts and portions, which his grandfather *Herode* the Great formerly possessed.

Moreover, hee gaue him the Tetrarchie of *Lysanias*, called *Abelitis*, with a part of *Cilicia*, and *Comagena*, which hee had taken from *Antiochus*. He conferred also on *Herode*, brother to *Agrippa*, the Kingdome of *Chalcis*.

Agrippa being in this manner richly recompenced, returned to *Iudea*, in the first yeare of the Empire of *Claudius*, and ascending vp to *Ierusalem*, gaue thanks to the Lord for his good successe. There hee made a sollemne great feast, hanging vp in the Temple, the Chaine of golde which *Caligula* had giuen him in memory of his miseries, and diuine deuiance.

Afterward, he beganne to fortifie the

Cittie

Caius Caligula his wife & daughter murdered altogether, and cruelly intreated & tortured; in a cruelly presented.

Claudius made Emperour, & *Agrippa* confirmed by him in his kingdome, with other additions belike.

A Towne Campana in Italy now called *Bela*.

The Chaine of golde hangd vp in the temple.

The Jewes interpretation concerning a shouere of raine.

King *Agrippa* feasteth the Emperour, and maketh intercession for the Jewes.

Agrippa winneth pardon for the people of the Jewes.

The Emperour soone charged from his promise made to *Agrippa*, & wrathfully sentenced *Petronius*.

Cittie of *Ierusalem*, and with such sufficient furniture, that *Clauasius* (feearing a revolt in the Jewes, vnder trust in such a well ordered fortification) forbade *Agrippa* by his Letters, to finish the work hee had begonne. Hee was also most liberall towards his subiects, and (above all) a superstitious obseruer of the traditions, receued in the forefathers lawe. So that, hearing the Apostles to vaile them of no reckoning, to winne the good liking of the sacrificing Priests, and fauour of the vulgar people: Hee executed some of the Disciples of our Saviour Christ, and namely *James* the brother to *Iohn*, they being the sonnes of *Zebedee*. Hee also caused *Saint Peter* to bee put in prison, during the dayes of vbleauened Bread, to bring him forth to the people after the Feast. But the Euangelist *Saint Luke* amply declareth, that *Saint Peter* was deliuered by the continuall prayers of the Church: where hee also declareth, the miserable end of this *Herod Agrippa*.

Now, concerning the description of *Iosephus*, speaking of his death: it agrees with the Historie of *Saint Luke* in this manner. After hee had reigned ouer all *Iudea* for the space of three yeares; in the fourth, hee came to *Cesarea*, where hee celebrated the Feast with a great company of the Jewes; causing Playes to be acted, in honour of the Emperour *Claudius*, and for his health.

The second day of the Feast, he entred the Theater in the morning, attired in a Roabe of cloth of siluer, tissued, and made most sumptuous and artificiall: where, on when the bright beames of the Sunne did cast their radiance, it caused such a lustre by their reuerberation; that all eies were dazeled with the splendour of the garment. Whereupon it happened, that some of his Flatterers, interrupting him in his Oration; tolde him, that he spake like a god; nay, and (with a loude voice) called him God, craving mercy of him, because (vntill then) they had feared him, but as a man onely; but now they plainely perceiued, that hee farre excelled all humane nature.

As the King gloried in these flattering clamours, no way reproouing them for such impious behaviour: hee was suddenly smitten with a most grievous

paine in his entrailes, so that very hardly hee could bee caried to his Pallace. Where, after many horrible torments, his life expired the fifth day: being iustly punished for the crueltie, which hee had exercised against the members of the true Church of Christ, whereas otherwise, he was very benigne and gracious towards all men, especially to strangers and Gentiles. Hee reigned (in all) about seauen yeares; for hee helde the Tetrarchie of *Phillip* (vnder *Caius Caligula*) three yeares, and foure other yeares, the whole Kingdome of *Iudea*. He dyed in the foure and fiftieth yeare of his age; the third of the Empire of *Claudius*; and the twelfth yeare after the resurrection of our Lord and Saviour Christ Iesus.

His posteritie hath already bene related, whereof *Agrippa*, being his eldest Sonne, and of the age of seuen yeares when his Father dyed, albeit *Claudius* the Emperour gladly desired, that hee should haue bene successour in his Fathers kingdome: yet some other preuayled so farre with him, that all the Regions (subiect before to his Father) were againe reduced into the forme of a Province; and the first Governour sent thither to rule in *Iudea*, was *Cuspius Fadus*, or *Fadus Cuspius*.

CHAP. XX.

Of *Herode*, the fourth King of *Chalcis*, youngest Sonne to *Herode* the Great, brother to the first *Agrippa*.



Haue heretofore named this man, *Herode* the fourth, for his better discerning from others; who led a private kind of life, vntill *Claudius* (moued by the intercession of his brother *Agrippa*) bestowed vpon him the Kingdome of *Chalcis*, in the first yeare of his Empire, which hee enjoyed the space of eight yeares, furnishing onely fve yeares his brother *Agrippa*.

H h 2

After

The terrible & iust judgement of God vpon King *Agrippa*.

The yeares of *Agrippas* reigning.

Agrippas sonne succeeded not his father in the kingdome.

Cuspius Fadus.

Claudius made *Herode* king of *Chalcis*, in the first year of his Empire.

A debate or contention for keeping the ornaments of the High-priests.

The libell of Claudius to Herode.

Thudas the Sorcerer his abusing the people, and put to death by Cyprius Fadus.

Acts 15.36.

A great famine in Iudea, foretold by Agabus. Acts 11.28.

* A people living beyond Armenia.

Acts 11.29.

The death of Herode King

After the death of his brother, *Cyprius Fadus* being sent into *Iudea*, stroue to haue the custodie of the Roabes and other ornaments, which belonged to the Soueraigne Sacrificers, and to transerre the Sacrificers to Romaine Gouvernours: whereupon, *Herode* transported himselfe to *Rome*, at request made to him by the Jewes, whose cause he maintained there so well; that he obtained, that the garments belonging vnto the High-priest, should be kept in the custody of the High-priest. Moreouer, hee obtained of *Claudius*, that he should haue the charge and care of the money, consecrated to the Temple of *Ierusalem*. Hauing power also, to depose the High-priest, for some causes of importance, and to substitute an other more sufficient. A Grant which brought great gaine and profite to the Kings; because the Priests sought by power of money, who should haue that soueraigne dignitie.

Cyprius Fadus gouerned the Countrey of *Iudea*, when a certaine man, named *Thendas*, abused in such sort the vulgar people by his enchauntments: that hee brought them to *Iordane*, promising to make them passe (dry-footed) ouer the diuided riuier. But *Fadus* following, took him by his horse-men, and hauing put him to death, scattered all the heapes of his followers. *Gambrell* maketh mention of this *Thendas*, in the fifth chapter of the *Actes* of the Apostles.

Tiberius Alexander was sent by *Claudius*, to succede *Fadus* in the gouernment; vnder whom happened that terrible famine in *Iudea*, which *Agabus* had foretold in the cleauenth chapter of the *Actes* of the Apostles; and which was about the sixt or seventh yeare of *Claudius*: which extremitie was somewhat alluaged, by the libellicite of *Helena*, Queene of the *Adiabanes*, who caused great plenty of corne to bee brought out of *Egypt*, and figges from *Cyprus*. Also the Churches of *Greece* and *Asia*, gathered much money, which they sent to succour the brethren, that endured the famine in *Iudea*.

Herode, King of *Chalcis* dyed in the eight yeare of the Emperour *Claudius*. Hee had two wines, each after other; the first was *Mariana*, daughter to *Olympia*, the youngest daughter to Great *Herode*, by whom hee had *Aristobolus*. Afterward,

he married *Berenice*, daughter to his brother *Agrippa*, who brought vnto him two sonnes. And this was his issue or posteritie, which was reputed quite consumed, by the calamities hapning in the warres of the Iewes.

Aristobolus, slaine by his Father *Herod* the Great.

Agrippa the first.

Mariana, daughter of *Olympia*.

Herode, the fourth King of *Chalcis*.

Berenice, daughter of *Agrippa* the first, who had by her vncle,

Berenicena, *Hircanus*.

Of these wereade nothing.

Agrippa the last.

Salome, daughter of *Herodias*, first married to *Phillip* the Tetrarch.

Aristobolus, to whom *Nero* gaue the gouernement of the Lesser *Armenia*; and had by *Salome*,

Herode Agrippa Aristobolus.

Iosephus maketh no other kind of mention (concerning them) that I can finde.

CHAP. XXI.

¶ Of *Agrippa* the last, Sonne to the youngest sonne of *Herod* the Great, the last King in any part of *Iudea*.



His *Agrippa*, being aged seuenteen yeares, was at *Rome* with *Claudius* when his father dyed; and succeeded not immediately after his father, because of some enemies about *Claudius* therein were his hinderance: who alleged; That his youthfull yeares were not apt to gouerne so great a kingdome, neither to bridle a people to rebellious. But in deede, their pretence was, to enrich themselves by gouerning the Countrey.

Five

of Chalcis the fourth name

The issue of Herod the 4.

Agrippa made King of Chalcis, and enabled with his vncles power.

Cumanus sent governor in Iudea to *Tiberius Alexander*.

The warre sent behauour of an insolent Souldiour to the people.

A most cruell and bloodie act of *Cumanus*, whereby many Iust died Iewes.

A Booke of Moses and the Prophets writing abused by a wicked Souldiour.

Five yeares after his fathers death, his vncle *Herode* being dead also: *Claudius* conferred on him the Kingdome of *Chalcis*, at the age of 22. yeares. He gaue him also the same power his vncle had, to keepe the treasure of the Temple of *Ierusalem*, and to create the High-priests. Of which authoritie *Agrippa* made verie good vse: for (in a short time) he deposed diuers, and substituted other at his pleasure.

At such time as *Agrippa* beganne his reigne, *Cumanus* was sent into *Iudea*, to succede *Tiberius Alexander* in the gouernment, who greatly tormented the countrey, which already fauored of the succeeding ruine. For, at Easter, the fourth day of vnleauened bread, a Romain Souldiour of the band, which (according to custome) kept a garison about the Temple; vnrerently shewed his base backe-part to the people, they being dutifully busied in the seruice of God.

The Iewes not a little moued at this iniurie, gaue very bitter speeches against the Gouernour *Cumanus*, because hee did not punish this wicked act of the Souldiour.

Cumanus taking in disdayne their bold words, and fearing some violence by the mutinous multitude: sodainely (but verie secretly) fommoned his armed Legions and horsemen together, who discouering themselves before they could be suspected; made such an affright among the vnarmed popularity, that they fled away so confusedly crowding, that more then twenty thousand men and women, were trodden and crushed to death in the Streetes and other places, to the great and grieuous lamentation of all the people.

Another tumult also followed soone after, the issue whereof was not yet so pittifull. For some threuing Iewes, had (vpon the highway) shrewdly beaten and wounded one *Stephen*, a seruant to the Emperour *Claudius*, stripping him out of all that hee had about him.

Cumanus heereat highly offended, and not finding them that had done the deed; tooke all the neighbouring parts, where the fault was committed. Which being done, a Souldiour finding a Booke in his booty, which containd the writings of *Moses* and the Prophets; made a pub-

like shew thereof in denition; & after toore it peeces, in presence of the chiefest Iewes. Sodainly a great multitude of the Iewes ranne (by troups) to *Cesarea* (where then was the ordinary abiding of the Romaine Gouvernours) and required, that iustice might be inflicted vpon him for this wicked act: whom if *Cumanus* (by the perswasion of some) had not beheaded, to satisfie the enraged peoples anger; this tumult could not haue bene appealed, without very great effusion of blood.

Afterward, some of the *Gallileans* ascending vnto *Ierusalem* to the Feast, were slaine by the *Samaritanes*; which was the cause of many murders committed on both sides. For, eyther part being encouraged to reuenge, ranne into fresh iniuries, by way of robberies, putting to fire and sword all they met withall. But, because *Cumanus* (corrupted with money) did not repress those theueries done by neighbour on neighbour, *Quarrens*, President of *Syria*, was called thither by the contrary side; who (having received information of the fact, and executed the authorits of the mutinies) sent *Cumanus* to *Rome*, to render a reason for the *Procurator* committed to his charge. He being conuicted of auarice and cruelty, was sent into exile by *Claudius*, & in his place, was appointed gouernour of *Iudea* and *Samarita*, *Claudius Felix*, brother to *Pallas*, who (long time before) was sent into *Palestine*, to gouerne the Tetrarchy of *Philip*, as is affirmed by *Cornelius Tacitus*.

Almost at the same time, that is to say, in the twelfth yeare of his Empire, *Claudius* gaue to King *Agrippa* the Tetrarchy of *Phillip* (being destitute of a Gouvernor) which contained *Trachonitis* and *Batanea*; giuing him also *Abella*, the Tetrarchy of *Lysania*. Then he gaue to his vncle paternall *Aristobolus* (brother to the first *Agrippa*, and *Herode* of *Chalcis*) the kingdome of *Chalcis*.

After these affayres thus passed ouer, the condition and estate of the Iewes grew worse and worse; and now beganne the gouernement of *Felix*, who being reprooued by *Ionathas* the High-priest, for his rapines and other wicked actions by him persequed, and yet not daring to depose him from the Sacerdotal dignitie, because hee stood in feare of the people: suborned diuerse Ruffians, who

Diuers *Gallileans* slaine by the Samaritans

Cumanus sent to Rome by *Quarrens*, after whom succeeded *Felix*.

The libell of the Emperour *Claudius* to King *Agrippa*.

Ionathas the High-priest, reuoued the rapines of *Felix*, and was secretly murdered.

(entring into *Ierusalem* at the feast with the multitude) flew so secretly the High-Priest *Jonathan*, and others marked for the same purpose with him; as very easily they were concealed in the troups.

This attempt speeding so well as the Ruffians could desire, fell out to bee the occasion, that (at every feast) they made a market or merchandise, of killing the honestest of the people: sometimes being hired there-to by other, sometimes out of their owne spleene and mallice. So that euery man stood in feare, because no one knew how to secure himselfe; audacious boldnesse dreading no punishment, in regard of the Governours carelessse negligence.

Troups of theues ranne euery where making spoile, though many were apprehended by *Felix*, and executed: yet wickednesse had taken such deep roote, one-ly through neglect in the precedent Governours, as it could no way be helpe; no, nor by the greatest severity of iustice. And the worst of all was, that these theueries were maintayned by the High-priests authoritie: amongst whom, such as were best stored with money, kept bands of desperate villaines about them, by whose meanes they oppressed such as they pleased, laying close ambushes to kill and murder them.

In the thirteenth yeare of *Claudius* his Empire, *Paul* the Apostle was taken in *Ierusalem*, and being led thence to *Casarea*: pleaded his cause before *Felix* and *Drusilla*, as *S. Luke* declareth in the foure and twentieth of the *Actes*. Afterward, *Felix* called for him diuers times, and heard him answere for himselfe, hoping that *Paul* would redeeme himselfe by money. But after hee had kept him two whole yeares in prison; at his departing from *Iudea*, hee left him there, to please the Iewes.

Claudius died in the foureteenth yeare of his Empire, and *Nero* (at the beginning of his gouernment) encreased the authoritie of *Agrippa*, adding thereto part of *Galilee*, with the Cities of *Tyberias*, *Tarichea* and *Iuliada*. Forthwith he sent *Porcius Festus* into *Iudea*, calling home *Felix*, whom they of *Casarea* followed, and accused him of cruelty, rapines and other vniust dealing; but he escaped by the cunning of his brother *Pallas*. So soone as

Porcius Festus was arrived in *Iudea*, hee gaue audience (at *Casarea*) to *Paul* and the Iewes his accusers: and as he intended to send *Paul* to *Ierusalem*, he (hearing the ambushes of the Iewes) appealed to the Emperour *Nero*.

Some few dayes after, *Agrippa* went to *Casarea* with his sister *Berenice*, onely to salute the new gouernor: which sister (after the death of her husband *Herode of Chalcis*) liued so familiarly with her brother, that there was great suspition of incestuous acquaintance. *Paul* was brought before them to pleade his cause, and (in a well couched oration) so approved his innocencie; that, according to the Kings owne opinion, he might haue gone at liberty, if hee had not appealed to *Casir*. Not long it was, but *Paul* was sent (with other prisoners) to *Rome*, in the first yeare of *Neroes* Empire, as is aouched.

Agrippa returning to *Ierusalem*, offended the Priests very grievously, by a building erected in the Pallace royall, and somewhat neare to the Temple: for hee could thence discerne, whatsoever the Priests did in the inward parts, and when they loytered in the sacrifices and diuine Service. The Priests holding this action vnlawfull, erected awall (on the Temple side) of the like height; whereby *Agrippa* was not onely hindered from seeing the Temple, but also a great part of the City. The King insisted, that the wall should be beaten downe; but the Priests so preuailed (by means made to *Poppes* the Emperours wife) that *Nero* allowed the wall to remaine as it did.

Heereat *Agrippa* being exceedingly offended, deposed *Ioseph* the foueraigne Sacrificer, placing *Ananias* in his roome, who was of the Saducees Sect, a man very bolde and cruell. He (*Festus* dying in *Iudea*, and *Albinus* his successeur staying somewhat long ere he came) tooke occasion to exercise cruelty against many worthy persons; especially against *James* the sonne of *Ioseph*, brother to our Lord Iesus Christ by an other mother, a man (in the iudgement of all them dwelling in *Ierusalem*) excelling in innocencie of life and piety, who was throwne down headlong from the highest wall of the temple; and by command of the said *Ananias* overwhelmed with stones, about threecore yeares after the birth of Christ.

For

After 24. 11.
Paul appeals
to Ananias
before Casir

Paul pleads
before Felix
Agrippa and
Berenice.

A contention
betweene A-
grippa and the
Priests about
a building.

Ioseph the
high Priest
deposed, and
Ananias en-
stalled.

Ananias cau-
ed James to
be murdered.

For this wicked deed, he was accused before *Agrippa*, who feared the Romane Gouernour, named *Albinus*, now neere approaching; and also stood in feare of the peoples fury: wherefore *Ananias* was dismissed from his Office, exercised by him but three moneths onely. And yet he ceased not to commit great cruelties, against them that were of his owne condition. For, in regard of his great power, hee had many Theues (kept at his charges) of whom he made vse to murder his enemies priuily. Beside, hee made them breake into the Garners of corne, to steal the Tythes therein enclosed: which being often done without any punishment, was the cause of starving to death manie of the poore Priests.

Albinus being ouercome with insatiable couetousnesse, cared for nothing else but onely to get wealth together, by any vile meanes whatsoever: wherefore, such of the Priests as gaue him Gold, hee winked at all their wickednesse, and permitted Theues to doe what they listed, if their kindred or friends would redeeme them with money. By which meanes, in short time, all *Iudea* was full of Theues, all things turned topsie turvy, no Iustice exercised in any place: and there was no acte so horrid or execrable, but it might quickly be pardoned for money.

Gestius Florus was sent as succesor to this Horle-leech, who farre exceeded the rapines of *Albinus*, by infinit other wicked courtes; so that the Iews reputed *Albinus* a Saint vnto this other. For *Florus* proceeded not couerly; nor after the cunning manner of his predecessour: but by open violence, scorning, stealing, rudely taking, and doing whatsoever he pleased; for will onely was a Law to him. And surely it seemed, that he was meely sent by destiny to the Iewes, so to irritate them by open iniuries, and blinde them from all desire of reuenge, as finally to be their vtter ruine. For, the whole country being ouer-runne with Theues, and the people growne desperately desirous of warre; had a hope of some other Dominion, groaning vnder the tyrannical Romane rule, and (institish zeale) were perswaded to recouer their liberty.

In breefe, the time was come, which Christ and the Prophets had foretold, concerning the destruction of the whole

Priesthood, and policy ordained by *Moses* and diuine authority: confidering, that the Messias had already bene sent, for the loie of whom, both the Priesthood and policy had bin (till that time) diuinely preferred. Wherefore, vnder *Gestius Florus*, threescore yeeres after the Natiuity of Christ, five and thirty yeeres after hee was crucified and risen againe, the twelfth of *Neroes* Empire, the seuenteenth of this *Agrippa* now in question; and three yeeres before *Paul* was put to death by *Nero*: the warre began to waxe tempestuous, because the Iewes revolted from the Romane Empire, and entred into mutiny against *Casir*.

Florus could easily haue quenched this warre in the beginning; but that hee rather affected, to nourish and feede the flame newly kindled, by prouoking the Iewes dayly more and more, still adding injury vpon injury: vntill the fire flew forth both farre and neere, that finally, it wrought the destruction of all *Iudea*.

At the beginning of this reuolt, *Agrippa* labored very seriously, to stay the Iews from this furious desire of warre, and to regaine peace and tranquility, by requiring pardon of the Romanes for their offence, which they might haue obtained on meane conditions, in regard it was very euident, that they had some iust causes of rebelling, by the outrages done vnto them by *Florus*. But he came so short of their expectation, they hating nothing more, then to heare of peace or equity; as (very hardly) he escaped their violence. Perceiuing then the Nation so enraged for fight, & (like men blindfolded) throwing themselves impetuously into perdition; he retired from their furious enterprize, and sent ayde to *Vespasian* in *Iudea*, to tame the head-strong course of those Rebelles, foreseeing already in his soule, the sad ruine of all the Iewish people.

Heere I could weaue vp the sagge-end of this History, with report of the Iewish warre, which *Iosephus* and other authors haue described; but that my heart will not ferme me, to discourse those strange & miserable ouerthrows, which (in their pitifull events) did exceede humane beleefe. For no History is found of any nation whatsoever, that was so long time

Florus a bloody desirer of the vtter ruin of the Iewish Nation.

Agrippa labored to reconcile the Iewes to the Romanes.

The lamentable horror of the warre betweene the Iewes and the Romanes.

shut

Mens liues bought and sold as beasts pleased, with out any punishment.

The miserable afflictions of the Iewes, no way to be redressed.

Paul imprisoned, pleads before Felix and Drusilla. Actes 24. 24.

The death of Claudius and reigne of Nero.

Porcius Festus sent to gouern Iudea.

Ananias dismissed from his Office by Agrippa.

The greedy & insatiable couetousnes of Albinus the Gouernour.

Florus a more wicked gouernour then Albinus, sent as a just plague and vtter ruin of the Iewes.

The time fore prophesied for the destruction of Ierusalem, was now fully come to passe.

shut vp from all succour, wofully tormented, and finally (wholly confounded, with numberlesse calamities) almost altogether quite rased out, and destroyed. For after that the Jewes were reuolted in the twelfth year (as is affirmed) of Nero, the army of the Romanes neuer ceased for fix whole yeeres together, cruelly to ravage the countrey of *Iudea*, because from time to time, the Jewes (by their inuincible obstinacy) provoked the victorious soldiers to such tyrannies, as the like were neuer heard of.

But though I spare to relate the deustation of the whole countrey: who can conceiue (with true iudgement) but the miseries of the City *Ierusalem* it selfe? Which, before it beheld the *Roman* enemy, for the space of fixe whole yeeres, felt (within it selfe) farre more cruell domesticke aduersities: as being diuided and torne in peeces, by Sects, Factions, and Seditions of Theeues, fighting amongst themselves (when they had none else to quarrell withall) for rapines, murders, and other mischeefs, every Faction thinking to support it selfe, by dooing iniurie vnto it selfe, and surmounting one another in number, and manner of nouel villanies and extremity.

Purie grew on to such horrid perfection, that if any Man or woman were esteemed holy, religious, and modest: these were arguments sufficient, to yeld a pregnant reason for their death; and the goodes of the richest Citizens, must bee brought forth, and layde before their doores, while the Factions fought who should enioy them. To kill people of meane or simple condition, was but to riddle them out of the turbulent crowdes, for they were esteemed but as a charge to the City, and hindered the way when the siege should beginne: for this they accounted their wisest course, and best meanes, to abide a long lingering siege.

If any man durst but speake a word, or expresse by any apparant signe, that hee disliked the present License vnto all Villanies, it was presently termed Treason, and state conspiracy with the Romanes; yea, it was a sinne deserving terrible punishment. And as great an offence it was, to mourne or lament for Parents or Friends, being slaine or mur-

thered in these vprores.

To prophane the verie holiest part of the Temple, with Rapes, Murthers, and Massacres; they sayde, it was fighting in defence of the Temple, and for the Religion of the countrey. To beare away violently the riches out of the Temples Treasure, and to waste them in all Villanie and abhominable excess: this was tearmed, borrowing money, wherewith to defend the seruice ordayned by GOD. And vpon paine of death, no man durst flye, or get him gone, from these horrible, diuellish, and dangerous courses.

Moreouer, such as dwelt in the Citie, beheld (beside these publike miseries) their owne bodies, their wiues, children, and goods, exposed to the violent & vnbred attempts of those mercilesse Villaines. In breefe, there could not be thought or deuised any iniury or opprobrious behauiour, which the miserable Jewes might feare or expect from the Enemy, but they first made triall thereof vpon themselves, vsing no resistance at all against it. Wherefore, the coming of the enemies army was no way dreadful vnto them, but rather gladly desired; and euen but as a tolleration, or rather a recreation (when the City was sharply assailed) the seditious factions were enforced to ioyne their forces, for repulsing the enemy, and to breath awhile, from their owne domesticke theueries and warres.

The last six moneths of this warre, after that the City was round engirt with enemies, and themselves had pilld, polled, and miserably spoyled all that they could by their intestine robberies: they began to feele a famine in the height of extremity, which was accompanied likewise with so greuous a Pestilence, that in the time of the siege, about eleau hundred thousand men died by the plague and famine. During this war also, great multitudes wer daily murdered within the walls, by the mutinous and rebellious factionists: & in the assaults, surprisals, and sackings of the city, many millions of people lost their liues. Also in the war time, there were taken 97000. persons, who were partly sold as slaves, and partly distributed to rounde neighbouring great Cities, there to bee giuen and deuoured by wilde beasts, in publike Playes,

Calamities of the Jewes such, as seldom any nation was ever subjected to.

Men forward to vicary violence vpon themselves.

Pestilence & famine in all extremities, whereof it died, 110000.

Ninety seven thousand sold as slaves, and dequered by braute beasts

and fantasticke spectacles. Some other were compelled to fight as Fencers in the Theaters, with the like fury as hostile enemies: and some were sent into *Morea* (by huge troopes) to cut out a Channell betwene the *Egyptian* and *Ionian* seas.

By these pittifull examples of Gods heauy wrath, against the contemners of his Sonne Christ, and the doctrine Evangelicall; almost all this nation was utterly exterminated. Happning by the Diuine permission, that at the Feast of vnleavened bread, when the Jewes were wont to meete at *Ierusalem*, from the farthest parts of all *Iudea*; the City should be thus besieged, and all the desperate Robbers, Theeues, & Ruffians, dispersed throughout the whole Regions, should (euen then) be retired to *Ierusalem* to shelter themselves in her fortifications.

After that *Vespasian* (for about the space of fixe yeeres) had first of all subdued well-neere all *Iudea*, conquering many strongly munited Citties, yea, destroying and burning them, onely through the wilfull obstinacie of the inhabitants; in the last halfe yeare, *Titus* brought his Army to the City of *Ierusalem*, and there planted his siege, in the second year of the Emperor his Father; and the siege continued for the space of fixe moneths, which *Iosephus* tearmeth by *Macedonian* names.

<i>Xantiqua.</i>	} which in our	{	Aprill.
<i>Artemision.</i>			May.
<i>Dention.</i>			June.
<i>Panemon.</i>			July.
<i>Loion.</i>			August.
<i>Corpiation.</i>			September.

The names of the 6. moneths wherein *Ierusalem* was besieged.

CHAP. XXII.

A breefe Collection, of the principall Accidents which happened in the time of the siege.

The beginning of the siege.



The fourth day of the first moneth, *Xantiqua* (which is Aprill with vs) the Citie of *Ierusalem* was besieged, neere to the feast of Easter.

The two and twentieth day after, *Titus* essaying (in vaine) to haue it yielded, raised his Bulwarkes, and prepared his Engines to batter the City.

The seuenth day of *Artemision*, which is May, *Bazetha* (that is to say, the new city, the first wall being taken) which was a part of the City beyond the Temple towards *Betha*, newly annexed, and enuironed with walles by the first *Agrippa* was seized on by the Romanes.

The twelfth day of the said moneth, the second wall was taken, and yet the same day it was recovered againe.

The sixteenth day, the Romanes hauing taken the other wall againe the second time, enioyed the safe or lower part of the City, which the Jewes called *Acra*, & was seated beneath on a little hill.

The one and twenty day, two parts of the City were lost, when the Jewes (being graciously entreated by *Titus*) desired to embrace peace. Then the Souldiers began to mount their scaladoes, neere to the Towre called *Antonia*, ioyning to the third wall, where their Engines and Bulwarkes being raised in twelue dayes, they were againe as quickly burned by the Jewes.

All the whole moneth of *Dention*, the which answereth to that of Iune, the Romanes were seriously busied, in engirting the whole City with a Wall, to hinder the bringing of victualles to the Jewes, and also to bereave them from all means of flight.

The first day of *Panemon*, which refereth it selfe to our Iuly, *Titus* taking compassion on the people, whom he knew to dye by the extremity of the Famine and Pestilence, onely through the obstinacie of some among them; being desirous to deliuer them without long delay, he created new Terrasses vp aloft, and began to batter the third wall, called *Antonia*, verie difficult to be surprized. This *Antonia*, was a most magnificent building, and very strongly munited nere to the Temple, foure square in forme, and carrying the greatnesse of a very large Castle. Herod the Great had builded it, in fauour of the Soueraigne Sacrificers, and gave it the name of *Marke Anthony* the Triumire. Within that goodly Monument, the Ordinaments belonging to the High-Priests were continually kept.

Preparation for battay.

The taking of the first wall by the Romanes

The wall, & the other part of the city taken

Two parts of the City lost.

A wall built round about the City.

Battery playing on *Antonia* the thirde wall.

Herode the Great builded this *Antonia*.

The

The Antonia
wonne.

The first day, the *Antonia* was wonne, because the walls fell downe of themselves, on that side where the Iewes hadde vndermined, to get forth of the Citie, with intent to burne the enemies rampiers.

The eight day of *Loion*, which is the moneth of August, after that the Iewes had beene many times exhorted, to desire peace of so gracious a Conquerour, after they had repulled his often Ambassages by base iniuries, and wicked abuses: the Temple was forcibly taken, being a worke well worthy of admiration. And (contrary to the Edict of *Titus*) it was set on fire by the offended Souldiers. So that it burned the very same day, when as (six hundred, threecore, and nineteen yeares before past) it was burned by *Nabuchodonosor*, Colonnell of the *Chaldeans*.

The twentieth day, was the batterie of the high Towne (called the City of *David*) begonne: after that the Iewes (once more admonished to lay downe Armes) refused peace, being gently offered vnto them.

The seventh day of *Garpiaion*, which is our September, the high part of the City was taken: the Fortresse whereof was the Temple, as the *Antonia* was Bulwarke to the Temple.

The eight day, all the City of *Ierusalem*, (pilled & ranlacked before) was conquered all into alhes.

The foure and twentieth day of October, *Titus* celebrating the birth-day of his brother *Domitian* in *Cæsarea* (a Citie on the Sea-coast) had Playes there of sundry kindes: wherein were brought forth three thousand Iewes captiues; some of them being deuoured by beasts, the rest killing one another, fencing and fighting each against another.

The seuenth day of Nouember, *Titus* went to *Berytha*, a City in *Syria*, where he celebrated the Natiuity of his Father *Vespasianus*; & where (in sports & pastimes presented before the Romans and Grecians) a great number of captiue Iewes, were some trodden to death, others hacked, hewed, and torne in peeces.

I haue collected this small discourse, concerning the wofull consummation of this Citie, which sometime was the principall feare of Gods people, and of his diuine Doctrines: from the eight yeare of

*King Dauid*s reigne, vntill the finall destruction, being eleuen hundred, thirrie and seuen yeares. The due Obseruation whereof, may serue to testify the mighty anger of God, against the despisers of his Sonne, and of his word in him reuealed; exampling vs, from falling into the like calamities, either by a violent appetite of oppressing the true Doctrines, or to darken & obscure it by false interpretations, or (vnto the contrary) by wandering into euery wickednesse.

Now I returne againe to *Agrippa*, who (according as hath bene sayde) detestling the furious madnesse of his Nation, and evidently fore-seeing their wofull ruine) sent ayde to *Vespasian*, making Warre against the Iewes, and by that means partly saved his owne Countreies, from the lamentable spoile happening in this warre.

Nero being dead, and *Galba* chosen Emperour, he projected a journey to *Rome*, with *Titus* the sonne of *Vespasian*, to entreate the confirmation in his kingdome by the new made Emperour. But contrary winds intercepting them, they could not compasse what was intended: but receyued tydings neere vnto *Antonia*, of *Galba*s death: which was the reason, that *Titus* returned towards *Syria*, *Agrippa* holding on his course for *Rome*. But *Italy* being embraced with ciuill warre, because *Otho* (successor to *Galba*) being slaine, and *Vitellius* presuming to the Empire, *Agrippa* was very hastily called backe to *Iudea* by Letters, where he assisted *Vespasian* to bee saluted Emperour by his soldiers, and safely to conduct a well provided Armie towards *Italy*, with purpose to encounter the Captaines of *Vitellius*. So he left his sonne *Titus* (with some legions) to beate downe the Iewes, especially them of *Ierusalem*, as hath bin said before.

I finde no other matter of *Agrippa*, or any other of the posterity of *Herode the Great*: but onely *Philo*, writing of *Agrippa*, saith; That he reigned seuen and twenty yeares. He dyed then (by *Philo*s account) in the threescore and eighteenth yeare of Christ, the seauenth of *Vespasian*, and the fift yeare after the destruction of *Ierusalem*.

Philo further saith, that this *Agrippa* had a sonne, named *Agrippine*, who reigned thirty yeares after the death of his father: wherefore he attained to the year an hundred

His returne
backe to the
Iouner history
of King A-
grippa.

The death of
Nero, and suc-
cession of
Galba.

*Agrippa*s in-
tercepted jour-
ney to *Rome*.

Vitellius con-
tending, *Ves-
pasian*s salu-
ed Emperour.

How long A-
grippa reigned
and when he
dyed.

Agrippine, son
and successor
to *Agrippa*.

dred and eight after the death of Christ, and to the eight of *Traine* the Emperour, which yeare *Philo*, being ouer-spent with yeares, foretold would be the last of his reigne.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of three great and notable Doubtes, which the ancient Philosophers knew not how to resolue, and for what cause.



HE ancient Philosophers, illumined by the gifte of God, made curious search into all things belonging to nature: and verified all their propositions (without contradiction or repugnancie) by other propositions meely naturall. Notwithstanding, they neuer knew how to resolue three things, verie doubtfull and of importance, neither could yeelde a reason for the causes of their originall.

The first was, that they well knewe a desire giuen to man by nature, that hee would neuer dye, neither feele any paine or greauance whatsoeuer: but to liue happily in the pleasures of this world, without the want or neede of any thing; and yet hee could neuer attaine to the end thereof. On the other side, hauing made this proposition, that God and Nature neuer did any thing in vaine, & that this appetite in man ensued thence, whereof they courted to finde the cause; considering beside, that in all other naturall effects the proposition alwayes did verifie it selfe: they were vtterly confounded in infinite perplexities, being neuer able to compasse the end.

The second was, they said & affirmed naturally in like manner, that euery man felt in himselfe a peruerse carnall inclination, or sensuality, quite contrarie to the former appetite of vnwillingnesse to dye: and yet this carnall lustful desire, causeth a man fall into diuers diseases, which are the abridging of life, yea hasteneth on death, wherto his other appetite is an vtter enemy.

Morcouer, many couet after riches

and pompe, seeking to winne them courageously in the field; where soonest of all they meete with death, or else bear away wounds, maiimes, afflictions of mind, & other misfortunes, quite contrary to their desire indeede.

The third doubt proceeded from the order of nature, all interiour things being gouerned by their superiour: as wee see the elements obedient to the celestiall bodies; the Orbes and Spheres to the mooing intelligence, and all the intelligences to the cheefest of all, which is God loued and desired. Onely in man is this order peruerced; for he being composed of a soule and a body, the flesh which is the vilest part of all other, stands repugnant to reason, yea and to the soule, which is the very noblest part of all: and (which is farre worse) draweth it to the bent of his owne wicked will. And therefore the *Apollis* saide; That hee felt a Lawe in his members, repugnant to the Lawe of his thoughts, and attracted him to sin.

The Philosophers that were before the coming of Christ, neuer knew how to find out the occasion of this disorder: yet making curious search for it, fell into many and lundry errors. Wherefore *Antigoras* saide: This exorbitant irregularity, happened at the beginning of the world, and when all things were confused in the ancient Chaos. For the intellect being separated by discord, and reioyned by concord, all things were created good, and well ordered in their kinde: onely man excepted, whose flesh hee saw to be ill disposed, and disagreeing with the reasonable soule. And therefore, even as in that Chaos these two things were discordant: so in like manner afterward, they still continued repugnant, contrary to the rule & order of all other things in the world. In this manner, this poore Philosopher imputed the blame of all, to the Diuine intellect, which is God himselfe.

Others saide: That this proceeded from the celestiall constellations, vnder the which man is engendered, and receiueth birth. For *Aristotle* durst neuer bee so bolde, as (openly) to yeeld a resolution of this doubtfull difficulty; but seemed (as it were) to contradict himselfe sometimes, saying; Sensuality is naturally inclined to euil, howbeit (with great difficulty) it may sometime be ruled or tamed by the moral vertues. And in another place he saith, That the se-

The 3. doubt,
the peruer-
sion of Nature
order in the
body of man.

The soule is
the most no-
ble part of all
other in man.

The opinion
and saying of
Anaxagoras,
concerning
the discordance
of things in
the Chaos.

The iudge-
ment of some
other Philo-
sophers, and
Aristotle him-
selfe.

The surpris-
ing and burn-
ing of the
Temple.

The batterie
of the City of
David.

The high town
taken.

All the Citie
burnt.

The Natiuity
of *Domitian*
celebrated by
Titus, with
the death of
3000 Iewes.

Titus hono-
red his fathers
birth day.

The cheefe
reason why
the Awhour
was the col-
lection of
these histories.

licity which is atcheued by the vertues morall, is the gift of God. By consequence then those morall vertues, in whose operation the happinesse of man doth consist; must be the gift of GOD, and no way naturall.

Contrarywise, the Manichees, desirous to render a reason for this peruerse disorder, saide: *That there were two soules in man, the one good, made of the substance of the Prince of Light; and the other badde, made of the substance of the Prince of darkness, and these do cause this continuall combat in man.*

Origen afterward saide; *That before the creation of the world, all things were conserved in Heaven which sinned against God: & therefore (as punishments) they were disposed into ill complexioned bodies, and from thence ensued this controuersie in man.*

All these detestable opinions were confuted by Saint *Augustine*, writing against the Manichees; where, by long & pregnant reasons, hee prooueth the occasion of the subuersion of this order; and that because they had no vnderstanding in the sacred Scriptures, they vterly lost that light. For in them is declared vs, the full resolution of these doubts, and there may plainly be discerned, that these two propositions are good and true, and both of them in the order of Nature. To wit, that God and nature neuer did anything voide of purpose, and that it is very conuenable, that a man (by nature) should not desire to dye, but to leade a happy kinde of life, and yet without power of attaining thereto; not because he hath this desire given him in vaine, for it is truly naturall: but to obtaine the end and effect thereof, is a matter accidental to man, and not naturall.

For it is plain and apparant, that God created man immortall, in such sort, as effectually (according to the very soundest opinion of all Diuines) he could not haue dyed, nor be subiect to any miserie, if hee had obserued his commandement. But hauing transgressed, hee ought iustly to suffer death, and the miseries of the world; therefore, because he obeyed not his command, he incurred death and all afflictions. So that by the sinne of disobedience (as the Apostle saide) death came into the world. Hereby it appeareth the, that death was not (at the first) naturall to

our prime father, neither successiually ensuing to vs, but accidental; because it was not the intention of God.

Thus come we then to resolve this doubt, that desire not to dye, nor endure any paines; is given to vs by nature, and not in vaine: because the power was giuen vs to obtaine the effect, but in regard of our disobedience, the desire still remaineth, and cannot be taken from vs. By the selfsame reason is the second doubt answered: for of our selues, by carnall obscenity, and glutinous gourmandize, we purchase death, and make way to this disorder.

In like manner, the third is resolved by *Adams* sinne committed, whereby hee lost the originall righteousness which God had giuen him; which serued him as a bridle to moderate himselfe by iust order, and so this harmony fell into confusion. For the soule, which ought to govern the body, as beeing the thing most noble and excellent; came afterward to bee governed by the sense, and by the bodye. And so wee see evidently, that this subuersion is no way naturall, but accidental.

By this meanes then, the proposition remaineth firme & true, that those things most worthy and most noble, ought to gouerne them of lesse noble and inferior quality: which sayleth nor, neyther can, as well wee may obserue in the celestiall bodies. And if in man it falleth out otherwise, it is by accident of the faulte, deferring this and worse, but not by Nature.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of such Ceremonies as were vsed by the Romaines, before they moued any warre.



As haue read the sacred Ceremonies, and Religious obseruations which were vsed by the auncient Romaines, as well in matters concerning peace, as attempts and enterprizes of warre: doe not make any wonderment at all of the great Victories

The first doubt resolved.

Answer to the second.

Resolution to the third.

The confusion of the first concordancy betweene.

Many & sundry ceremonies among the old Romaines.

Instruction for our modern Princes in attempting warre.

Ceremonies for times both of peace and warre.

Contempt of religious Ceremonies, & athrowing the Roman Empire.

by them obtained, against so many furious people, and most potent nations. On the contrary also, they manuell not at the decadence of that Empire, which began, when they began to contemne those Ceremonies and religion. For we may obserue by infinit histories, full of examples, that so long as they were best obedient to religion; their Common-weales prospered so much the more happily, & the enterprizes of their Captaines fell out then successiually. As was well noted in *Pompey*, *Brennus*, and infinite other, who albeit they were idolaters, and neuer knew the true God: yet it seemed (neuertheless) that by certaine meanes of terrestriall retribution, God fauoured them that were religious. And it might be perhaps to this end, that like as the people were then zealous in a religion, whereof they had neither foundation, or any perfect beleefe; they would (by far stronger reason) bee good obseruers of the true faith, if it had bin reuealed to them, as now it is vnto vs. The effects then make it euident, that heauen neuer left them, without some appearance of good prosperity, & fortunate successe in their temporall affaires.

The Ceremonies which the auncient Romaines obserued in times of warre or peace, were many and diuers: wherein I must needs be silent, because the relating of them all, would require more time than I am allowed; and it might offend to speak of some, and not of other. My intent therefore, is to make relation of five only, and especially by them obserued, before war was moued against any Prouince. To the end, that moderne Princes may perceiue, how farre out of the way they wandor, in attempting war inconsiderately, & making no consultation first to GOD: wherein (if they iudge rightly) they may conceiue, that ill successe happeneth to them by no other occasion, they liuing in Religion so farre inferior to Ethnicks and Idolaters.

When newes came to *Rome*, concerning the rebellion of some Prouince, or of any trouble giuen by some barbarous Prince to their countries, or to any of their confederates: they sent ambassadors to him, by whom the Senate gaue to vnderstand, that they would know, in what manner the wrong receiued should be repaired, with refraining from offering the

like afterward, wherein finding obstinacy then war was intimated. The Senate haue created a Captain for this expedition, called the Sacrificers, who were commanded to invoke the Gods with their prayers: for the Romans neuer went forth to shed the blood of their enemies, vntill the Priests had first wept, and made their solemn prayers in the Temples. Afterward, the Senate beeing assembled, went to the temple of Iupiter, where they swore a most solemn oath. *That at all times when the enemy (against whom the instant warre was published) would require a new consideration with them, or desire pardon for the offence, pacificemency should neuer be denied him.* This being don, the Consul elected for the enterprize, went to the Capitoile, and there made a solemn vow, to such a one of the Gods in whom he reposed confidence, so offer some singular thing vnto him, if he returned home victorious from the war. And were the offering of neuer so great value, yet the people stood obliged to pay it. Then the banner of the Eagle, being the ancient ensigne of the Romaines, was brought forth into *Campus Martius*; which they did, to let the people vnderstand, that in *Rome* ther might no feasts be celebrated, so long as their fellow Citizens and kindred were in war: & so bringing out the ensignes, deliuered them to their seuerall Captains. But first, a Prator mounted on the gate called *Salutaria*, causing a Trumpet there to sound, while the soldiers receiued their pay. Whereby may be gathered, that they liued not their armies at any time, till they had first appeased and honored their Gods, and likewise made their orisons for the prosperitie of their Captains, and virtuous carriage to their enemies in conquering them. For, if their Consuls (appointed for war) in conquering any Prouince or city, made not euident testimony, as well of their vertue as valor, they were grieuously punished by the Senat. Hereof we haue many examples, but two only shall serue my turn: the one for vltimate vertue in his campe; the other, for due punishment inflicted vpon him, who (being victorious) soiled his reputation in base manner. *Fabritius*, being encamped with his army of Romanes before *Fidenas*, a schoolmaster of the Citie came forth with the Sonnes of diuers principall Citizens, as intending to grati-

The Senates going to the temple of Iupiter, & there Oath there taken.

The Consuls vow made in the Capitoile.

The Ensigne of the Eagle, deliuered to the Consul in *Campus Martius*.

The other ensignes giuen to their captaines

The honorable act of *Fabritius* vpon a disloyall and treacherous schoolmaster.

tise the Consull with them, and so presented them vnto him. The Consull (albeit hee might haue detayned them, and thereby haue made himselfe Lord of the Cittie) not onely refused to accept them: but stripping the Schoolemaister naked, and binding his hands, hee gaue a Rod to euery Scholler, and so sent them (whipping him) backe to their fathers. This benignitie tooke such preuailing power in the soules of the Citizens; that they yeelded themselves instantly to the *Romanes*.

The other was thus. In the yeare of *Romes* foundation, 318. warre was deliberated by the Senate and Consules, against the *Sarmates*, and other people inhabiting by the Mountaine *Caucasus*, which (according to Cosmographers) deuiding *Asia* in the midst, terminateth *Syria* on the one side, and finisheth *India* on the other; where, by extremitie of cold, the Vine hath no ability to grow. *Lucius Pius* was created Consull, and appointed for this expedition; where, waging cruell warre against them: Fortune was one while fauourable to him, & then againe frowning. But in the time of a truce concluded betweene them, *Lucius* very friendly entertained the *Sarmates* Captaines, and hauing diuers times bancketted them, perceiuing that they were

lickerously affected to wine, because it was a rarity among them; at last he made them a bountifull feast, wherein he fitted them with great plenty of wine; that they (in drunken loue to him) yeelded the whole Prouince tributary to the Roman people. The warres so concluding, & the Consull being returned to *Rome*, hee demanded Triumphes; which not only was denied him by the Senate, but also his forme of victory so abhorred by the, that publickely they did put him to death, and for his greater defamation, engraue an Epitaph on his Tombe, speaking in this manner.

The Epitaph appointed by the Romanes, to be engrauen on the Tombe of
Lucius Pius.

Here lyeth the Consull Lucius Pius; who not by Armes in the fildes, but by carrowling at his Table; not by the Lance, but plenty of wine, conquered the Sarmates.

And yet the Senate, not satisfied with this his disgrace, caused publickly to bee proclaimed thoroughout *Rome*, that all (whatsoeuer) had bene wonne in the *Romaine* peoples name, by *Lucius Pius*, should be accounted as nothing. And wrote (moreouer) to the *Sarmates*, that they denied any Conquest of them; but referred them vnto their former priuiledge and liberty.

Wine brought that to pass, which warre had not the power to doe.

An Epitaph first for a quelling Conqueror.

The Consuls of Rome make warre against the Sarmates and Lucius Pius was appointed for the expedition.

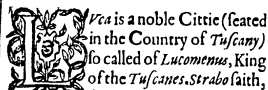
The end of the sixt Booke.



THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

CHAP. I.

Of the Gouvernement and Administration of Iustice obserued in the Commonwealth of Luca.



Luca is a noble Cittie (seated in the Country of *Tuscany*) so called of *Lucomenus*, King of the *Tuscans*. *Strabo* saith, that *Luca* is a Citie neare to the mountaines of *Luna* (and nowadayes the Country is called *Lunigiana*) and that the Region yeeldeth very woorthy men, apt and able in valour for Armes: there being a multitude of knights, from whom the Senate receiued the Military order.

But because we are to discourse of our times, I say, that *Luca* is now found to be about two miles in circuite, seated singularly, and in a good place. It containeth about foure and thirty thousand persons within the walles; and there are rich families, because the men of this City do trafficke greatly in merchandise, and especially in matters of Silkes: for which (amongest all Christians) they haue no meane name. In the time of *Castruccio Castracani* (who was of the *Interminelli*) he became Lord thereof, there beeing a diuision of many families, that would not obey a Tyrant; they vsed the Arte of making silke together, deuining great wealth from diuers parts of *Italie*. They brought also into *Florence*, the Artes of making cloths of golde and siluer, whereby they attained to inestimable riches. The men are (naturally) very courteous and modest, not niggardly, but bountifull, and therefore prosperity commeth the more freely vpon them. The *Lucan* tongue in *Tuscany*, is held to be very sweete and pure,

because they haue no medling with noyous accents, which are common to all other cities of the Prouince. This so small a citie, hath a long time maintained it selfe in freedome, and so still doth, with good and substantiall orders.

The Councell.

HER maine foundation (as it is in all other Common-wealths) consisteth of the Councell; because on them depend, and from them are deriued all the other Magistrates, that are members of a bodie so well ordered. These Councillors do discourse on the State occasions, and are (indeede) Fathers of that Common-wealth. It is compounded of three kindes of persons, because some are ordinarily of the Councell, and they continue a whole yeare. Some others are invited *ad bene placitum*, and are not ordinary. Some others are subrogated in the place of such as die, and so endure for a full yeare. This Councell consisteth of an hundred and three score Citizens, but ordinarily are in number an hundred and twentie.

The Signoria.

The City of *Luca* is diuided into three parts, which (there) they vnto tearme *Terzari*: The one is of *S. Saluadore*, the second of *S. Pauline*, and the third of *S. Martine*. The Councell doe elect the Signorie from the three forenamed *Terzari*, that is, for euery *Terzario* they create three men, which are nine in full number. Beside these, they elect the *Gonfaloniere*, who is the head, or chiefe of the Common-wealth, & (for examples sake) he is first elected from the *Terzario* of *S. Saluadore*; next from that of *Saint Pauline*; and the third time from that of *Saint Martine*: and the *Terzari* being once gone ouer, the *Gonfaloniere* returneth

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The Language sweete and delicate.

The power for creating all other Magistrates.

Three severall degrees of Councillors.

Three diuisions of *S. Saluadore*, *S. Pauline*, and *S. Martine*.

Some hold this Office to be the chiefe Stande-bearer.

Strabo lib. 5.

Concerning the Country *Lunigiana*.

The situation, compass, and number of the people within the citie, both reading in *Sicars*.

The working of Cloths of gold & siluer.

for election to S. *SANIOR*, and so successively (each after other) according to the foresaid order.

By these men, and by the *Gonfaloniere* living abroad, other are to be elected, called *Antiani*, and the election is made in this manner. Three men are chosen, who they terme *Assortitori*, one for each *Terziero*. These, haue the charge of counting the Ballots of them that are elected, culling out such as they think fittest, after that the Councell haue made choise of many men, and then they elect the *Gonfaloniere*. And in making this election, the *Assortitori* sit in Councell separtely in a place, and account the Ballots vntill they come to the number: which being not complete, they rebalot them ouer againe, vntill they be an hundred & eighty in number. And neither such as are subrogated, nor the other ballotted, are published to the Councell; but onely are made knowne to the *Assortitori*. And because no fraud or deceit may ensue by the *Assortitori*, two principall chosen Fryars are as their Assistants; one of the order of S. *Dominicke*, and the other of S. *Frances*.

These *Assortitori* haue Authority, to bring the men elected to the Magistrates, at such time as they think sitting in several months: and this deputation done by the *Assortitori* (who are the prime men of Luca:) it is kept by them in secret, & they are sworne not to reueale it. The *Assortitori* created, then they create the Signiory, who cannot bee vanquished, if they haue two third partes of the Ballots, although the foresaid Ballots are to be seen by none but onely by the *Assortitori*. The charge of the Signiory is to hear (freely) matters of iustice and punishment, being alwaies present in the Palace, & may not depart thence vnder capital penalty: the publike purse payeth their expences.

By this forenamed body of ten, one officer is chosen, whom they call *Comandatore*, and this new man they make sweere vnto them, his gouernment lasting no longer then three daies: in which time he hath liberty and authority to commaund all the other, yea, and the *Gonfaloniere*, & is Patron in euery business. And although the supplications which come to the Signiory, are presented to the *Comandatore*, & if he wil not present them to the collidge

of the Lordes or Signiorys, they remaine with him: yet notwithstanding he cannot dispose of them without the authority of the Signiory. And if the *Comandatore* propone the supplications to the Signiory, & there they passe two thirds; the *Gonfaloniere* propones them afterwards in the Councell. The authority of the Signiory extendeth vnto straungers, but not ouer the Citizens: and they propone all things, but conclude nothing.

The Secretaries Office.

The Office of the Secretaries (who are three in number) is very important. These men haue authority, onely in matters of sensueto the maiesty of the Commonwealth, being absolute in that case, & are about the *Gonfaloniere*. But true it is, that they can do nothing without the *Gonfaloniere*; and before they conclude any action, they must tender the cause vnto the Councell. Sometime it falleth out, that seeking iudiciously into the matter, they accomplish it, & afterward tender a reason for it to the Councell, when they haue done it: either, because they could not congregate the Councell in the instant, or in regarde the cause necessarily required, to haue such fodaine expedition.

The Councell of Conference.

The Colloquie, or Councell of Conference, is composed of 18. Citizens, and they are elected by the Councell. These men, if the Lordes are doubtfull in any matter, and that the case cannot be easily deliberated: they meet together, and discourse on the cause propounded to the Councell; and after they haue discussed it pregnantly, then they determine together, whether it is to bee granted by the Councell, or no.

The Councell of sixe.

These six men (being of sound reputation) haue charge of the expences & profits for common employment. They provide and command all things, which passe in many accounts, and are as Gouernours of the rents and reuennewes. They haue also a Chamberlaine, who is the executer of their deliberations. And all these are likewise chosen by the greater Councell.

The Rota.

In many Cities of Italy, this office is ordinary, consisting of three forraigne Doctors, within the compasse of fiftie miles. One of them hath the Title of *Potestade*; the

The extent of the Signiories power.

Three Secretaries, and the import of their authority.

18 Citizens in this Office of Colloquie, & their charge.

As Customers or Receiues of rents & reuennewes for generall vse.

The Doctors lining out of the Cities limitation.

Elders, Confessors, or Companions.

Account made of the Ballots to their full number, or els rebalotted ouer againe.

The authority of the Assortitori in bringing the elected persons to the Magistrates.

Their abiding in the Palace.

The power of the Comandatore.

Of Supplications presented to the Comandatore.

They change their places & offices by turns.

Matter of the Potestades power.

Nine Officers and a forraigne Iudge.

Officers for the Cities plenty of com.

Commissaries for occasions of warre and their prouidings.

the second is Iudge of malefactours; & the third is Iudge in ciuill causes. By turnes they haue their severall changes, and euery fixe moneths, one of the Centers as Potestade, being first Iudge of malefactours; and his Office of Potestade being past, hee becommeth Iudge in causes ciuill. So that each one of them is Potestade, Iudge for Malefactours, and Iudge in ciuill occasions, as it comes to his turn. If the Potestade haue (perhaps) a Citizen in his power; he doth no more but form the Proceffe, and sets downe (in writing) his owne opinion, what is the merite of the delinquent, and so it passeth vnto the Councell, who either commend, teare, or temper the opinion and sentence of the Potestade; and then in such a case, the Potestade entrench into the Councell. On strangers, the Potestade may absolutely determine, without any other: And in breefe, these three men do also discourse on ciuill matters.

The Marchants Court.

These Officers are nine in number, being elected (by threes) out of the *Terzieroes*. They haue a forraigne Doctor for their Iudge, being their Assistent. They iudge in causes appertaining to merchandise, their authority stretching (in the said matters) to blood.

The Office for Store.

In like manner there are nine Officers, & so chosen out of the *Terzieroes*. These men are the prouiders of Corne, that the City may continually be furnished therewith, and they hear all causes concerning the matter. Prouision still being made for euery three yeares, and the Garners diligently respected where the Corne is kept, being still supplied, that there may be no want.

Six Commissaries.

And because throughout the whole Countie, certain assemblies are ordained of such persons as are meete to manage armes: for this especiall businesse, and such occasions as may happen in times of warre; these six Commissaries haue authority to muster and make ready bands of Souldiers, and all such things as are requisite for them. Whatsoeuer belongeth to this businesse, passeth thorough their power, and their sentence in them carieth allowance.

For Health.

There are likewise three especiall Presidents, for matters concerning the countie health. These Officers do regard, that all the food may be found and good; that all filth and vncleanesse may be sent out of the City, and men employing all diligence, to conserue the people from being offended by any pestiferous accident, or whatsoever annoyance may be preiudicial to health.

The Councell for disobedience.

And because in euery City, there are found too many persons, not enclineable to any goodnesse, but practising to liue viciously, adding themselves to lewde courses, and are meerey opposit to all well instituted rules, for liuing ciuilly, & in good order; therefore the men of Luca haue a Councell, which they entitle, for disobedience, and inflicting punishment on such (as by their vile example) may be the ruine of a well-policed Commonwealth. And the forme of their discipline (in this case) carieth some correspondence with the *Ostracisme* vsed amongst the *Athenians*; only herein is this difference, that the *Athenians* banished such, whose granelesse and power grew suspitious to the people, and so sentenced them for ten yeares, whereas here it extended but to rascality onely, and the sentence lasting but three yeares.

The Office for Lodgings.

Eight Gentlemen are appointed to this Office, who haue charge for vnderstanding the affaires of all strangers comming into the City, and what businesse they haue there. All hosts stand bound to giue in writing the names of such Guestes, as come from any part abroad, and are not of the City, and those names they must deliuer to these officers. And if perchance some one tell a lye, reporting one thing for another; he is then examined by the strappado, because the truth of his businesse there, ought to be knowne. Such as approve themselves good and honest, being no spies or teachers to the City, are kindly entertained, their Lodgings orderly appointed, and their expences well respected.

The Guard.

The Signorie electeth an hundred Souldiours, lining within fifty miles compasse, to becas a Garde for the Pallace,

Presidents appointed for wholesome duty, and cleare keeping the Cite.

Stoichfull Rogues and idle vagabonds.

Banishment giuen for 3. yeares.

A good and prouident care and meete to be vsed in euery well gouerned Cite.

Elders, Confessors, or Companions.

Account made of the Ballots to their full number, or els rebalotted ouer againe.

The authority of the Affortitori in bringing the elected persons to the Magistrates.

Their abiding in the Palace.

The power of the Comandatore.

Of Supplications presented to the Comandatore.

for election to S. *SANIORI*, and so successively (each after other) according to the foresaid order.

By these men, and by the *Gonfaloniere* living abroad, other are to be elected, called *Antiani*, and the election is made in this manner. Three men are chosen, who they terme *Affortitori*, one for each *Terziera*. These, haue the charge of counting the Ballots of them that are elected, culling out such as they think fittest, after that the Councell haue made choyle of many men, and then they elect the *Gonfaloniere*. And in making this election, the *Affortitori* sit in Councell separately in a place, and account the Ballots vntill they come to the number: which being not compleate, they rebalot them ouer againe, vntill they be an hundred & eighty in number. And neither such as are subrogated, nor the other ballotted, are published to the Councell; but only are made knowne to the *Affortitori*. And because no fraud or deceit may ensue by the *Affortitori*, two principall chosen Fryars are as their assistants; one of the order of S. *Dominicke*, and the other of S. *Frances*.

These *Affortitori* haue Authority, to bring the men elected to the Magistrates, at such time as they think fitting in several months: and this deputation done by the *Affortitori* (who are the prime men of Luca): it is kept by them in secret, & they are sworn not to reueale it. The *Affortitori* created, then they create the Seignory, who cannot bee vanquished, if they haue two third partes of the Ballots, although the foresaid Ballots are to be seen by none but onely by the *Affortitori*. The charge of the Seignory is to hear (freely) matters of iustice and punishment, being alwaies present in the Palace, & may not depart thence vnder capitall penalty: the publike purse payeth their expences.

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of the Lordes or Signiors, they remaine with him: yet notwithstanding he cannot dispose of them without the authoritie of the Signory. And if the *Comandatore* propone the supplications to the Signorie, & there they passe two thirds; the *Gonfaloniere* propones them afterwards in the Councell. The authority of the Signorie extendeth vnto straungers, but not ouer the Citizens: and they propone all things, but conclude nothing.

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The Office for Store.

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Six Commissioners.

And because thoroughout the whole Countie, certain assemblies are ordained of such persons as are meete to manage armes: for this especiall businesse, and such occasions as may happen in times of warre; these fixe Commissionaries haue authority to muster and make ready bads of Souldiers, and all such things as are requisite for them. Whatsoeuer belongeth to this businesse, passeth thorough their power, and their sentence in them carieth allowance.

For Health.

There are likewise three especiall Prefidents, for matters concerning the countries health. These Officers do regard, that all the food may be found and good; that all filth and vncleannesse may be sent out of the City, & men employing all diligence, to conferre the people from being offended by any pestiferous accident, or whatsoever annoyance may be preiudiciall to health.

The Councell for disobedience.

And because in euery City, there are found too many persons, not enclineable to any goodnesse, but priding to liue viciously, adding themselves to lewde courses, and are meerey opposit to all well instituted rules, for liuing ciuilly, & in good order; therefore the men of Luca haue a Councell, which they entitle, for disobedience, and inflicting punishment on such (as by their vile example) may be the ruine of a well-policed Common-wealth. And the forme of their discipline (in this case) carieth some correspondence with the *Ostracisme* vsed amongst the *Athenians*; only herein is this difference, that the *Athenians* banished such, whose greatnesse and power grew suspicious to the people, and so sentenced them for ten yeares, whereas here it extended but to rascality onely, and the sentence lasting but three yeares.

The Office for Lodgings.

Eight Gentlemen are appointed to this Office, who haue charge for vnderstanding the affaires of all strangers comming into the City, and what businesse they haue there. All hosts stand bound to giue in writing the names of such Guestes, as come from any part abroad, and are not of the City, and those names they must deliuer to these officers. And if perchance some one tell a lye, reporting one thing for another; he is then examined by the strappado, because the truth of his businesse there, ought to be knowne. Such as approue themselves good and honest, being no spies or treachers to the Citie, are kindly entertained, their Lodgings orderly appointed, and their expences well respected.

The Guard.

The Signorie eleateth an hundred Souldiours, liuing within fiftie miles compasse, to bee as a Garde for the Pallace,

Prefidents appointed for wholesome dyet, and cleane keeping the Citie.

Slothfull Rogues and idle vagabonds.

Banishment giuen for 3. yeares.

A good and prouident care and meete to be vsed in euery well gouerned Citie.

Citizens are the watch and guard for the wals.

Two citizens Commissaries & their charge

and out of this hundred are chosen Captaines and Collonels. These men haue good Wages, if they be called to guard the Wals in the night time: whereas otherwise, the guard for the wals consisteth of Cittizens artificers, such as haue wiues and children, and are waged with three Crownes each man euery month. At the gates stand wien of the country, and each gate also hath two Cittizens Commissaries: one of them being there early in the morning at the gates opening, & so continuing til dinner time; and at his parting commeth the other, who stayeth there til Euening, when the gates are shutte in againe.

CHAP. II.

What benefite and honor it is to a Prince, to haue a comely bodye, a gracious countenance, and venerable aspect.

Beauty of body is no mean blessing in a Prince.



NE of the parts (in mine opinion) which maketh the Maiestie of a Prince to bee most venerable (speaking of exterior graces) is beautie of body: which wee see to be accompanied with singular grauity, and which yeeldeth argument of wisdom and knowledge.

The saying of Pythagoras concerning a crooked body

And although the rule of *Pythagoras* hath often bene noted to faile, affirming, *That in a crooked body, there can neuer dwell a right soule* (because we haue seene in an ill shaped body, to reigne diuers choyce vertues) yet that which is most frequent and ordinary, is to see the contrary. And if an honourable aspect and representation, serued to no other end in a Prince, but to increase his authority and reuerence, yet are they much more dignified, if some signes of vertue and bountie doe beare them company. As on the contrary, they are diminished by ill shape and deformity. For *Cicero* sayeth; *The habitude of vertue is of such efficacie, that it maketh vs to loue him that is possessed thereof.* Euen so, Maiestie in the person of a Prince, hath a veneration merely in it selfe, which attracteth the heartes

Cicero in Tull. lib. 3. cap. 7.

of his subiects vnto loue: vrged thereunto (perhappes) by no expresse fantasie, that a Prince ought to bee vertuous, and conforme his actions to the beauty of his body.

This reason (it may be) hath induced many barbarous people to iudge, that there was no man capable of a good spirit, to bring any great attempt to successefull end; but onely such a one, as was endued (by nature) with a goodly proportion of body, and an honorable presence. *Macrobius* declareth, that in the life of *Meroe on Nilus*, the inhabitants (who are said to liue halfe againe as long as we do) vnto elect as their Prince, him whom they know to be the strongest, and of far goodlier presence then any other. There is no man, but will repute a deformed Prince, yet vertuous; ought to be preferred before him of goodly person, and vicious: but when wee come to make equality of them, our affection will rather leane to the comely body, then vnto the counterfeite.

Demetrius, the sonne of *Antigonus*, was off such a goodly and honourable representation, that there was neither Painter or Caruer that durst attempt to portraire him: for there was in him both a sweet complexion, and terror mixed together, yet ioynt with such manitude & grauity, as it plainly appeared, that hee was merely borne, to be affected, feared, and reuerenced altogether. VVee reade of *Marius* (who had so many Triumphs) that he was of such a venerable aspect, as becoming prisoner to his enemy *Silla*: a French man was sent by him to murder him. Who entering into the prison, with his weapon ready drawne, and noting in him a verie graue and dreadfull aspect; he became so dismayed and terrified, that hee returned backe, leauing the prison open, and (by that means) was the cause of preserving his life. *Alexander* the Macedonian (being but of meane stature, and not ouercomely countenanced) walking with his deely affected Friend *Ephesion*: the Mother of King *Darius* (being verie desirous to salute *Alexander*) offered her courtiesies to *Ephesion*, making him many humble reuerences. For, seeing him to bee so goodly a man of person; hee verily thought, that (of necessity) hee must be *Alexander*.

Histo-

Demetrius in Plutarch. lib. 17.

The opinion of diuers barbarous nations.

Macrobius in Saturnalia. lib. 3. cap. 7.

Affection to the true and comely, then detestation.

The excellencie of Demetrius the son of Antigonus.

The countenance of Marius praised for his life in great perill.

Ephesion mentioned in the life of Alexander, only by his countenance.

The benefite almostly appearance to Countries & Commonwealths.

Example of deformity in Philopomenes Governor of the Achians

A City of Achians on the borders of Africa.

A pleasant history of Philopomenes hunting.

The Citizens who supplied Philopomenes with more sightly persons, then hee appeared in his eye.

Historics make report, that *Alcibiades*, *Scipio*, and many other, did highly honor and make great the dignitie of their authority, onely by their sightly appearance: wherewith also their innatred vertues being combin'd, did inestimable benefite to their seuerall Countries and Commonwealths. On the contrary, we finde that many Princes and Captaines, as well auncient as moderne, haue bene defiled for their lowe stature, and other defects of honourable presence, euen to the perill of their liues, whereof I purpose to produce two examples onely.

Philopomenes, Duke of the *Achians*, and much renowned, was of so lowe stature, misshapen presence, and deformed countenance, that when hee attyred himselfe in mechanike habite (as oftentimes he vsed to doe) he seemed rather to bee of vile and vulgar place, then woorthy to haue gouernement of the people. He was greatly addicted to hunting, and therefore resorted very often to *Megara*. It so chanced on a certaine day, that this desire of hunting carried him further off, then hee had any willing intent to goe: so that hee arrived at the house of a Citizen neare adioyning, who was a singular friend of his, and had lately before bene married. He had but one seruant in his company; because the rest hee had sent to other places, and being come to his friends house, he knockt at the doore: and the women looking forth at their window, demanded what they would haue; when the seruant replied, That *Philopomenes*, Duke of the *Achians* came to haue entertainment there.

The woman being much amazed, that a man of such worth, and so much vnexpected, should come on such a sodaine thither, and (having neuer seene the Duke) reputing thele to be but two of his seruants, which came before to giue knowledge of his coming, because they were thus alone: without returning any other answer, came and opened the doore to them. When they were entred into the house, she sent one of her seruants to aduertise her husband speedily (who was then abroad at the next village:) requiring *Philopomenes* & the other with him, to sit downe in the meane time, while she bestirred her selfe to prepare supper. About the house trots she and her maid,

her thoughts much busied and molested, beginning one thing, and then another, but neuer going thorow or finishing any, though she had but little time of allowance. At last, looking on *Philopomenes*, who sat muffled in his cloake, and might be more cold then hee would make shew of (whereat (happily) she the more smiled, then at his deformitie) she, somewhat roundly (like a nimble stirring huswife) prayed him to lay by his Cloake, and help her to make a good fire, because her other seruants were else-where employed, and that supper might be made readie in due time, against the coming of his Lord and maiiter.

Heereupon, hee tooke a hatchet which she gaue him, and fell to cleauing wood for the kitchen: hauing formerly giuen order to his man, to take no other knowledge of him, lest the woman should discern any scruple of the deceit. While hee stood stoutly to this employment; home came the matter of the house, who knowing *Philopomenes*, and wondering to see him so homely busied; did him humble reuerence, saying; *My Lord, this is no office for you to vndergoe.* VVhereto (smiling) hee replied: *Worthy friend, let mee alone, I doe but pay the penaltie due to my deformitie.*

In our time, *Ferdinand* King of *Spaine*, who had the title of *Catholike*, a very wife and discreet Prince; but of stature, rather too lowe, then of any mediocritie, and although hee had a royall face, and was a man of great gouernement; yet it appeared plainly in him, that it was not correspondent to his other members. Besides, hee vially wore his garments of cloth, whereby he was rather thought to be a Citizen, then any way taken to be a King.

The King trauiailing (on a time) to *Naples*, accompanied with Queene *Isabel*, and being there lovingly expected; by occasion of weather, hee arrived at a hauentowne on the Sea coast (called *Patulo*) with his onely Gally, the rest being much better prepared, remaining behinde. Landing there, he was honourably received by the Inhabitants, according to the extent of their power in such a place. While the Pallace was furnishing, and prouision for his diet preparing, hee walked alone by himselfe in a Hall,

This doubtlesse the world hath not had done, but that shee took him for some meane seruant.

Philopomenes cleaued wood for the kitchen, to make ready supper.

A free confession of his own deformitie.

Another History of King *Ferdinand*, called the little King of *Spaine*.

A Towne in Campania, eight miles from Naples

The conference between a blunt Fisherman and the King.

The Fisherman would not credit outward appearance.

The Kings pleasant words to his Lords.

Another History concerning the same King, but in a more dilated full manner.

The King in danger of life by his deformity.

where (very soone after) a poore blunt fisherman came to him, who (by chance) had taken a goodly fish, wherewith he intended to present the King. The Fisherman, not knowing him, desired to understand where the King was: he presently answered him, I am he. The Fisherman brake forth into loud laughter, imagining that hee had merely mocked him; wherefore hee prayed him agayne, to tell him where the King was: and he againe affirmed himselfe to be hee. But the Fisherman, discerning in him no maiestical resemblance, either for his person or habite, and no attendants about him fitting for a King; returned backe, and carryed away the fish with him. Hereat the King could not chafe but smile, and some of his especial Lords and Fauourites immediately entring (after they had saluted him with their wonted reuerence) laughing outright, thus hee spake vnto them. *Lords, did yee not meete a Fisherman going forth? If you do not goe and giue him assurance, that I am your King, wee shall loose the best Fish that euer I saw.* Instantly the Fisherman returned backe againe, and beholding him (whom he so much neglected) to bee so dutifully reuerenced by such worthy persons; he beganne to conceiue in his soule, that (vndoubtedly) he was the King, and falling vpon his knees before him, he humbly presented the fish vnto him.

Wee may account this for a merry accident, in regarde of another which happened to him, and by the same occasion of mis-censuring his person. For, at another time, the same King being at *Barcelona*, going in Procession with his courtly attendants, as wayting on the Sacrament, on the day dedicated to that solemnity: hee was sodainely set vpon by a *Spaniard*, who gaue him so mightie a stroke with a great Dagger on his necke, as had beene sufficient to smite off his head; but that the blow was rebated by a great chaine of golde, being then (accidentally) about his necke. This *Spaniard* being taken, and suspected that hee had some other complices in the action; was put to the tortures, where he would confesse nothing else, but onely that he was moued out of his owne mind to do it, in mere hatred he bare to the King. Hereupon he was demanded, what occasion

should so prouoke him to hate the King? He answered; Truly nothing else, but because his countenance did not please him, for, it appeared so vngracious vnto him, that if they did set him at libertie, yet he would kil him, whatsoeuer came of it. Questionlesse, it was a strange case, that a man should so desperately endanger his owne life, because a King was not formed to his liking.

CHAP. III.

Of the inhumane actions, and monstrous cruelties of Aristotimus the tyrant; a subject well becoming a Tragedy.



Aristotimus, vnder the fauours, and forces of King *Antigonus*, tyrannically vsurped ouer the * *Eleansians*, exercising his power so intemperately, that he omitted not any kinde of iniury or crueltie, whereby he might afflict the miserable Citizens; for he was (by nature) more inhumane and cruell, then any man liuing in his time. Hee added to this his cruel disposition, the counsell of barbarous men, to whom hee not only gaue the rule of the kingdome, but also the gardance of his owne person. Among all the extraordinary cruelties, that which he inflicted on *Philodamus*, a very honourable Cittizen, deserueth to be recorded for a most especiall example.

This *Philodamus* had a daughter of admirable beauty & singular graces, named *Mica*, on whom a soldier called *Lucius* (an especiall fauourite to the Tyrant) became so extremely enamored; that (in a bold & imperious manner) he sent to her father, commanding him to fend him his daughter. *Philodamus*, much afflicted at so lawcie a commaund, & knowing what power *Lucius* had with the Tyrant, fearing also what might happen to him and her mother, laboured by perswasions, that his daughter should go to him. But the yong Virgin, who more prized honor then life, by mere instinct of her noble education; fell on her knees before her father, & embracing his knee very strictly, humbly entreated, that hee would not expose her to such monstrous dishonour, but rather to see her dead before his face, then deliuer her to such shame and indignitie.

The

Lucius goeth himselfe to the house of *Philodamus*, where (in most inhuman manner) he beareth *Mica*.

* Eleusa City in Attica neere Athens, where *Cores* had a Temple.

Tyrants are commonly gouerned by barbarous persons.

The lamentable History of *Philodamus* and his faire daughter *Mica*.

The vertuous extraction of *Mica* to her Father.

Lucius desperately killeth faire *Mica*, which procured death to some, and banishment to others.

The father being moued by her teares to compassion, late downe by his wofull wife, and sorrow now sung grieue in three sad parts, which admitted no leasure for a final resolution. Whereat *Lucius* growing impatient, through the violence of his hote and fiery lust, seeing the mayd not brought, according to his wicked expectation: he ran himselfe to the house, where finding her on hir knees before hir parents, fall holding her fathers legge in her armes; with heauy threatnings, hee commanded her to arise, and goe thence along with him immediately. Shee continuing her wofull complaints, refusing to rise, or listen to his menaces, the cruell man, tearing off her garments to her naked skinne, did strike and beate her in most vnmanly manner; all which she endured with a most constant courage, not breathing forth so much as a sigh, but as one prepared to suffer his vttermost cruelty.

On their knees fell the mournfull father and mother, before the wretched man, not able to abide so rufull a spectacle, entreating him, to take pity on the Virgin, and their age. But seeing they could not preuaile with this merciless barbarian; they called for helpe to the gods, and men, whereat hee waxed extremely displeased, drew out his sword, and slew the Virgin, as thus she embraced the knee of her father. Although this horrible cruelty moued not the Tyrant a iote, yet the Cittizens so distasted the deede; that some of them hee punished with present death, and banished some other, so that eight hundred fearfully fledde into *Aetolia*: who afterward writing backe to the Tyrant, desired so much fauour of him, that their wiues and children (with some part of their goodes) might bee sent thither to them, to liue with their husbands.

The women, not a little glad at this good motion, beganne to make vp their fardells, some providing wagons, others horses, for conueying thence their goods and children.

Vpon the day appointed for their departure, all the Gates were set open for them to passe out at; their waggon and horses laden with their children and goodes; and as they offered to issue forth, diuers Sergeants and Catch-poles (stan-

ding ready for the purpose) cryed out to them with dreadfull threatnings, to stay and passe no further, ouerthrowing the waggon and horses, laden with their goods and children, so that they were not able to escape out of the crowds: but beheld their yoong children bruised in peeces vnder their heels, they not being any way vnable to helpe them. Afterward, such women and children as were left aliue, the Souldiers assembled them together, driving them on before them, (like herds of cattell) beating them with staves towards the Tyrants Pallace, who (causing all their goods to be taken from them) imprisond them and their children together.

This horrible cruelty did highly displease the Cittizens, who not knowing how they might best incite the Tyrant to pity their wiues: tooke sixteene vestall Virgins, consecrated to *Dionysius*, and, tying them in their religious habites: they tooke sacred things out of the Temple in their hands; and (in sollemne manner of a Procession) went towards the tyrant, to craue mercie of him for the women and children. The Souldiers, who stood as a garde about the Tyrant, being moued with reuerence to those holy Virgins; made way for them, that they might the easier come into his presence. *Aristotimus* affoording audience, to vnderstand what these women desired, and gathering by the very entrance into their Oration, to what end the full scope aymed; hee gaue very disdainfull looks vpon his Guard, reprouing them roughly and rigorously, because they suffered them to come so neare him. Whereupon, the rude Souldiers, without any regarde of their Sexe or religious condition; smote them with the staves of their halberds, giuing them many cruell blows and bastinadoes, vntill such time as they went away from him, being each of them condemned in two Talents fine beside, because they had presumed so boldly to enter into his presence.

There was a noble Cittizen in the Citie, named *Hellenicus*, two of whose children the tyrant had put to death, and yet (in regarde of his age) did not account him any way to be suspected. This worthy Gentleman, being no longer able to dure, the outrage and crueltie inflicted

The monstrous and cruell acte of *Aristotimus*, vpon poore women and children.

A Procession of sixteene vestall virgins to pacifie the cruell Tyrant.

The vestall virgins cruelly vied by the Souldiers about *Aristotimus*.

Hellenicus a Noble Cittizen, practiseth reuenge vpon the Tyrant.

on

on his Country: determined to finde out some apt occasion, and to reuenge all wrongs by the death of *Aristotimus*. In the meane while, the other Cittizens, that were fled before into *Aetolia*, hauing mustred so many men together as they could possibly procure, entred into open armes, and came into the *Eleusians* confines, where they fortified themselves, and daily drew more and more to their faction, determining present warre vpon the Tyrant, many neighbouring friends assisting them with supplying forces, so that they encreased to an indifferent armie.

Vpon these proceedings, the Tyrant became afflicted with very great feare, so that he went to the women whom he detained prisoners, and being a man of a diuillish spirit, coueting to compasse whatsoever he would haue, rather by rigorous menaces, then any faire or gentle means) commanded them very roughly, to write to their husbands by Ambassadors, that they should desist from their present enterprize: otherwise, hee would instantly massacre all their children, and cause them to be beaten starke naked throughout the Cittie. To these threatnings the women returned not any answer, which incensed him with the greater rage against them; and hee sternely commanded them, to giue him resolution what they would do. Some, not hauing the boldnesse of spirit to reply, stood stedfastly looking vpon the rest, as questioning in their soules, which of them should retorne the answer, yet making no account of all his threatnings.

Among this company of worthy women, was one, named *Megestena*, wife to *Thimoleon*, who, as well in regarde of her husbands Nobilitie, as her owne innated singular vertues, was held to be the very chiefe of them, & (with the like esteeme) they honoured her. This Lady, when the Tyrant came in among them, would not stie to giue him any reuerence, neither suffer any of the rest to do otherwise then as she did. She hauing heard the Tyrants menaces, sitting still vpon the ground, and returning no signe at all of reuerence, she spake thus.

The answer of *Megestena* to the Tyrant *Aristotimus*.

Aristotimus, if there remained in thee any wisdome, then wouldest thou not make thy recourse to women, to haue them write a direction to their husbands, what they should doe; but rather thou wouldest send their wives to them, with better speeches and more worthy consideration, then thou hast ris'd toward them, making a mockerie of vs, by a most base and dishonourable deceit. And now, when thou seest thy selfe able to doe nothing else; thou presumest (by our meanes) to beguile our husbands by faire wordes, as formerly thou hast abused our credulitie. Thou decewest thine owne iudgement, for, wee will not suffer them to be agayne over-reached by thee; neither doe thou imagine them to bee so foolish, as to shield their children from death, or prevent the losse of their poore wives liues, they will forebare to execute that whereto they stand obliged: I meane the freedome of their Country. For the losse of vs & their children is not so yre some to them, as the glad some satisfaction will be, to deliuer their people and Country from outrage and cruelty.

Longer would *Megestena* haue continued her discourse, but that the Tyrant (seeing vnable to bridle his rage) commanded the Ladies sonne to be brought thither, that there hee might be slaine in her sight. But whilst the Officers were seeking among the rest of the imprisoned children for her sonne, the mother (with an vndaunted courage) calling him by his name, sayd. Come hither to me, sweete Boy, and rather die by thy mothers hand, then endure the bloody crueltie of a Tyrant. These wordes so amazed *Aristotimus*, and kindled such outrageous choller in him, that (drawing forth his Sword) hee purposed to haue slaine the Lady. But one of his chiefe familiar friends, named *Chilon*, standing by, caught her in his armes, and pacified his fury.

This *Chilon* was one of them, who praed with *Hellanicus* the Tyrants death, as vnable also to suffer his cruelties. Hee hauing somewhat calmed the extremity of his rage, caused him to put vp his Sword agayns: plainly telling him, that it was a matter monstrous, and ill becoming the dignitie of a Prince, to soile his hand with the blood of a woman.

Within a while after, there happened a strange

The prodigiously of the Tyrant wilfully requoyed by a diuine woman.

An admirable & worthy resolution in a woman, to the amazement of the Tyrant.

Chilon one of the Confederates with *Hellanicus* to deliuer his Country from tyranny.

A strange prodigy prefiguring the death of *Aristotimus*.

A Wizard relates the content of the Prophecy.

Avison (seeing by *Hellanicus* in his sleep, to haften the death of *Aristotimus*).

A City betwene the Hills *Ossa* and *Olympus*, where *Iupiter* had a Temple.

strange prodigie, as foretelling the death of the Tyrant. For, being in bedde with his wife, whilst the Cooks were making ready his diet, an Eagle was seene to hover ouer the Lant-horne of the Pallace, and letting fall a great stone directly into it (it being ouer the Chamber where hee lay) it made a great noyse in the fall, and giuing a fearefull loud shout, the Eagle vanished from the sight of all that beheld it. The Tyrant awaking, with the confused murmure of such as had seene it, and not a little dismaied when it was reported to him; sent for a cunning Soothsayer, in whome hee reposed no meane confidence, to vnderstand what the meaning hereof might bee. The Wizard bade him be of good courage, for it figured nothing else, but that *Iupiter* had a speciall care of him, and sent his Eagle so to expresse it. But he told the Cittizens quite contrary, in whom he durst repose his trust, because he knew their hatred to *Aristotimus*: and bade them be bolde, that some sodayne and strange kinde of death, should (in a short while) happen to the Tyrant.

Heereupon *Hellanicus* and his Confederates, thought fit to delay the time no longer, but concluded to kill him on the morrow following; because the verie same night, *Hellanicus* sleeping in his bed, seemed to see one of his sonnes, that before had bene slaine by the Tyrant, who cryed out aloud to him, saying; Deare father, Why doe you sleepe thus? Wherefore doe you trifle away the time? Stand you in doubt, that you shall not be made Prince of the Cittie? *Hellanicus* confirmed by this Vision, went early the next morning to finde his vowed friends, hastening them to execute the deed determined. At the selfe same time, *Aristotimus* had receiued tydings, that *Craterus* was coming to assist him with a great power of Souldiers, and that hee was already set forth from *Olympia*. Which news were not a little welcome to him, so that seeming now free from all feare; he walked abroad to take the aire, some small distance from the Pallace, accompanied onely with *Chilon*, not attending for any more, although they came dropping after one by one. Which *Hellanicus* well obseruing, thought it now a fit time to execute the enterprize, and without giuing any fig-

nall to the rest of the confederacie, he lifted vp his hands to Heauen, speaking aloud; What stay yee for, valiant Gentlemen? Why make yee not now the goodliest spectacle that euer yet was seene?

Chilon was the first that drew his weapon, and killing one that came last from the Pallace, who offered to steppe in the tyrants defence; *Aristotimus* espied *Thrasibulus* and *Lampidius* (two whom he most trusted) drawing their weapons likewise vpon him. Whereupon, hoping to escape their violence, hee ranne into the Temple of *Iupiter*, where he was slaine by his owne followers. Afterward, his bodie being throwne forth into the open street, the people cryed out, *Libertie, Libertie*. The women were the first, that (making way through the throngs) came thither, who ioyfully embraced them, that by the tyrants death) were the happy deliuerers of their Country. In the meane while, multitudes flockt to the Pallace, where the wife of *Aristotimus* (hauing heard of the murder of her husband; and doubting how the people would deale with hir) shutting her Chamber doores about her, there with her Chaîne shee strangled her selfe.

The Tyrant had two very goodly and beautiful daughters, of yeares apt and able for marriage, who hauing heard of their futhers death, had lockt themselves vp close in a Chamber; from whence they were drawne by the peoples violence, and in their furie they would haue slaine them. But *Megestena*, with diuers other of the Ladies, stood in their defence, saying; That it were an euill deed, and iustly deseruing blame, to kill them: considering, they had not leard so much courage of the Tyrant their father, to exercise cruelty vpon themselves. By these speeches the people were appeased, and a decree was set downe, that they should make election of their death, and performe it on themselves with their owne hands, if they had the heart to doe it.

So being sent into their Chamber, *Alpasia* the eldest sister expressing no appearance, eyther by countenance, or any signe else, that she stood in feare of death; loosed her girdle, and fastening it about a timber-beame, resolved so there to hang her selfe, exhorting her sister (with manly courage) to perforce the like vpon

Aristotimus the Tyrant slaine by his owne followers in the Temple of *Iupiter*.

The Tyrants wife strangling herselfe with her chaine of gold.

Alpasia and *Hilaria*, the daughters of *Aristotimus*.

The valiant resolution of two sisters in their death.

* A Region in Greece betwene *Acar-nan* and *Phocis*.

Aristotimus being in feare goeth to his woman prisoners, and cruelly threateneth them.

Megestena, wife to the Noble Lord *Thimoleon*, chiefe among all the women.

The words of
Alpasia to her
sister Hillaria,
before her
death.

upon her selfe; *Hillaria* the yonger daughter, taking her sister by the hand, desired her to permit, that shee might die first. Whereto shee replied in this manner: *As during the time, that Nature permitted vs to liue like Sisters, I neuer did willingly deny thee any thing; so farre be it from mee now, to refuse thee in thy latest request: howbeit, nothing can afflict mee more, then to see thee die.* No sooner were these words spoken, but *Hillaria* taking the Girdle, strangled her selfe therewith immediately. When shee was dead, *Alpasia* kneeling by her body; and loosing her girdle from about her necke, turning herselfe to *Megestena*, & intreating, that their bodies might receiue no shame after death; with the selfe-same constancie of corage, she ended her life likewise.

CHAP. IIII.

The reason why men cannot know and vnderstand the truth of many things, while they remaine in this life.



Five principall causes there are, why a man can not know the truth of diuerse things, during his abiding in this world: which if hee could attaine vnto, he might repute himselfe to be wise indeede.

The first is ignorance of his end, that is, he knows not to what end he was created, for it is a matter most cerryayne, that if he did know that; he would labor no lesse to obtaine it, then he doth to get dignities & riches: wherein (because they best agree with his appetite) they make him to imagine, that all his happines consists in them. But in this case it fareth with him, as with a kings son in his child-hood. For, if he be demaied of him, whether he doth more affect the succession in his Fathers kingdom, then Apples, Cherries, or some other fruites, presented instantly to him: questionlesse, hee will rather accept the Apples or Cherries, then the kingdom, because he finds them suitable to his yong desires, as hauing both sight and knowledge of them in taste and apprehension.

Euen so it happeneth to a man; for if it were demaied of him, whether he best liked to make choice of, Riches or Wis-

dom: his election would stand on wealth and power, being meere ignorant, that Wisdome onely is the chiefeist wealth, and that the Wife man only ought to ordaine and gouerne. For, without Wisdome and Knowledge, power is not power, but weakenes, and vter deprivation of power indeede: And riches without knowledge, is but a bestiall possession, an abundance of presumption, and a kind of sottish substance. Whereas on the contrary, a wise man hath alwayes sufficient for himselfe, & others beside hauing in him that truly abounding treasure, that can neuer faile or deceiue him. And all this enueth to a man, because he is ignorant in his true end.

The second cause, is the vse of corporall delectations, voluntary and sensible, which ouerwhelme and drowne, not onely the senses of the body, but also those of the spirit and intellect. So that a man, being thus wrapped vpe in the mire of this world, is like the beautifull daughter of a King, to whom appertaineth the inheritance of her fathers Kingdom, but hauing committed adultery with some blacke deformed slave, loseth the right of her succession thereby.

The third cause ensueth by the indisposition of such matter, as many times maketh a man vn capable of learning and knowledge: which commeth often so to passe, in regarde that the region or place of his birth, is vterly disagreeable, and causeth him to receiue a bad complexion. As in some of the Easterne parts, and of *Africa*, where men are borne so beastly, by reason of the heates extremitie; that they are not capable of any reason. And contrariwise, some places in the northern parts are so colde, that verie furious men are there borne & bred; such as the *Goths* and *Ostrogoths*: some whereof feede on humane flesh. And these people may aptly be compared to an Eagle, that hath a stone fastened to her foote, to keepe her from ouer-violent flight, which commonly is naturall vnto this Bird, causing her to soare aboue the cloudes.

The fourth is, difficulty in the Sciences: For, although a man doe plainly discern, that the desire of his soule is to seeke attentiuely, as coueting to know the truth of high and deepe causes: yet notwithstanding, he findes them so hard

There can be no greater treasure or wealth in the world than wisdome.

1. The vse of bodily delectations & pleasures, which are the strongest owners of the body and soule.

3. The indisposition or want of the County where a man is borne; two extremities of heat or cold.

4. Difficulty in truly vnderstanding the Sciences.

Five impediments to a mans knowledge.

1 Ignorance in the cause why he was created.

A Kings Son cares more for an Apple or a Cherry in his child-hood, then his Fathers kingdom.

to be vnderstoode that he retreates, and quite giueh ouer his enterprife. Wherein he resembleth his owne eye, which fixing respectiue to beholde the Sunne: the splendour thereof prouoeth so piercing, that it ecclipseth and troubleth his sight, as he is not able to endure it.

The last and strangest of all, is an affection taken by a man in his youth, vnto things wherein he hath beene instructed, and especially when his desire hath lasted of some long continuance thereto. For then, Custome conuerteth it selfe into Nature, and therefore worketh a setled feare in the mans soule, and a singular loue to those things embraced, hating all other contrary to them, and the whole world (almost) is swallowed vp in this error. Do we not obserue that children among the Turkes, before they can reach to the yeares of reason: doe vterly abhorre our Faith and Religion; and to the Iewes in like manner? Wee see also, that country people, by being inured and accustomed to field-dwelling, do liue grossely, disdainyng conuersation with Courtiers, or such as inhabite ciuile Cities. From whence ensued the Prouerbe; *Vn-luckie is the Bird, that is bred in a bad valley.* For, by vse and conuersation receiued there, he cannot part thence, though he beholde a much better place for him. And not onely heerein is knowne the power of this habitude: for we our selues do despise them of another country (except fight or frequentation haue begot more familiaritie) and only through some bad and abusive relations of them: This error hath also preuayled with women, with whom, matters of long vse beare so high a priuiledge, that bee they neuer so bad yet they despise the contrary, be they neuer so good.

Finally, this affection to continued vse, and detestation of such things as we know not; extendeth it selfe to all matters in our election. Wherefore, it were good to expell those hinderances out of our hearts, to the end we may (if possible) know the veritie and truth of things indeed. For, in the knowledge of them, consisteth all contentment in this world, and the way to all felicitie in that hereafter: imitating the good husbandman, that intending to prepare his grounds for the best aduantage, doth first

roote vp the thornes and weeds, because his graine will bee the better borne. So, when the Physician would cure a sicke man health, he first purgeth his stomacke from all corrupt humors; because in matter ill disposed, the former cannot induit it selfe. Let vs then contend against all these impediments; for the reasonable man, that will not yeelde to reason, but onely leane to his owne appetite: is like to him that will sayle ouer Mountaynes, or builde his dwelling in the Sea: for the effect both of the one and the other, are deprived of their proper ends.

CHAP. V.

Of diuers Accidens (monstrous in nature) which serued as dimming Auguries, or coniectures of things to come, in olde and ancient times.



In precedent times, whē by permission of the true GOD, sundry Oracles, which were spirits of illusion & falsehood, hidden in Idolles and Images, gaue answer to Idolaters: many prodigious sights were seene in the Ayre and on the earth.

And because that in these latter dayes of ours (we liuing in the light and truth of faith) none such are now to be seene: it is a matter of some difficultie, to credit what learned Authors haue written, concerning those which hapned in their times.

Yet (mee thinketh) there needeth no distrust at all; for they hauing written Histories of warres, and other occasions happening in those dayes: by inserting the memorie of prodigious Accidens, we ought not to make any scrupulous doubt of them; but rather to rest perswaded; that as they dealt faithfully in the one, they vsed the like iustice in the other; especially, when they are likewise confirmed by many and sundry other Authors.

Comparisons aptly answering to the purpose.

Oracles of lyes & gross illusions.

Grate Authors of great and venerable credite, deserve not to be distrusted in their writings.

6. An affection to some especial things conceived in the time of a mans youth, and so continuing.

Country education commeth Country or City qualities.

Custum both in men and women breedeth another nature.

The true felicity in this world and the other to come.

Plin. l. 9. c. 14

Two great Mountaines met together, and did much harme to Townes, Men and Castell.

Plin. l. 9. c. 15

Two distant Fields removed strangely into each others place, by reason of an Earthquake.

Men metamorphosed into Woolues. Euanthes in lib. 2. cap. 9.

Fabius Pictor in lib. 2. cap. 9. Scipio in O. lym.

Amongst other Prodigies in the *Romaine* dayes, the most notable was, that of *Modena*, vnder the Consulship of *Lucius Martius*, and *Iulius Sextius*, Consuls: where two mountaines arose out of their proper places, and mette together so impetuously, that hurling a great flame and smoke vp into the ayre, by the violence of their encounter; they returned backe agayne, not onlie destroying villages which were betweene them, but also killing an infinite number of cattell, in the open sight of many traouellers, and likewise of a great company of *Romane* Knights.

Pliny, in his ninth booke, and in the fifteenth chapter, likewise relateth in the same place, saying, that in his time, and vnder the same Empire of *Nero*, *Vellus Marcellus*, a *Romaine* Knight, whome the Emperour had sent (on his behalfe) into the kingdome of *Naples*: had (there in the maritime territorie) two fieldes, each distant from the other, the one being a fayre meadow, and the other verie thickly planted with *Oliue* trees.

By an admirable accident, but how, I know not, these two fieldes chaunged into each others place: for the *Oliues* field was transported where the meadow stood, and the meadow into the *Oliue* plottes place; and this was conceyued to be doone by an Earthquake. This is not onely reported by *Plinie*, but also is auouched in the *Chronicles* of manie learned men, as also in the Booke of the Mountaines warre.

And although hee cannot be induc'd to credite, that men may be metamorphosed into Woolues; yet neuertheless hee declareth, that *Euanthes*, an Authour of no meane authoritie among the *Grecians*, recordeth the *Arabians* to haue written, that in *Arcadia* there is a great standing Poole, whereto men are brought at certayne times to passe thorrow it: and as they sincke into the sand, they are instantly transfourmed into the shape of Woolues; and hauing continued so for the space and terme of nine yeares: they doe recouer their former formes agayne, according as *Fabius Pictor* in his second booke and in the ninth chapter; who addeth also, that *Scopas*, who wrote the *Olympiades*, speaketh of one, named *Demarchus*, had eaten the

bowelles of a young Boy, which they of *Arabia* had sacrificed to *Iupiter Lyceus*, and presently hee was transfourmed into a Woolfe, in which forme he continued the space of tenne yeares, and afterwards recouering the shape of man agayne, he wonne the victorie for *Luce* playing at the Mount of *Olympus*. Saint *Augustine* in his fourteenth booke *De Civitate Dei*, and the third chapter faith, that *Varro* also recordeth the same. In mine opinion these transformations could not thus happen, but rather were performed by diabollicall Artes.

Now, concerning these things of wonder written by *Pliny*, they are not to be wondered at, because he setteth downe many matters, reputed vterly impossible, as the transformation of a woman into man, and yet himselfe will not credite the like things, or offesse impossibilitie, and which haue bene apparant to his owne iudgement. Notwithstanding, such as consider well the Scriptures, need not murmure at transformations, happening really, and not feigned. For we know what is written in the leuenth chapter of *Exodus* and twelfth verse, That the Rods of the Nations were (not in apparance, but in effect, by secret charmes) turned into Serpents. Now, which thing is more easie, to change a Rodde into a Serpent, or the true body of a man (I doe not say his spirit) transformed into a beast. The opinion of Saint *Augustine* is hereinauailable, where hee sayth; A certayne man conceiued in his minde, that his daughter was turned into a young Mare. And bringing her to an holy man, named *Hellarion*, the graue olde man looking on her, said: I see a young Maid, but no Mare: for it appeared that by his deuoute prayers, she had recouered her former shape againe. Wherefore we may iudge, that some things are shewne to men, which are not indeede; and such a thing may be apparant, and yet not existent.

But returne wee now againe to our Auguries. It hath bene obserued diuers times, that in the opening of a beast, that no heart hath bene found in him: as it happened at the first time, when *Cesar* the Dictatour sat in his golden Chaire, and then it was disputed among the *Auruspices*, if a beast were to be found without a heart.

Aug. in Clit. Dial. 14. cap. 9.

Plin. in lib. 2. cap. 9.

The foretold rods conuerted into Serpents. Exod. 7. 11.

Aug. in Clit. Dial. 14. cap. 9.

No heart found in a Beast being imbowelled before Caesar.

Plinie

Plin. in lib. 17. c. 7. c. 10. in lib. de Diuinit. cap. 9.

Two hearts haue bene found in one bea.

*A Country in the North part of the Asier Africa, by the sea side, above Galatia. An. Gellius in lib. 6. cap. 15. *A free country of Macedonia by the River Strymon.

An. Gellius in lib. 10. cap. 9.

Arilander in lib. Proleg. 2. c. 10. in c. 10. cap. 9.

Plinie in his foureteenth booke and the seauenth chapter reporteth; so doth *Cicero* in his *Diuinations*, that *Caius Marius*, offering Sacrifice at *Putea*: euen in the same manner, there was not any heart found in the beast. But it might be then well obserued, that it chaunced not thus by nature: but rather was rightly to be presumed, that false spirits did thus delude and abuse the people, taking away the beastes heart in the Sacrifice time, knowing well thereby what was to happen after.

Ofentimes likewise hath bene obserued, that two hearts haue bene found in one beast. For, wee read that in the Sacrifices, which *Marcus Marcellus* made before hee dyed in the battaile against *Hannibal*: the first day he found no heart in the beast he sacrificed; and the next day following, hee found two. *Pliny* writeth in the place before alleged, that in *Paphlagonia*, the Partridge hath two hearts: so likewise faith *Theophrastus*, the most expert (among Philosphers) in naturall things, as *Aulus Gellius* declareth. *Theophrastus* sayth, that in * *Bisaltia*, each Hare hath two Liuers. And in some places (as in *Emboa*) the beastes haue no gaudes.

In *Nassa* it is quite contrary, for there they are very great, and double in diuers. And Frogs, which are there called *Ruttes*, haue two liuers, the one venomous, the other medicinable: so that when they are dead, the Antes make search for them, and feede on that which is Physicall.

Wee read, that on the day when *Pyrhus* dyed, they sacrificed the heads of dead beastes, that licked their owne blood vpon the ground.

The same yeare, when *Hannibal* was vanquished by the *Romaines*, vnder *Publius Aelius*, and *Cneus Cornelius*, Consuls, Wheate was scene to growe vpon trees.

Arilander (a learned Greeke Author) declareth in his Booke of Prodigies, and in the third chapter (and it is also confirmed by *Cneus Epidius*, the *Romaine*, in his Commentaries) that some Trees haue bene changed into another kinde of Trees.

Wee read also, that in the warre of the *Cimbrians*, a great noyse was heard

in the Ayre, like vnto the founding of Trumpets, and clashing of weapons. And in the third yeare of the Consulship of *Marius*, two Armies were scene in the heauens, that went from the East, to meete in the West: besides many other the like Prodigies, whereof Saint *Augustine* maketh mention in his Booke of the Cittie of God.

CHAP. VI.

Of a very strange and admirable Accident, which happened on an Arme in the night season.



Hoseouer shall reade ancient Histories, needeth not wonder at some things, happening in those times, or else related by such as haue scene them: for sometimes it hath bene obserued, that either the same accident, or else but little differing, hath chaunced in one place as well as another. Among the adimitable Accidents, which I haue read in auncient or moderne Histories: I finde that to be very singuler, and well deseruing memorie, which happened to *Agathocles* (the Tyrant of *Sicilie*) in *Africa*.

This *Agathocles* was a man very expert in Armes, whereby (being but of base condition, to wit, the sonne of a poore Potter) hee made himselfe Lord of the whole Isle of *Sicilie*. Hauing had long warre against the *Carthaginians*, and seeing himselfe besieged (both by Land and Sea) in *Syracusa*, by *Amilcar*, with a powerful Arme of *Lybians*: hee was of such an vndaunted courage, that, leauing the Cittie to the garde of his brother *Antander*, and hauing certain shippes readly prepared; by the helpe of a cunning stratageme, hee gotte forth at a narrow port, with about seauen thousand footemen, and a small number of horse, and went to land on the shoares of *Africa*. Hauing gotte there in pay fixe thousand *Greekes*, he went and besieged *Carthage*, bringing the Cittie into such distresse, that the Senators knew not which part to take.

Many battailes were fought betweene them,

Accidents happening in diuers places of little difference each from others.

Agathocles the sonne of a poore Potter, came to be a singular Soldier and a King.

Carthage besieged by Agathocles.

A fresh supply
from Lybia,
came to the
Carthageni-
ans.

Agathocles
maintained
the assault still
to his owne
losse.

A bloody and
cruel manner
of sacrificing
obscured a
mong the
Carthageni-
ans.

The coming
of a fresh
company of
Lybians, cau-
sed a strange
accident in
this confusion

them, wherein *Agathocles* proued alwaies victorious; because the time so fauored him, that he had drawn no meane troups of horse to take part with him. The *Carthaginians* (beside their Citizens, and many mercenary Souldiers (in great number) which they had for defence of the City, being vnable to equall the caualerie of *Agathocles*) called one of their chiefe Captaines from *Lybia*, bringing with him a powerfull army into the field, to haue a day of tryall against *Agathocles*. After diuers skirmishes passing betwene them, vpon a day, *Agathocles* would needs assault the enemies Campe (for his men wanting victualles, desired nothing more then present fight) but the enemy being very strongly planted, would not issue forth, though they were very hotely set vpon in their Fort; knowing the necessity of *Agathocles*, and the desperate condition of his men.

Continuing the assault still, to his owne disaduantage, he payed the penaltie due to his boldnesse: for the enemy repulsed him with great losse of his Souldiers; one part of them beeing slayne, and the other within compasse of the enemies power. The night preuenting the battailes conclusion; I am to tell yee an example of wonder, which strangely followed thereupon, in this manner. The *Carthaginians*, after their victorie, sacrificing vnto their Gods, in signe of their thankfulness (with a cruell superstition) a great number of their prisoners, both *Greeks* and *Italians*; brought such a quantitie of wood to burne the bodies, that the fire grew so impetuous: as it not onely consumed the sacrificing Tent, but also the Pavilion of their Captayne and Generall, besides infinite other, being a lamentable spectacle to all that beheld it. For, through the extremitie of this accident, a mighty tumult grew among them, proouing to occasion the death of many; for some labouing to quench the fire, fell into it, and so perished; others strining to escape from it, crowded one another to death in the throngs.

In this night of horrour and confusion, one nouell accident drew on another: for, in the Campe of *Agathocles*, there was found about five thousand *Lybians* newly arrived, in whom hee durst repose no trust; for they intending to

pasle on, and to ioyne with the *Carthaginians* forces, were mist-led, onely throw the darkenesse of the night. On still they went from *Agathocles* Campe, till they came within hearing of the Guards and Centinells of the *Carthaginians*, who imagining them to be the Armie of *Agathocles*, re-assembled againe for a fresh assault; and hoping to finde them in disorder (as indeede they were, through the fies violence) rayed sodainly such a strange noyse themselves, that the whole Campe fell to flight, and was vtterly broken, so that few or none remained, but all were disperfed, some running thwart the fieldes, others backe to the City, to saue themselves.

The Citizens hearing this noyse of the people (conceiuing verily, that it was the enemy, who had foiled their Campe, and came now to assault the Citie) were so confounded with feare and amazement, that they left the City without any defence, seeking how they might best secure their owne liues. So that if *Agathocles* had received but the least intelligence thereof, and had gone immediately to giue the assault: this night had made him Lord of *Carthage*, and the whole Kingdome thereto belonging. Fortune, not yet satisfied with blinde-folded confusion, caused the five thousand *Lybians* (perceiuing what had happened) to turne backe vpon the disordered Campe of *Agathocles*, who fearing a fresh onset of the enemies fled, some one way, some another, and fell into such a madding fury among themselves, that thinking their owne people (still as they mette) to be *Carthaginians*; they slew one another very cruelly, the obscurity of the night not permitting them to see their owne error. So that, through this inaduertence or inconsideration, five thousand were slaine among the *Greeks*, and as many of the *Carthaginians*, dying and fighting in this confused manner. By which meanes, five thousand men (erroniously mis-ledde) against their willes, brake three hostis or Armies, with no meane example, of Fortunes power in actions of Armes.

CHAP.

A strange confusion happening among the Citizens at Carthage.

Another accident in the Campe of Agathocles, among themselves.

† CHAP. VII.

How indiscreete a thing it is, and generally to be blamed in Christian Princes, to permit the Duello, or single Combat between man and man.

Like as abuse is growne among all things (well-neare) in the world, by the coldnesse of charitie in men, and their mallice augmented one towards another; Euen so falleth it out in Duells or single fights. For, amongst great Princes, when they lawfully exercised themselves in Armes, it was honourably admitted in certayne cases, and differences of most high importance, which could not otherwise be terminated or decided. But now it is grown to such corruption, as euery silly and priuate Souldiour, for very small or simple occasion, presumeth, that it is lawfull for him to vndertake it. But that which most of all distasteth me, is to see, that Christian Princes onely doe permit it, considering, that in them (more then in any other) the Lawe doth exprefly forbidde it: and it is encreased to such an abuse, that, except God amend it, it is to be feared, that Prelates of the Church will also suffer it.

The Duell or Combate, is denied to a Christian man, to doe it, to graunt it, and to see it, by reason both diuine and humane, as well Canonically as Ciuile. It is prohibited by diuine reason, according to this argument. Euery acte where-by God may be tempted, is prohibited to a Christian by the commaundement of God: For, it is written; *Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God*. That GOD is tempted by the Duell or Combate, I prouoe it in this manner: To make triall of things, which cannot be reduced to an end by naturall meanes, but onely by the Hand of Heaven: such attempting is to tempt God. As it happeneth in cases of purgation, where it is most notorious and euident, that (by naturall course or disposition) the strongest, actiue, and most powerfull person euer vanquisheth

the weaker, and of lesse abilitie. Contrariwise, that the stronger bodie shall be overcome by the weaker, can not happen but miraculously.

Bringing then two such vnequall persons into the field, victorie is desired for him which hath right and reason on his side, to the end, that the truth may be made apparent. But then God is tempted, in seeking, that he should performe a myracle; which must needs bee so, when the weaker man conquereith the stronger, beeing (as it were) directly against nature.

I prouoe it further forbidden by Diuine reason, after this argument: when a Law prohibiteth a thing, it forbiddeth also the dooing of it; and a man performeth an especiall inhibited thing, when hee knoweth (by the Diuine Lawe) that hee is not to kill a man: The Combate then is flatly forbidden, because thereby murder may happen.

I yet prouoe it otherwise thus. The Diuine Lawe forbiddeth euery action, that differeth from the fountaine of charitie, which is the scope and end, of all vertues, and vtterly expelleth vice: The acte of Combate is farre off from charitie, leaning vnto vice; because charitie is nothing else, but to loue God and thy neighbour, and he that enters the Combate to kill his neighbor, is out of all obedience to God.

It is likewise prohibited by the Canonically Lawe, because it euermore followeth the diuine Law: and in plaine reason, what the one inhibiteth, the other neuer alloweth. Combat is also forbidden by the Lawe of men, and the prooffe is, that euery thing which repugneth and contradicth naturall equitie, is likewise prohibited by the reason of man; because reason is grounded vpon naturall equitie. The reason of equitie among men willett, that he which committeth a crime, should be punished, and the innocent cleared: notwithstanding, by Combate it falleth out many times quite contrary.

It is further proued by this argument. Naturall equitie, whereon (as we haue already sayde) all reason in men is grounded; is entirely for the conseruation and encrease of them. That acte then, which turneth vnto the diminution and destruction of men, is quite forbidden: so ought Combate to be, because thereby

Kkk 3

men

Miracles only
appertaine to
the power of
God.

Murder may
happen by
combate.

The acte of
combate kil-
leth Charitie.

Combate con-
trary to the
common law,
and law of
men, and natu-
rall equitie.

Naturall equi-
ty is for the
conseruation
of mankind,
and combate
is for his de-
struction.

men kill one another, and men are of greatest price in the world. Moreover, every acte which repugneth the precepts of naturall equitie, is forbidden by mans reason, because it is grounded thereupon. One of the precepts is, that no man shall desire profit or honour, by the prejudice and hinderance of another. The second is, that no man shall wish that to another, which he would not haue done to himselfe. The acte of Combate contradiceth them both, because hee which commeth so prepared into the field, cooeteth his owne glorie, by the shame and harme of him against whom he fighteth, which is his neighbour, and wisheth that to him, which he would not haue executed on himselfe; for, he would vanquish and kill him.

Combate forbidden by the ciuill Law.

It is also forbidden by Ciuile reason, and this is the rule. Ciuile right prohibiteth every acte, whereby Iustice may be denied to men, or iniurie doone them. Now, in the case of Combate, oft times it falleth out quite contrary; for the innocent man dyeth, and the guilty offender remaineth aliue, so that by this meanes, Iustice can not take her due place.

CHAP. VIII.

Of strange and admirable properties in the Asse.



Isidore in lib. A. xiii. c. 3. p. 8.

He taketh his name of seating; for, in elder times, men were sit on such beasts backs, to saue themselves securely. Or else it cometh of the Greeke diction *Asinos*, composed of *A*, which is a Greeke diction priuatiue, signifying *Sine*, *Without*, and *Cinos*, which signifieth *Sensus*, *Wit* or *Senses*; so that coupling these two vocables together, signifieth, without Wit or Senses. Hereupon it is said, that hee is fearefull to goe ouer a Bridge, where water runneth vnderneath it: because hauing a weak brayne, hee is (by instinct of nature) fearefull to fall therein. He is timorous

A definition of the Asse name.

Fearefullnesse in the Asse to passe ouer a Bridge.

also to enter water, how shallow soeuer it be; fearing by the current thereof, his braine may be troubled, and he drowned; which proceedeth from a kinde of knowledge that hee hath of his owne imperfection.

This creature is slouthfull and melancholy, because he is colde, drie, without memory, laborious, and apt to carry burdens. By reason of his great frugallitie, he cannot liue in colde Countreies, and if by aduenture he doe liue there: hee affecteth not the generatiue act, neither can he there ingender. Hee beareth best vpon his reines, rather then on his backe or shoulders: for, being melancholicke, his bones behinde are the more strong and dry, for there is the signe of melancholy, and there is his skinn so thicke and hard, that though he be beaten with great stauies, he cannot be killed without much paines. Also, because he consisteth of an earthie nature, hee is hardly disciplinable, and fawneeth very little. *Albertus Magnus* sayth, That by the selfe-same reason, hee endureth much paine in his head, and dieth, tumbling his head aside, and in regarde of his heads weightinesse, a thicke and viscusous humour falleth on his lights or lungs, which maketh him to breathe with difficulty, and fall downe swooning. He eateth little, and the more he watcheth, so much the more he drinketh beyond other beasts.

In regarde of his great coldenesse and drienesse, hee can not sturre to ingender, at such times as other beasts doe, to wit, before the Winter Equinoctiall, or else vnder the Equinoctiall; but in the month of May, when the Sunne mounteth, almost to the right angle of the Equinoctiall, and then his grosse humiditie being deprested and diminished; he is prouoked to the acte with such fury, as if hee were a wilde foale, and especially when he is yong. The thicknesse of his skinn, is caused (as we haue sayd) by his grosse humours; and he that menderh his shoes with leather, of that part of the skinn, where the Asse hath longest borne his burdens, can not weare it out at all, but it will long time endure, passing ouer stony or craggy wayes, and will at the last growe to such hardnesse, as the feete can not suffer it: *Albertus Magnus* speaketh thereof by proofe.

From

The Asse is slouthfull and melancholy.

The ability of his bearing burdens.

Albertus Magnus in lib. 4. c. 13.

The Asse engendereth not when other beasts doe.

The benefit of the Asse skinn in wearing in shoes.

The milke of the shee-Asse is physical for a consumption.

Pliny in lib. 8. c. 4.

Small birds are enemies to the Asse: for the rauen must of all.

What defence the Asse hath, to saue his eyes from the rauen.

The cunning of the Asse in drinking.

Pliny in lib. 8. c. 4.

Isidore in lib. 2. c. 6.

An obseruation for the engendering of a Mule between an Asse and a Mare.

From this drinesse it ensueth, that the milke of the Female Asse is subtiler, that it cannot curdle: and therefore it is Physicall for such as are in a consumption. Moreover, the purity of this milke whitenesse maketh the skin of men or women wonderfully faire, and very cleare. Hereupon *Pliny* reporteth, that *Pappa*, a Cnocubine to *Nere*, often vsed to bathe her bodie in the Milke of a shee-Asse. This beast hath a custome to Vrine in the place, where he smelleth that another Asse hath staled before.

He is very much hated by small Birds, because he bites of the bushes & thornes, where they builde their nests: and with his crying noise, makes them fall onto the ground, or frights them away when they sit in the bushes. The Raven is his naturall enemy, so that when hee hath taken any harme on his skinn; hee mounteth thereon, and pittifully plagues it with his bill. So do the small Birds likewise, onely to be reuenged of him: but the Rauens about all the rest, labours to picke out his eyes with his beake; against which cruelty, the hollow concavity of them, doeth serue him as an especial defence, the hardnesse of his hide, and continuall agitation of his eares; for, by closing his eies, he chafeth them away with his eares stirring. The Bear also is his enemy, wearing him (oftentimes) to kill him, desiring to feede on his raw flesh.

He will not drinke but at such Springs or Welles where he is inured, & where hee may passe without wetting: but that desiring merraille, is, that if the water be troubled, though hee be neuer so thirsty, he cannot be procured to drinke, vntill such be given him as is pure and cleare. *Pliny* saith besides, that he will hardly be constrained to drinke, vntill his backe bee disburthened of his load. The shee-Asse is intirely affecteth her young Foale, and is so fearefull of it by Nature: as shee dreads it not to passe through fire to find it.

Aristotle saith, that the shee-Asse will remaine so long time from conceyuing, vntill the graines of Barley, sleepe in the blood of a Muler, bee given her to feede on. For the generation of Mules, the Mare must be of no lesse age then foure yeares, and not aboue tenne. Now, in regard that (naturally) no beast will habite

with any other then of his owne kinde, such Heardsmen as would haue a Mule engendered by an Asse and a Mare, do vse this kinde of cunning. The young Asse-foale is nourished with Mares milke all his tender time, but in some obscure place, for better taking it. By this meanes, comming to age (as adulterated) he groweth to loue Mares. And in like manner, nourishing the Foales of Mares with milke of a shee-Asse; they habite afterwards willingly with shee-Asse. And if it happen that the Mare be taken, and the Asse hath yett vsd of her immediately, her greatnesse will corrupt, through the extreme coldnesse of the Asse. And so it fareth with the shee-Asse, if the horse haue ioyned with her, and by the same reason.

The Mule that is bred of an Asse and a Mare, cannot engender, the cause (according to *Aristotle*) is, that the seede of the Asse (as we haue already said) being cold, & that ioyning with the seed of the Mare which (hauing respect to the sexe Feminine) is also of cold complexion; & therefore, that engendered is so cold, as it cannot be proper for generation. And albeit *Pliny* saith, that diuers times they haue yong ones: yet (for all that) it is not naturall, but rather as a thing prodigious.

Aristotle granteth that they do engender, but the fruite cannot be reared or brought vp. *Theophrastus* saith, That in *Cappadocia* they engender and haue yong. *Aristotle* further saith, that the Asse fawneeth more by drinking troubled Water, then that which is cleare, and best agreeth with Kine. The Foale of the shee-Asse, is of so short memory, that following the damme, if it be but hie paces behind hir, it hath forgot, and followes no further, but stayes and standeth stone still. It is said, that the shee-Asse hath a naturall custome, when he is ready to Foale, shee withdraweth into some obscure place: but the opinion of *Albertus Magnus* is, shee doth so in regard of the weakenes of the Foales sight.

It is a thing well approued, according to the iudgement of the same author, that the Liuer of an Asse being boyled, and afterward roasted the same day, is verie soueraigne for the falling sicknesse, provided, that it be often vsed: the like power hath his hooves, being burnt, beaten into powder, and drinking the weight of three Ducates

Aristotle in lib. 2. c. 1. p. 1.

Pliny in lib. 8. c. 4.

Aristotle de Gener. Animal. lib. 3. cap. 3.

The short memory of the Asse foale

Albertus Magnus in lib. 4. c. 7.

Ducates, and every day an ounce. An emplaister made of the same powder, diffolue the Kings euill, & heals the chaps, which trouble the handes in Winter by cold.

Moreover, the houes so beaten into powder, and applied vnto an Impostume, quickly breaketh it. The Vine of an Asse, is very auailable for the Dis-ease of the Reines, caused by grosse humidities; and his dung, either burnt, or not, made in an emplaister, restraineth the Flux of blood, and smoking any houle with the Lunges of an Asse, it killeth all wormes and mothes.

Againe, his dung steeped in Vinegar, and applied to the nose in a cloth, ceaseth the extreme bleeding making also an emplaister thereof, and binding it to the forehead, it hath the same vertue. *Pliny* also saith, that both the Milke and bloud of an Asse, are very effectuall against the biting of a Scorpion.

His Urine, applyed with Spickenard, encreaseth and conserueth haire: and his bones being broken, and the powder of them drunke in white Wine, is very foueraigne against poyson. *Aristotle*, *Alber-tus Magnus*, and *Pliny*, reporteth infinite other Vertues, abiding in this much de-spised creature, which would require too long a time to relate.

CHAP. IX.

Of the singular vertue and constancie, of the Noble Lady Aretaphila, the enforced Wife to the Tyrant Nicoreon: And her honest policy, for the deliuerance of her Country.

An honorable Gentleman of Cyprus, and a worthy soldier.

THE vertue and constancie of the Noble Lady Aretaphila the Cyrenean, deserueth to be remembered in all Ages. She was the Daughter of *Aglator*, and wife to *Fedimo*, who for Nobility and riches, was one of the worthiest men in the whole country: and in those times she was no lesse endued with singular beauty, then admired wisdome and eloquence in her speaking. It came to

pass, that *Nicoreon* usurping the government by tiranies, condemned many worthy Citizens to death. And among other cruelties by him committed, hee caused *Melanpius* (the Priest of *Apollo*) to be slaine, to make usurpation of his Priestly Office.

Afterward, hauing treacherously put to death *Fedimo*, the husband of *Aretaphila*, constrainedly, and whether she would or no, he married *Aretaphila*. Continuing on his pride against his people, & day by day encreasing his cruelty, hee furiously put a great number to death. And because they were to be buried without the City, he was entrusted by some of his pickethanks, that many counterfeited themselves to be dead, for their safer escaping out of the City, onely thereby to auoid his cruelty. Hereupon, guards of fouldiers kept the gates, with long Iron Pikes and Bodkins, made red horte in the fire; wherewith they pierced the bodies carried by, to try whether they were dead or no.

These cruelties, were greatly displeasing to his wife *Aretaphila*, who grieved to see her Country thus oppressed; and to such a height grew her compassion, that hating *Nicoreon* for her former Husbands death, she resolved to make adventure of her owne life, to free her country from so bloody a Tyrant. And although *Nicoreon* affected her extraordinarily, & bestowed infinite fauours on her, onely to please her: yet could shee not quit her thoughts from this magnanimous determination. And, when (through the tyrants power) all hope in the people was viterly lost, for euer freeing themselves from his tyranny: she onely grew the stronger in her confidence, that shee should compasse the meanes of his death.

Heerein she was still the more encouraged, by remembering the vndanted resolution of the *Thebanes* * *Phraa*, so much renowned thorough the world, counteing to imitate her example. But because shee had not the benefite of assisting Friends, as *Phraa* had; she concluded her enterprise alone by her selfe, purposing to kill the Tyrant by poyson. By which meanes she ranne into great dangers (as you shall read hereafter) in regard shee failed many times of her attempting; and being surprized at the last; all dissimulations

Nicoreon and *Fatistical* Waper of the first prime authority.

A hard example, which may be a lesson to posterity.

Aretaphila joining the oppression of her Country, hazardeth her owne life to deliuer it.

* An honorable Lady of Thebes, that deliuered her country from cruell oppression.

wer

were not sufficient, but shee was conuincd by most euident arguments.

At this time, *Caluia*, Mother to the tyrant (being a Woman of fierie temper, and one that heauily hated *Aretaphila*) laboured him by earnest perswasions, to put her to death with grievous torments: but the feruent loue of *Nicoreon* towards her, and her owne couragious spirit, in answering the accusations of her enemies; occasioned the delaying of her death. Nevertheless, after much clamor and constraint, she being conuincd by apparant testimonies, and no longer able to denie, but that shee had prepared a breuage for him: In the presence of the Iudges, with an vndanted and cheerefull countenance, thus she spake.

The Speech of Aretaphila,

in the presence of the Tyrant, and all her hatefull enemies.

MY Lord and Husband, I freely confesse, that a drinke was prepared by mee to giue thee 3 yet farre from so much, as thought, that poyson, or any harmful thing should therein be compounded: but onely as a drinke, whereby to incite feruent loue and affection. For, seeing my selfe to be conuincd by so many Ladies, in regarde of the kinde loue by thee extended to me, and exalting me to wealth and honor, farre beyonde any capacity in them of compassing the like; fearing withall (most worthy Lord) that they would not spare their uttermost endeauour, to kill that louing kinde in thee towards me, and quench the inire affection so long continued: I made that Breuage purposely, to preserve the hate of Loue in full power, and rather urge it to a higher reach, then suffer it to qualle in the least degree. If therefore heerein I haue offended, Reason (me thinks) should free mee from punishment; in regard that spotlesse loue to confound that foul fiend hatred thereto procured me. Neuertheless, if I shall bee faine to merite chastisement; it cannot urge death, as to an hatefull impostner: but rather such an amiable and fauouring affliction, as such a wife may be thought worthy of, who will not spare to practise any enchanting Potions on her Husband, to con-

uince his Loue in correspondencie, equally to hers.

Such was her constant carriage in this answer, and appearing of so sound truth in the Tyrants opinion; that by no means he would permit shee should bee put to death. Onely, through their diuelliish & violent urging, he suffered her to be further tryed by Racks and Tortures, as hoping (that way) to extort confession. *Caluia* causing the extreamest tortures to be prepared, flood by, while they were inflicted on her, euen according to the measure of her monstrous cruelty; and so many violences was done to the poor Lady, that *Caluia* her selfe, grew wearie with the very sight of them. So that *Aretaphila*, not confessing any thing more then shee had done, was deliuered from further tormenting, and adiudged innocent by *Nicoreon*; repenting that shee had permitted her to bee so cruelly misused, and his loue now growing to farre greater extremity towards her, made him labour by all amorous blandishments, and gifts of extraordinary vauelue, to reconcile fauour, & qualifie all conceiued vnkindnesse in her. And she, being a wife and sprightly minded Lady, had her owne discretion so much at command, that shee could seeme as earnest in loue to him as euer: yet carrying an inward vnconquerable remembrance of her Countreys Oppressions, and her owne extreame wrongs, waiting but time and meanes for iust reuendge, which offered it selfe to her in this manner.

She had (by *Fedimo* her husband) a yong daughter, of admirable beauty and vertuous qualities, named *Miraguarda*; and *Nicoreon* had a Brother, named *Leander*; youthfull, gallant, and somewhat dissolute in affection to women, which made her the more diligent, to procure liking in him towards her daughter, and easily she prevailed therein, by the help of amorous enticing drincks, and other deuices, wherein she wanted no furtherance of her cunning Physitian. Beside, the witty instructions shee had giuen her daughter, for her carriage in the company of *Leander*; caught fire on the Tinder of his affection, in such violent manner; that (in all hast) he entreated his Brother to grant his

Nicoreon and *Fatistical* Waper of the first prime authority.

Cruelly conquered by mild, patient, and constant sufferance.

An incomparable discrecion in Aretaphila.

Miraguarda, daughter to Aretaphila, & *Leander* brother to *Nicoreon*.

his marriage with *Miraguarda*, wherto he as quickly gaue consent, provided, that he could induce the good liking of *Aretaphila* thereto, which was not long in obtaining (though excused with some fewe faint and modest doubts) because it was the onely mark she aimed at, to compasse that which the further intended.

Leander, being married to his beloved *Miraguarda*, their mutuall affections so sweetly sympathized together, as he could neuer be satisfied with her louely embracings, nor shew contented without his company. During the heate of this reciprocal fierie temper on both sides, *Miraguarda*, ingeniously instructed thereto by her mother (knowing she could craue nothing of her *Leander*, that eyther hee durst or would deny her) aduised him to the killing of her brother. And so futable were her witty remonstrances to his yielding soule (alledging the acte to be generous, the freeing of his country from tyranny, and a certaine assurance to himself, that in requitall of so blessed a benefit, the people could not chooseth but elect him their King, by whom they enjoyed their long desired deliuerance) that he liked the motion extraordinarily. Nor left shee off so, but plyed him still vnto the same purpose, that if hee did make deniall of the deede, the Cittizens (in their violent hatred to the Tyrant) would acte this Tragedy themselves, as thereto they were all solemnly sworn; and then there could be no security of his own life.

So preuailing were these perswasions with *Leander*, that instantly he conspired against *Nicoreson*, perceiving that *Aretaphila* did not disallowe it; and imparting his intent to *Dannilist*, his familiar & very faithful friend: by his assistance he slew him, sleeping in an Arbor of his Garden, and thereby became Lorde of the Kingdom. The possession whereof made him so proud and powerfull, that, despising *Aretaphila* and her worthy counsells, the world might plainly perceiue, that hee was rather a murderer of his Brother, then a conspirator for his countries freedom, because he gouerned by iniustice and improuidence; albeit (afterward) he began to reuerence his mother in Lawe (somewhat more respectfully, though the people were still oppressed, by many extreme violences.

Aretaphila perceiving, that shee had not yet deliuered her country from tyranny; concluded to compasse it by his death likewise. Hereupon, by secret intelligence, she wrought with *Anabius*, a warlike Prince, and a Native of *Lybia*, to rise in Armes against *Leander*, wherto he was very easily induced. Hee being at hand with a potent Army, *Aretaphila* conuincing with *Leander*, told him, that his Captaines were not equall in courage and strength, to those braue Warriours that came with *Anabius*, and therefore it would proue disadvantageous for him, to make hazard of his weake forces against him, being not certaine of his owne subiectes, whom he had too much prouoked by his harsh vllage; and therefore farre vnfit to be trusted in trial of warre. Wherefore she aduised him, to labour by honest & plausible meanes, that a pacification might passe betwene them, promising, to practise such meanes her selfe, that hee should haue a friendly imparlance with *Anabius*.

Leander liued well the Counsell of his mother in law, and praied her to proceed therein; whereupon, shee dealt for the day of their meeting. Preuailing so well (in the meane time) by faithfull Messengers to *Anabius*, that when *Leander* should come forth to confer with him: he either should kill him, or take him prisoner, promising a great sum of money for the performance thereof. *Leander* being fearful by nature (as commonly all Tyrants are) daily deferred the enterparlance: but his mothers pressing him with shame of base cowardise, and faint-hearted effminacy, (thee promising to goe along with him in company) procured him to issue forth vnarmed. *Anabius* conning on to meete him with his traine, *Leander* made a timorous flay, saying; hee would not passe any further, vntill he had his guard about him. But *Aretaphila*, one while by faire speeches, another while by foule reproaches, calling him nothing but coward at euery word, till made him to walke on alog with her, and taking him by the arme, as to inspire him with courage, brought him forcibly to *Anabius*, and deliuered him vp as his prisoner, who safely there kept him, vntill the promised summe of money was sent him.

Afterward, she returned backe to the Citie,

Another attempt of Aretaphila for the deliuerance of her country.

The death of Leander and Caluist his Mother.

Aretaphila made Prisoners of the Country.

Aretaphila continued a meeting betwene Leander & Anabius.

Tyrantate fearful vnto themselves.

Aretaphila deliuered Leander prisoner to Anabius.

Read Caluist Rhodogines in his military Discourses. lib. 3. cap. 9.

More obeyed then they feared or expected.

City, there manifesting the manner of her successe, and how shee had deliuered her Country from the Tyrants power: Whereupon, the summe of money was collected and forthwith sent vnto *Anabius*. Then was *Leander* deliuered to *Aretaphila*, who instantly gaue him into the Magistrates power: so that by generall sentence, he was sowed vp in a sacke, and drowned in the Sea, after he had seen his Mother *Caluist* burned. All the Cittizens flocking before *Aretaphila*, humbled themselves on their knees, confessing the iust merit of her praise: because (with so great perill of her life) she had saued her Country; enforcing her to vndergoe the Gouernment, which shee did, and ruled graciously vntill she had reduced the Citie to perfect peace. Then, resigning vp her Office into the Senates hands: shee entered a Monasterie of Sacred Virgines, where shee liued priuately, and peaceably passed the remainder and rest of her dayes.

CHAP. X.

Of the Famous Philosopher Euxinus: And of a Letter sent by the Senate of the Athenians, to the Lacedemonians.

Betweene the Athenians and Lacedemonians, a vetie cruell warre was waged, about the difference of certaine Confines, and in the field of battle, the Lacedemonians being foyled and discomfited by the Athenians: the vanquished desired truce with the Victors, and for their easier attaining thereto, they sent (as Ambassador) the renowned Philosopher *Euxinus*, who spake in so eloquent a style to the Senate, and onely in the praise of peace, deliuering such learned and pleasing allegations, as not only truce was granted to them, but also they freely gaue them those Confines, which they pretended was appertaining to the, and (by the chance of warre) hadde lost. Such power had the Orat[i]on, deliuered by *Euxinus*; and the Senat of Athens back

to the, acquainted them with their minds in this maner.

The Senate and People of Athens, send health and peace to the Lacedemonians.

WE call the Goddes to Witness, that in the late passed battell betwene vs, Wee more grieued to see you so bloodily vanquished, then we ioyed in our owne fortune of victory: because the effects of Warre are such, that damage is certaine to the Conqueror, and benefit to the Conquered is doubtfull. Wee could heartily haue wished, that the demand by you now propounded, had bene before in like manner required: but such is the lot false both on you and vs, that you haue lost very much in this warre, and yet wee can boast of no benefit thereby. For the rule is most certaine, that whatsoever is appointed by the Gods, cannot be comprehended by humane iudgement, nor impeached by the power of man.

You require truce for three moneths, to the end, that in that time, an agreemēt may be concluded betwene vs. Wee returne you answer, that the Senate of Athens neuer vsed to make truce, after they had begun a War: obseruing (as a most ancient Lawe) that either they accept of cruell warre, or else freely confiscond to perpetuall peace.

Wee labour and practise in the times of peace, to allure Wise-men into our Schooles, to helpe vs with their counsell in the times of Warre; and now they aduise vs, not to make a truce on suspected conditions: wherein wee thinke they counsell vs well, because a counterfeyte peace is more dangerous then an open waged warre.

The Philosopher *Euxinus* your Ambassador, hath spoken so eloquently in the Senate, that we hold it vnreasonable, to deny any thing by him named: and therefore it is a matter more honest, to grant him peace that requires it by kinde words, then him that rudely asks it with the Weapon. Wherefore we tel you, and now giue you to vnderstand, that our Senate (with a franke and free hart) granteth to you Lacedemonians, loyall peace,

The euents of warre are vncertaine to either side.

What heaven hath ordained, is not to bee disappointed.

Good words do the more then weapons can doe.

The marriage the onely means to be recovered on the Tyrant.

The perswasions of Miraguarda to Leander, to kill his Brother.

Leander is won to murder his Brother, assisted therein by his faithful friend Dannilist.

deliuering you from all suspition of war: And this wee doe, that the world may know, the *Athenians* are of so great spirit against the audacious, and so woorthie friends to such as are wise, that they both know how to chastise foolish Capitaines, and how to be commanded by discrete Philosophers.

Well wot yee, that all our difference hath growne about possession of Townes seated on the bankes of the River *Alina*. By this letter we tell ye, and sweare there-to also by the immortall Gods, that we freely renounce all right wee can pretend vnto them, on this condition: that (at our meeting) you shal giue vs your Ambaffador *Euxinus*: for the happy *Athenians* do more affect a Philosopher in their school, then a whole Province for their Commonwealth. Yet *Lacedemonians* account it no acte of leuitie in vs, to change townes and territories, to bee governed by one onely man: because the Philosopher can teach vs how to liue well, whereas such Countreyes may giue vs occasion of dying ill. And in regard, that (of ancient enemies) we now declare our selues your true louing Friends: We not onely deliuer you from Warre, and send you Peace; but likewise will giue you Counsell how to conserue it; for the Physicke that preferueth health, is farre more excellent then that which expelleth diseases. And this is the remedy which wee giue you.

As ye desire, that your yong men shal exercise themselves to Armes, in like manner bee as diligent, that your Children may haue Learning in due time: For, as Warre is made with cruell weapons, so with sweete words is peace softly obtained. And thinke not (*Lacedemonians*) that wee heere to aduise yee without cause; for, in leauing the counsell of the Wise, and suffering ydellnesse to encrease among the people: it engendred seditions and ciuill Warres, onely to make men murder one another. Nor would we haue ye thinke vs friends to busie prattlers; for our ancient Father *Socrates* appointed; that the first Lesson read to a Scholler in our Academy; was, that for the space of two yeares, hee should not dare to speake a word; because it is a matter impossible, that any man can be wise in speaking, except he be admirably

patient in silence, and knoweth howe to hold his peace.

May it please you then, to permitte *Euxinus* to remaine with vs, and imagine, that if wee hope for benefite by his presence; you may rest assured, that from such counsell as he giues vs, you cannot receiue any damage. For, it is a very ancient law in *Athens*, that the Senate may neuer attempt any Warre, vntill our Philosophers haue first made examination, whether the cause bee iust or no. So wee cease, praying both your and our immortall Goddes, to preferue you and vs in perpetuall peace: for that onely is perpetuall, that stands confirmed by the will of the Gods.

CHAP. XL.

The true Module and Patterne of Government, to be obserued in any Commonwealth; deriued from the communitie among Bees, and how many wayes they may be examples to men.



HE forme of a Commonwealth obserued amongst Bees, meethinkes is so proper and answerable vnto that of men: as it may be verily presumed, that GOD gaue them it by a Naturall instinct, and for an instruction vnto our manner of Government. This little Creature, is named by the Latines *Apis*, a deuiation from the Greeke, which signifieth to bee without feet: not in regard that it hath no feete, but because they do ioyne so closely and aptly with the body, as if indeede it had none at all.

Many haue written of their properties and qualities; as *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, and many more: beside, I find in elder times, that *Hyliscus Tullius* was verie inquisitiue, to vnderstande the properties of these Creatures, and that he might render the founder reasons of his knowledge; hee liued in Forests and solitarie places, where best he might attaine to his owne intent.

And

Aristomachus wrote diuerse bookes of the Bees qualities.

A kinde of religious reuerence obserued in Bees, before coming forth of their hives.

Men are not born for themselves, but for their countrey also.

No more but one King in a very hie order of Government.

Helicon Tullius a diligent teacher into the properties of Bees.

Mutual loue and charity among the people, is no meane happytie.

And *Aristomachus* likewise, for the space of forty yeeres (without attending to any other exercise) gaue himselfe wholly to the same labour: and both of them wrote diuers Bookes very apt and worthy for all posterity.

The first and most notable thing, obserued in the writings of moderne men, is, that they haue noted an admirable kinde of Religion in these little Creatures: For, before they will yssue forth of their Hives, they bow downe their heads forward in such humble manner, as if they were deuotely at meditation on their knees. Declaring therein (euen by Naturall instinct as it were) to vs, that we should not undertake, or beginne any thing, before wee haue first honoured God, and recommended our endeoures to his gracious goodness, that they be begonne and ended in his name. Very respectiue are they, that by the toothe they gather from sweet Flowers, they may produce hony, beneficiall both for others and themselves; demonstrating thereby, that men should labour (by vertuous meanes) to performe good actions in their life time, auailable both for themselves and others; considering, it is a duty required in men, and for which they are born, not to labor for themselves, but also for their Countrey, and their Friends.

They are content to liue in their owne habitation, without intruding for dwelling in anothers houle. As a notable example to vs, that (for the peace of the Commonwealth) every man should rest contented with his owne, without coueting or vsurping ought from any other.

Every Hie hath his King, and both he and his attendants, doe thus noyses, clamours, and windes. Which teacheth vs, that we ought to haue one chiefe Commander in one Commonwealth, by who all the rest may be well governed: & that we should shunne the sinuake of Ambition, in being greater one then another in the Commonwealth, to the end, that there may be good discipline. Also, we should shunne from all windes of vanities, tumults, partialities, and enmities. Flight, labour, food, and fruite is common alike to euery one; to let vs vnderstand, the mutual loue and charity which ought to be among Citizens, in being helpful one to another: and partaking likewise in o-

thers distresses. for by this meanes, mens mindes become linked together in such amity, that the Commonwealth flourisheth in peace and quietnesse, and is a goodly president to other estates.

These creatures liue without lubricities, although they engender more then any other. Which instructeth vs, that for the peace and repose of the people, men should haue care of childrens generation, to perpetuate their owne kind and the Common-wealth, without lusting after adulteries: but to liue chaste and temperate in pleasures carnall, the libertie wherof doth procure contentions, quarrels, and death.

They doe respect their King with such loue and obsequence, that they account it an honourable deede to die for him. And Sain^r *Ambrose* saith thus: *They will not flye abrad, untill they first see, whether he will flye forth, or no: that they may keepe him company, in finding food, and other effects for common benefite.* Which may minister example vnto men, for honouring their Prince, to whom GOD hath giuen such Authoritie, to be assisted and inuited in those paines, which he taketh for the good of his people, hee being the principall of the Commonwealth.

They endeavour continually, to elect such a one for their King, as (in appearance) is most Noble, as also the mildest; not vling his sting against anie other, which onely is as a punishment for offenders. Adiuising vs heereby, to elect such for our Governors and Magistrates, as are of generous Nature, discrete, wise, and debonaire. And these small creatures, are of such nature, that they who are of greatest bodie amongst them, are also (commonly) the most humane and gracious. Signifying nothing else to vs, but that he ought to be most milde and courteous, that is exalted vnto the highest dignity, as well in Nobilitie of blood, as in wealth and vertue: which things naturally beget enuy in others, and yet destroy themselves by humanitie, and conuerteth into loue. Most obedient are they to their King; and if any one haue declared disdaigne, or disobedience, & the same bee discerned: hee neuer attendeth for other correction, but instantly slayeth himselfe with his sting. Whereby we are ad-

A worthy president of continency in life.

Ambrosius in *Lib. de Cena Dom.* cap. 9.

In what manner the Bees elect & make choice of their king.

A note for such as are highly aduanced.

Loue and fidelity to our superiours.

The occasion of the war between the two States.

A worthy estimation of Learning and learned men.

Honourable counsel giuen by the Athenians to the Lacedemonians.

A busy talker can neuer bee a Wiseman.

admonished, to be faithfull and loving to our Prince or Magistrate, and fearefull to offend, euen to death it selfe.

No Bee is slothfull or idle in the Hiu; for some flye forth to combat against other in open field: others watch to seeke for food; others contemplate times, to foresee when stormes and raines will enſue; others compoſe the hony Combes; others lay aſide the waxe by it ſelfe, and there of others make little Lodgers, caries and rounds, in very ſtrange and wonderfull order. Neuertheleſſe, in ſo many and ſundry offices, no one intrudes into another's buſineſſe, or dare make any ſtealth or robbery from his companions: but by his owne labor and vertue, hee feedeth abroad on herbes and flowers, and yet brings a part of his pains home, for generall good of the Commonwealth. Herein we haue a notable inſtruction, to abhor & baniſh out of our Cities, ſlothfull rogues and idle vagabonds, that will not liue by their owne labour as they ought to doe. Wherefore through ſuch debſhment & negligence in men, all ſuch vices ariſe in Cities, as doe corrupt good manners, and ouerthrow order: for euery one ſhould liue vpon his owne endeuour, without vſurping ought of others; and what he hath ſuperfluous, is for generall aide of the Common-wealth, and to be miniſtred to others neceſſities.

Nature hath giuen them ſtings to defend themſelves, and offend ſuch as dare aſſaile them, or preſume into their city or hiu: and although they are not of any great corpuſcence, yet notwithstanding they haue vnconquerable corage & prudence. For with the gum of trees, they annoynt the ſuperficies of their hives, to the end, y^e no beaſt or other enemy may enter in at any rift or chinke; and if the paſſage or iſſue be ouer large, they labor diligently to reſtrain and make it leſſe. By which example men are admoniſhed, to be ſtout and courageous for defence of their country, and wiſely to foreſee, that no Vices enter into their Common-wealth, that may infect, corrupt, or poiſon it.

By naturall inſtinct, they are enclined, that each one ſtaies on the firſt flower hee finds, and parts not thence away, vnill he haue taken his reſection and noiſhment: whereof he will diſcharge himſelfe, before he ſeekes out any other. And much they

frequent the leaues and flowers of the Olive tree, making there ſom long abiding; ſeruing vs as an example, what ſoberity wee ſhould vie in the courſe of our Life. When they feed on the flowers of the Almond tree, their hony is the more ſauoury and temperate; whereas contrary-wiſe, when they feed on bitter herbes or flowers it is far leſſe ſweet: notwithstanding, it is thinner, very mundificatiue, profitable for the opilations of the Liuer, and good for the dropſie, as alſo to heale the biting of a mad dogge.

Such as haue made triall by experience of theſe creatures, doe iuſtifie, that when their king cannot fly, he is carried abroad by troops of them; and during the time y^e he liueth ſo ſickly, the females are ſeparated from the males. But when he is dead, then they conuerſe together again: which declareth, what pity and piety wee owe to our Prince and countrey, and that men ſhould gladly ſupport and ſuffer for one another. The ſting of the female is ſharper then the males, & there are many males, that haue no ſtings at all. Hereby we may vnderſtand, that the tongues of women are more piercing then mens, & oftentimes cauſe very great inconueniencies in which reſpect, they ſhould be kept ſhort & tempered, that their lawſſy liberty breed no blame and contention among neighbors. The beſt Bee is little, round, cloſely plump benoing in the miſt, and leaſt hairy. Some feed on flowers of the mountaines, others on them of Gardens and huſbanded places: the firſt whereof, are much leſſe then the other, as alſo more ſtrong and robuſt, to endure labor. Beſide, according to *Pliny* they are of far dreadfuller aſpect, abiding in the rifts of trees, or in ſonic ſmal vaults. And what fairer example can nature afford vs, then of their ſtrength and abilitie? For, ſuch people as are not educated in delicacies, but in continual exerciſes of mind and body, are moſt profitable members for the Common-wealth. Cloſely they ply their worke in their hives, & feed on the ſuperabundance of their Combes, knowing by mere inſtinct of nature, that if they ſhould not do ſo, & giue vigilant attendance: Spiders would get into the hiu, & there kill the. VVhen they haue but ſmal ſtore of hony, the moſt of them keeps the entrance, y^e it may not be taken from them: vnill they are better provided. A worthy

preſi-

preſident to men, to baniſh all ſuperfluous things out of their Common-wealth, leaſt by the meanes of them, the venome of hatred may be bred among the, which may procure the death of one another. And when dearth or ſcarſitie happens in their Cities, vigilancy is needfully required, to preſerue ſuch ſtore as they haue; that it may not bee elſewhere transported, & ſo publike calamity enſue thereon.

There are a kind of Bees which labour not to produce hony, but eate that already made, and they are longer then the other: the good Bees haue continual war with them, to expell them out of their Commonwealth. Signifying to vs, that ſlothfull perſons ſhould be excluded from other mens company: and ſuch as ſeek to feed by others ſweat. Their King neuer flies abroad, but he is attended round with a great company of Bees, and if it ſo happen, that they meet with another flight of Bees, that likewiſe haue their King with them, they leaue their owne, to accompany the new King. And if their owne King contend, to reduce them againe vnder his obedience; they kill him, and follow the other newly made choiſe of, and him they elect as their king. This exceſſe hapneth very ſeldom, & is one of the two imperfections which theſe creatures haue in their government: beſide, it is neceſſarie, that in euery kind there ſhould be ſome vice. If they chance to ſting hard, they put forth the whole length of their ſting; whereon themſelves die withall, becauſe their bowels iſſue out thereby.

Their Kings and Gouvernors ſting but ſildome, although they are thereto provoked; for ſome ſay, that they haue no ſting at all. And *Pliny* is not certaine, whether they haue any or no: but notwithstanding, he is well aſſured that they ſting not. Neither care they that the king ſhould be ſo armed, provided, that he bee of good government, valiant, & maiſtical: which proueth, that Princes ought to be benign, milde, and patient: neuer to take any delight in cruelty, but rather to be gentle & mercifull. Such is the cleanlines of theſe creatures, that they cannot endure any foule or noiſom ſauour; & therefore when they returne to their Cittie or Caſtle (for ſuch they account their Hiu to be) they diſcharge their bellies in the aire, & many times (through bad ſmelles) they become

ſickly, and ſo ſoone as any one of them dyeth, the reſt hurle him out of the Hiu. They grow ſicke alſo thorow idleneſſe, and therefore they will not ſuffer any to bee ſlothfull among them: and the ſnell of boiled fiſh, ſuch as Crewiſes, Lobſters, and Crab-fiſh is deadly to them. An excellent example for men to liue cleane & nearely, free from a vicious life, carefully reſpectiue both their foules and bodies.

The winde is very contrary and hurtfull for them; and therefore when it is great, ſtiſe and boyſterous, the hives ought to be carefully covered. VVhereas they affect in winter, as other creatures do, and in Summer, freſh aires are moſt fitting for them. It is very neceſſary to vie diligence, when the hony is taken from the: becauſe, if ouermuch be taken away, they will labour little; and if more likewiſe be left then is conuenient, they will be the leſſe diligent in making more, & therefore a moderate and reaſonable quantity muſt remain, according to the number whereof they conſiſt. What worthier example to men can there be then this declaring that in the commonwealth, euery thing ought to be moderately meaſured; becauſe ouer-great, pompous, and luxurious dyet, do but deſtroy famous families, abounding in al ſuperfluous things. And yet not to be too niggardly and ſparing in prouiſion needfully required. For as by the firſt children and ſeruaunts may become careleſſe and negligent; ſo by the latter, they may grow wretched and deſperate.

Another diligent care is required in the that make vie of Bees, to witte, that when they heare their great ſwarming noiſe in the hiu, it is a ſignificatio that they would be gone and leaue the hiu: but then if the hiu be gently ſprinkled ouer with ſweete wine, they will not ſtir abroad. Such as keepe them may eaſily take note hereof, becauſe (ordinarily) they make no other noiſe then when they are flying: VVherein we are inſtructed, that by ſweet language and kind behauiour, we may qualify ſterne anger in diſcontented brethren.

Aristotle further ſaith, he did well obſerue it by experience, that their feet before are ſhorter then them behind; which is ſo giuen them by nature, for their eaſier riſing from the ground. He ſaith moreover, that when the hony corrupteth in the hiu, it engendreth certaine wormes, which make

L 112

webs

The danger
of hatred and
contention.

The idle
Drones that
make no hony

Remedies for
diuers diſeaſes.

When the K.
of Bees ſicketh,
& cannot flye

A good ad-
monition for
Women.

Of certain
Bees, differing
from others.
Plin. lib. 11. c. 18

Who are the
ſittell mem-
bers for the
Common-
wealth.

A notable im-
perfection in
the govern-
ment of Bees,
worthy obſer-
uation.

Plin. lib. 11. c. 18

Vertues well
uſing with
the maxieſty
of a Prince.

The neceſ-
ſitie of clean-
lineſſe of
Bees, ex-
empling men
to purity of
life.

Their deli-
ght in winter and
ſummer.

A cauete for
taking the ho-
ny from them

As laſtly pro-
phely is not
to bee vied, ſo
penurious nig-
gardie deſer-
ueth reprobate

A note fore-
telling when
Bees would
forſake their
hiue.

Aristot. in Lib.
Anim. 4. Cap. 14

N. idleneſſe a-
mongſt the
Bees, but all
employed in
ſeueral offi-
ces, & all for
generall bene-
fit.

A good admo-
nition for Cit-
ies, & incor-
porate townes
to auoid y^e id-
leneſſe.

The weapons
of defence for
themſelves, &
offending ene-
mies to their
State.

How they are
naturally ad-
dressed in their
diet and feed-
ing, and what
leaves and
flowers doe
moſt delight
them.

Wormes that wease spiders webbes in the hie.

Reasons of their multiplying & decreasing.

Three rampiers of defence to guard their honey combs

Their flight is broad, & hinderance from returning home at night

The Sentinel to awake the in the morning.

webbes like vnto Spiders; whereby they wease sicke, and dye. A very apt example for men, to bee vigilant and respectiue of themselves, that the sweet daies and prosperitie in the world, doe not so corrupt their soules, as to beget the banefull worm of ambition, which is deadly. In moyste times of raines, they multiply greatly, by reason of the humidity: and contrariwise they decrease in the times of drought, thorow want of moisture. Also in Winter, their strength much faileth them, in regard of cold weather, snowes, and windes out of the North; which hindereth their fruitefulness, and therefore they keepe closely hidden. But when the Flowers of Beans begin to sprout, they come abroad to labour: and the first worke they doe at home, is to builde their dwelling houses, next to engender, & then to yeeld honey.

They make three feuerall rampiers before their Combes, as their garde and strength: the first cruft (being vtmost) they make bitter; the second (within) somewhat sweeter; and the third, thickest of al, because it ioyneth next to the Combes; & thus is the foundation of their defence. A good instruction for men, how to shape their building in this worlde, to vse diligence in their prouision, so soone as they can, especially of things necessary; then to marry, for encrease of children, and still to keepe employment in naturall exercises. When they flye forth vpon some vrgent occasions, and are preuented by night, so that they cannot returne home vnto their owne habitation; they sleepe topsie turvy, the vpside downe, because cold mists, fogs and raines should not offend their wings, to hinder their flight home to their owne houses, or execution of their other enterprizes and affaires.

Sentinels they haue of their owne appointment, who make a noise at break of day, by which sound they all awake; and turning themselves on their feete, they make a noise againe to their Sentinels, as a thankfull signe of ioy: but then, vpon another found from the same Sentinels, they are all silent, as attending what instant charge is to be giuen them. Informing our iudgements, in times of warre to bee very vigilant; well prouided, and no way negligent. Excellent experience haue they, when raines and vnseasonable times will ensue, which they foresee by flying a-

broad in the Euenings, about their owne needfull occasions; and finding it to follow as they feared, they will not by any meanes boudge from home.

They haue (beside) a marvellous order among them; namely, that the youngest Bees flye abroad, and bring home the fooode; the elder sort biding at home, to dresse and prepare it. But that which is yet far more admirable is, that when the young ones arrive, laden with hearbes and flowers laboriously; some of the aged sort do meet them at the entrance, and help to ease them of their burthen. Moreover, such as come to home ouer-charged, seeke the sweetest aires to passe thorow, and where they are calmest: as fearing, least rude winds should make them let fall what they haue carefully gathered, or dry vppe their honey, and therefore they flye lower towards the ground: and such as can bring home no lading, are woont to carrie little stones or grauell, that by the weight of them, they may the better resist impetuous windes.

By this precedent example, yong men are admonished, that they ought to stirre and labour in the Commonwealthe; & the more aged, to preferue the fruits of their paines. Yong men also, that do busie their braines in the blustering of ambition; should take a lower flight, and neerer to the ground, esteeming themselves to bee no more then men: considering vprightly in their soules, that whatsoever benefit ensueth by their paines to the Commonwealthe, they stand bound thereto by obligation. Let no man therefore ouer-ween, or strue to ougo or be aboue other, except his contention be honorable, & that his trauell may most aduance the good of the Commonwealthe.

While thus these poore creatures are laboring abroad, their King abides at home, hauing a strong court of guard about him well armed with their stings, for the defence of his person. He goeth abroad but very sildom, and when it is his pleasure to goe forth, he is (in like manner) royally attended. But whē he wil haue his army abroad to any expedition; three daies before, loud summons is giuen for orderly preparatio. If any troop of them swerue from following him, they find their error, by smelling to the ground where the King hath past, & so pursue in that tract, vntill they ouertake him.

A wonderfull order naturally obserued among them, the young laboring for the elder.

A notable admonition for the better improving of the Commonwealthe.

The King powerfully defended by his Corps da Guard: & flying abroad with his army.

Plin lib. II. cap. 17.

Kingsdome filled with gain by change of Princes.

The absolute foundation of eternall life in the worlde to come.

The chiefest note of incredulity in man.

him. It is to be admired, how highly they are comforted in his presence: for if he be lost by their negligence, the army loofeth it selfe, and then they go to ioyne with another King. Pliny also reporteth, that whē their king dieth, they are so full of anguish and sorrow, that they will neither feed nor flye abroad for any prouision: so that if he be not taken away dead from before thē, they will also dye with greefe and hunger. Tutoring vs heerein, that if strifes & variances happen among vs, they should not last of any continuance: also howe the death of our Prince should be ikefom to vs, because little benefit cometh by changing Gouernours. Thus we perceiue, how many good examples may bee deriued from the Bees Commonwealthe, not vterly vnneccessary for our imitation.

CHAP. XII.

How sinfull and dangerous a thing it is to desire reuelations from the dead, or knowledge of things belonging to future life.



Like as God, who hath created vs without our selues, will not saue vs without our selues: euen so hath he giuen the ground worke of all meanes for our saluation, which is Faith, with hope of all those blessings, which (in the ancient Law) he hath promised, concerning the life to come, which also hee hath reuealed by his owne sonne, and are not to bee obtained without beleefe and hope in him. But humane frailty, or to speake more properly, Faith in man is so weak, that when the glorie which God hath ordained for that life is preached to him, he answeres, he beleeueth it: But yet notwithstanding (faith he) it is a matter of no meane mortuall, that of so many men as haue dyed; not so much as one man is returned back, to tell vs the secrets of that other life.

The very greatest signe of incredulity, that can be in the heart of man (in mine opinion) is this earnest desire, to wish from God a reuelation of the life to come. For seeing that faith consisteth in beleefe, and

to hope in such things as are not apparant if they were reuealed to vs: why then faith remaineth no more, and so the singulare meanes of saluation (should be taken from vs I say moreouer, that by such manner of reuelation, not onely should faith bee destroyed, but also it would bee an occasion in vs, whereby to runne into great error against God, as wee may easily prouoe by this argument.

Admit the case, that our father, mother, or brother were raised, and returned again into this world, euen in the same flesh as they parted from vs: and to the end, wee might the more confidently credit them, to be the very same persons, they did eate, drinke, & conuerse with vs (as our blessed Saviour of the world did with his Apostles, to auoid all scruple of doubt, that they were not shadowes or phantasmes) they reuealing to vs, matters belonging to that concealed life: no doubt need to be made but wee would listen, and verily beleue whatsoever they said to bee true. If this were so, all were but man, hauing a bodie and a soul, and we beleue him, whom we credit to be but a man, who is a liar by nature. Hereon then it followeth, that in giuing faith to him, we shal shew our selues rather to beleue a man, naturally a Liar; then God, who is the fouraigene truth indeed, and cannot lie, but hath oftentimes repeated to vs, what rewarde is prepared for the good, and what punishment for the wicked.

I thinke then, there is no man, but he wil confesse it a grieuous sinne, if hee should lend faith to a reuelation, desired by a reched man, to beleue the creature, rather then the Creator. Let no man then couet that which may redound to his own damnation; considering, what God hath bestowed vpon him, and also what is denied for his saluation, when hee may helpe to worke it with feare and trembling. If all are tyed to this conclusion, so much the more it belongeth to a Christian, whom our Saviour hath taught to beleue, whatsoever hee hath reuealed in the Scripture, And faith in the Parable of the Glutton; that to know heavenly things, wee haue the Lawe and the Prophets to instruct vs sufficiently.

An argument to approue the inutilly of the matter alledged of reuelations by the dead.

God onely is true, & all men liars.

The creature ought not to be beleued, but the Creator onely.

CHAP. XIII.

Of a Disputation made in Antioche, in the presence of King Ptolomy, by seuen severall Ambassadors, to know, which of their kingdomes had the best Lawes and Customes.

Ing Ptolomy being at Antioche, Ambassadors from the Romanes, Carthaginians, Sicilians, Rhodians, Athenians, Lacedemonians, & Sicyonians, came thither vpon seuerall occasions to him. And sitting at supper with the King, a disputation chaunced to be moued, concerning the condition of their Countries and Common-weales, which of them was best policied, and provided of good Lawes and commendable Customes. The dispute was long debated & maintained among them, being defended with good and sufficient reasons. Whereuppon, King Ptolomy, being desirous to be resolu'd in the truth, comma'd each man to speake the customes in their kingdomes: whereby might best be discerned, which of the Prouinces merited most to be commended.

The Ambassador for the Romanes first began, and answered in this manner. We hold our Temples in great and reuerent respect; wee are obedient to our Gouvernours; and greuously we punish wicked and lewd liuers.

He for Carthage next spake, saying. In the Common-wealth of Carthage, our Noblemen fight for vs; our Plebeians & Mechanicks labour for vs; and our Philosophers instruct vs.

He for the Sicilians, said. In our Common-wealth, Iustice is intirely kept; our Negotiations are truly managed, and all liue equally together.

Hee for the Rhodians, saide. In our Common-wealth, our olde men are honest; our young men bashfully modest; and our women liue solitarily, vsing but few words.

The Athenian Ambassador saide. In

our Common-wealth, we neuer consent, that rich men shall be partiall, poore men idle, nor our Gouvernours ignorant.

He for the Lacedemonians, said. In our Common-wealth, enuy cannot reigne, because we are all equally nor auarice, because all our goods are in common; nor idlenesse, because all labour.

In our common-wealth (saide the Ambassador for the Sicyonians) wee permit none to voyage forth abroad, because at his returning home, hee shal not teach & instruct vs in matters of nouelties; neither do we suffer Phylitians, who may kill our healthfull men; nor do we allow Orators, because we couet not quarrelling causes.

When King Ptolomy had heard all the seuen Ambassadors, he highly commended all their kingdomes; affirming, that they were all well and iustly gouerned. That each of them had good Customes, worthily deseruing commendation: and that it was hard for him to iudge, which of them was best ruled and ordered. So the Ambassadors taking their leaue of the King, returned home vnto their severall countries, very ioyful and contented, that the king had dealt with them so graciously in iudgement.

CHAP. XIII.

Of a very proud and sumptuous Temple (dedicated to Venus) in the City of Corinth, in the service whereof, were five hundred Ladies: And of the answer of an Abbessse to a great Lord.



In Corinth, the principall City of Achaia, liued a tyrant, famous for wealth & vicious life, surnamed Hieron, who caused a sumptuous Temple to be built in the midst of the City, in the manner of a Monastery, & dedicated it to the Goddesse Venus. In this abominable Temple, were more then 100. young Ladies & Gentlewomen of Asia, whom their fathers there offred to the Goddesse Venus, and to her service: so that such of them as were most wan-

Sparta or Lacedemon.

Sicyonia.

The answer of King Ptolomy to the Ambassadors.

The a gumbt moued to the Ambassadors by the King, for a resolution on them.

For the Romanes.

Carthage.

Sicily.

Rhodes.

Athen.

*A part of Greece, containing Attica, Boetia, Megaris, Aetolia, and Phocis.

Chap. 15. Of Venus Temple in Corinth.

ton and lasciuious, were held in greatest estimation, and reputed to be most holie and religious. It was not lawfull for any of them to go out of the Temple; but each one might there sinne, and please her selfe with such as shee best liked, and as often as shee would: so that all their Religion consisted not in being honest and virtuous maydens, but they had power to doe what they pleased.

Among them was an other Lawe also, that if any of them had a mind to marrie, shee must gaine or winne her dowrie, by the infamy of her body, which was permitted that she might so doe. Moreover, that beside her husband, she might haue an amorous friend: for, in being dedicated to the goddesse of Loue, they intended, not to loose the name of Wanton and Amorous. And no married wife or widdow, might offer in this Temple, but onely virgines. And such as were so unhappy, or wretched in fortune, to come and offer their Oblations there: before a yeare was expired, became a the duell in this hellish sanctuarie; and, of a chaste virgin, a shamelesse and lasciuious strumpet.

All such as had admittance there, were expert in reading, writing, singing, playing on instruments, and dancing. VVherby men were allured thither extraordinarily, and it was no shame for them to be scene there.

The like Temples are (at this day to be scene) in the Portugall Indies, in the Prouinces of Iappon, where there are aboute eight hundred Monasteries, the least of which hath more then thirtie Nunnes in it, called there Bonzes; whereof there are two sorts: one clothed in blacke, the other in lighter colours.

It is a common fame in those Countries, that these Bonzes doe feede on a certayne hearbe, to auoyde conceiuing with childe: but if conception can not be prevented, then they eate another hearbe, to destroy the infant conceived. They instruct yong maydens in reading, and such is the foolishnesse of the people, to credit verily, that they can deliuer the soules of their deceased parents from Hell; and therefore (in that respect) they are greatly honoured and reuerenced.

We our selues in these dayes (almost monstrous and miserable) neede not tra-

uaile so farre off, to find out Monasteries, where Religious women or Nunnes (if wee may tearme them Religious) lead their liues as lewdly and dissolutely, whereof themselves make no other concealment, but that all commers and goers, finde there exceeding kinde wellcome. Which ensteth by ouer-much libertie & ydlenesse, or else, by being placed there by their parents, contrary to their owne liking. But the good and virtuously disposed (whereof there are many) are not comprehended amongst these deboshed women: And as for the voluptuous and immodest, they regarde not who knows their loosenesse, and may well fay of them selues, as an Abbessse did, of whom Nicholas Boyerius maketh mention in his Decisions. She had fortie Nunnes vnder her charge, and there belonged to that Monastery twenty Priests.

It came to passe, that a Prince, whose predecessours had founded that Monastery, passing that way, and visiting the Religious companies: found all (else where) in good order, except the number of Priests, and these Nunnes, whose number he thought not well ordain'd; whereupon hee sayde to the Abbessse. Truly Madam, me thinkes, that in stead of fourty Nunnes, fortie Priests had bene better appoynted, and twenty Nunnes onlie had bene sufficient. My Lord (quoth she) perhaps the order is not so ill contriued, as you imagine it to be, neither is it to be condemned: for, of the fortie Nuns heere appoynted, twenty are for the twentie Priests; and the other twenty serue for all comers and goers.

CHAP. XV.

Of the Oracle of Apollo in the Isle of Delphos, the Originall thereof, and upon what occasion it came.



AHe most renowned Oracle long since in Asia, was that of Apollo in the Ile of Delphos, whither resorted infinite persons, and from all parts of the world: offering there great gifts, and consulting on especial matters, because

Monasteries of Nuns neuer honest, using as lewdly

Nicholas Boyerius in his Decis. Dist. 7.

The conference betwene a Prince & the Lady Abbess.

*A City and People of Asia, by Persepolis.

because more answers were returned thence, then from all other Oracles. At the first, there was a deepe, crooked, winding caue or ditch, out of which issued a winde, that blew extremely at the mouth or entrance; thereon was seated a young Virgine, dedicated to *Apollo*, that gave answer to all things demaunded of her. This winde was the diuell, who blew into her eares; and before the Temple was builded in *Delphos*, a she-Goat descending downe into that caue or ditch, became suddenly filled with a diuine Spirit, daunsing, skipping and leaping for ioy, as the like had neuer bin seene before. Whereat the Goate-heard wondering, followed her downe into the caue, and beggan to fore-tell of things to come. Many more beilde made prooffe in the same maner; so that whosoever would know what was to ensue, must put his head into the entrance of the caue.

But in the end, this could not be doone without danger, and losse of many persons: whereupon a Temple was erected to *Apollo* the Diuiner, and the Priest named *Pythia*, who made choice of a Virgine, to be plac'd on the *Tripos*: whereof *Lactantius* the Grammarian speaketh thus, interpreting this Verse of *Achilles* Statius, in his first Booke of his *Troicks*.

Salve priscas fides Tripodum.

Tripos (saith he) *species est lauristribus radicibus, Apollini consecrata, propter vim diuinationis.* *Lamblichus*, in his booke of the *Aegyptian* Mysteries, saith; *Sylla*, in *Delphis* duobus modis suscipiebat Deum, vel per spiritum quandam tamen yncumque, qui erumpebat alicubi ex ore atri cuiusdam, vel sedem in aethra super sedem anciam, habentem tres aut quatuor pedes, & pro dictam. The Virgine that was the Organe of *Apollo*, sitting on the *Tripos*, held a Rod in her hand, and was crowned with a greene Chaplet of Laurell.

Many other Oracles there were in diuers other places. *Liber* was the Oracle of the *Sicilians*; *Ceres*, that of the *Rhodians*; *Diana*, of the *Ephesians*; *Berecintia*, of the *Romaines*; *Belus*, of the *Ruthinians*; *Jupiter*, of the *Numidians*; *Venus*, of the *Troicks* and *Cyprians*; and many others; in whom poore abused Idolaters repofed all their confidence, rendering to them the Vowes and Sacrifices, albeit utterly in vaine. For, the answers of these Oracles,

were nothing else but ydle imaginations, and mere fables proceeding from the diuell, the father of lies. And by good right were such abuses and superstitions condemned; by them that had knowledge of our true eternall God; as *David*, *Baruch*, and other holy men, who detested such Idolls and Images of the Gentiles, made of golde, siluer, stone, wood, and other matter, and by the hand of man.

CHAP. XVI.

What care our Elders had in ancient times, concerning the performance of their Sacrifices.



Ancient custome (good and commendable) hath euer more bene, not onlie on the behaile of Christians, but also amongst the

Eshnickes: in acknowledging the benefite they received from God; nor by wordes alone, but also by effects and exterior Sacrifices. So that there is no Nation so barbarous, but hath confessed his God, by some outward signe. And the Roman Senate did alwayes holde Religion in veneration, that so often as they met together (as *Parro* reporteth.) *Although they had affaires of great importance, and which required haste diligence: yet the first thing that they propounded to themselves (before decision of any doubts) was religious humiliation to their gods.*

At all times, and whensoever the Romaine Consuls or Emperours should go forth to warre, they neuer would prepare for the field, till they had first sacrificed to their gods, saying; *All felicitie and prosperitie proceeded from them.* And *Marcus Aurelius* saith; *They helde it for an infallible rule, that there can be nothing perfect among mortall men, except it bee perfected by God.* *Lycurgus*, the auncient Law-maker of the *Lacedemonians*, among other Lawes, ordaind; *That no man should be so bolde to seke for fauor from a Prince, except he were knowne to serue the Gods diligently.* Nor do fallacie these examples, as intending to confirme my saying by Pagans and Idolaters: but onely to make vs blush with shame, by seeing how farre they exceeded vs in pietie and religion.

For,

For, if wee would reade Histories, we should finde, that Gentiles and Pagans sought carefully, to recouer all their necessities from the gods.

In the time of *Quintus Fabius* and *Publius Decius*, they warring against the *Sannites* and *Hetrurians*, the Roman Matrons performed wonderfull things, neuer ceasing day and night, in offering great Sacrifices to the gods, saying: *If they were once appeased, they needed not to stand in feare of their enemies.*

But leaue we Idolaters, and let vs seeke what the auncient children of God did, who at all times, and whensoever they were afflicted, had their recourse to Sacrifices, when they would expresse their thankfulness to Almighty God, for benefices received. *Noah*, after hee came forth of the Ark, erected an Altare, sacrificed thereon, and the sacrifice was so acceptable to God, that he promised him, neuer more to drowne the world agayne.

Good *Jacob*, being gone from the house of *Laban*, to giue thanks to God, built an Altare, which hee consecrated to God. The children of *Israel*, being afflicted in the wilderness, sayd; *Let vs go on for three dayes, and afterward wee will sacrifice vnto our God.*

We reade in *Esdas*, that after the children of *Israel* were returned, to re-edifie their Temple, that they might sacrifice to God; they were so carefull, that building with one hand, they helde their weapons in the other, to defend them from their enemies.

In *Leuiticus*, mention is made of innumerable Sacrifices, whereby God pardoned offences committed. Hereupon *Daniel* being in the captiuitie of *Babylon*, and seeing the Sacrifices to be forsaken, sayd; *In these times, there is heere neither Prince, Governour, nor Prophet, nor Holocaust, nor Sacrifice, nor Oblation, nor Incense, nor place to offer our First-fruits on before thee: Reueine therefore vs, with our soules broken, and our spirits cast downe.* *Elias* also, lamented grieuouly, because the Altars were ouerthrowne, and in his earnest zeale to God, vnable to suffer such ruine, desired to die. For without all doubt, nothing is more miserable, then when the seruice of Almighty God is despised, and where it faileth, a punishment from God surely followeth.

Aaron sonnes, *Nadab* and *Abihu*, were consumed with fire from heauen, before all the people; because they offered not the Lawe ordained for the Sacrifices. King *Balthasar*, prophaning the vessels of gold and siluer, dedicated to the Temples seruice, to serue his wiues & concubines for drinking therein at his Table: diuinely sawe a Hand writing on the wall, foretelling his neere approaching ruine; so that he was taken by his enemies, and slayne the same instant. *Achab*, hauing prophaned the holy place, erected a Temple to the Idoll *Baal*: but afterwards, going against the *Syrians*, he was slayne with an Arrow shot from a bowe.

The Records of *Histories* doe also tell vs, that *Pompey*, hauing made a Stable of Gods Temple, after hee had robbed, ransacked, & spoiled *Ierusalem*, became thereby so abominable to GOD, that thence forward he was most vnfortunate. And although hee had before vanquished two and twentie Kings, yet at the last, himselfe was miserably overcome. The sonne of *Darius* was so proude and presumptuous, that hee would not onely abuse men, but euen the gods also, and sent foure thousand men to beate downe the Temple of *Apollo*: but to great a hayle and tempest fell from Heauen, that destroyed them euery man. For this cause, the good Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, writing a Letter to the King of *Trinacria*, reprooued him greatly, because he had beate downe a moiety of the temple, to enlarge his house. *Thou thinkest* (quoth he) *that the stones and mortar, wherewith the Temple was built, to be of small value: it is very true: but the Gods to whom they are dedicated, are most mightie. I wish therefore if thou wouldst haue peace with the Romaines, (hauing scandalized Rome, and grieved the Senate) that thou shouldst take as much of thy house to enlarge the Temple, as thou hast taken from it, and build it a great deale higher, and wider then it was; and then thou shalt be happy, in taking nothing from the house of the Gods, but rather that they possesse part of thine.*

The *Athenians*, who were alwayes conquered by the *Lacedemonians*, in many ways which they haue had together: complained to their God, because they had exceeded in their Sacrifices to him, farre beyond those of the *Lacedemonians*. But the Oracle of *Iupiter* made them answer thus:

Leuit. 10. 1.

Dan. 5. 1.

Reg. 22. 33

Pompey made a Stable of Gods Temple and the punishment therefore inflicted on him afterward.

* The Isle of Sicily.

The words in the Letter of Marcus Aurelius to the King of Trinacria.

The admittance of the Ladies & Matrons of Rome.

Examples of the children of God.

Gen. 8. 18, 19.

Gen. 31. 54.

Exod. 15. 12.

1. Elders. 4. 3.

Leuit. 5. 7.

Dan. 3. 9.

1. Reg. 19. 14.

The company of gods seruice must needs draw downe vengeance.

In what manner answer was giuen before the Temples erection.

The reason for building the Temple.

Lactantius Grammaticus, in Achil. Stat. lib. Troic. 3. 4.

Lamblichus lib. Egypt. Myst. cap. 5.

* One of the names giuen to Bacchus, Cibeles, mother of the Gods.

The Oracle of Iupiter answering the Athenians.

1 Peter 5, 3.

thus. *The humble and sincere Sacrifices of the Lacedemonians, are more agreeable to the Gods, then all the exterior pompe of the Athenians.* In which respect, we holde it as a Catholique maxime, That God giueth care to the prayers of the humble, and reproveth those of the presumptuous. *Deus enim superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam.* For God resisteth the prowde, and giueth grace to the humble; so sayth Saint Peter.

CHAP. XVII.

¶ Of diuers and sundry opinions of the Philosophers, concerning the state of the soule in the body of Man; And a contrarie coniecture of the Platonists.



Plato and Democritus say, That the state of the Soule is in the head. Straton the Philosopher limiteth it; Betweene the eyebrows. Erasistratus within the skinnie or filme of the Braine. Heraclitus placeth it, in the outward agitation. Mofchion giues it place, throughout all the bodie. Xenocrates, in the crowne of the head. Parmenides, Epicurus, the Stoicks and Egyptians, lodge it wholly in the heart: as the like doth Orpheus. Xerxes, King of Persia, thought it to be in the eares. Empedocles, in the heape or pile of the blond. Philo the Iew, in his Booke of Allegories of the Lawe, saith thus. *The reasonable facultie or part of the soule, is in the head; the irascible, in the heart, and the concupiscible, in the groin, or lower part of the belly.*

But we Christians, hold it to be in the heart, whence proceedeth good and euill cogitations. Saint Augustine in his booke concerning the knowledge of true Life, writeth thus; *The Soule is dispersed throughout all the body, and keepeth wholly in euery part thereof.* Very true it is (sayth he also) that is yeeldeth far greater effects and actions, in some one place, then other: either by the will, which in that place sendeth out his strength; or else by those instruments, proper and commodious for action.

The Platonists say, That the Soule descendeth by Cancer, and mounteth agayne by Capricorne; and I thinke, that from hence they ground this coniecture; Because Cancer is the house of the Moone, the vertue

whereof gouerneth ouer the vegetable parts, it viuifieth the body; And Capricorne is the house of Saturne, which preisdeth for contemplation, whereto the Soule being freed from the body it may walke at libertie.

CHAP. XVIII.

¶ How men ought to shunne and auoyde Curiofitie; And what penalties and punishments were appointed by our Auncients, for curious people.



THE Athenians had a Lawe, which was well obserued among them; whereby euery man was forbidden (of what degree or qualitie fouer he were) that hee should not dare, to enquire of any stranger, newly arrived in their Citie: from whence he came, what hee was, nor what he fought for; vnder penaltie for him that demanded such questions, to be well whipt with rodde, and banished his Countrey. The end for which our graue Auncients made such Lawes, was, to keepe men from the vice of curiofitie; which is alwayes ouer-ready, to pricke into other mens affaires, and be regardless of their owne.

Plutarch, Aulus Gellius and Pliny doe thinke, that they can neuer sufficiently commend Marcus Porcius the Romaine, because no man did euer heare him, to enquire what newes were at Rome; nor how the people liued in their houses. His talke alwayes was, of such things as hee knew was profitable for the Common-wealth, or else fitted such demands as required necessary answer. Plato, writing of Dionysius the Syracusan, speaketh thus: *The curious man, that would know the life and actions of another man; is more friend to his enemies, then to himselfe.* For, hee will quickly bestirre his tongue, in talking of his enemy, and what harme hee knoweth by him; but neuer cares what foule offences himselfe hath committed.

A King of Sparta requested Pindarus to tell him, what was the most difficult thing for a man to doe? Whereunto Pindarus thus replied; *Nothing is more easie for a man, then to reprove an other, nor more difficult*

The Athenians Law against curious Questioning.

The great wisdom of Marcus Porcius the Romaine.

Plato in Lib. 1. de Legib. 3. cap. 1.

The answer of the Poet Pindarus.

selfe, then to endure reprehension in himselfe.

Penethes, who among the Thebans was a Philosopher much renowned, could neuer be numbred among the curious, nor condemned with the malicious. He hauing liued as a Philosopher, for the space of thirtie yeares, in the Academies of Thebes; being blamed by some, because hee did not reprehend the finnes which hee sawe committed, answered: *When I know that I haue no sinne in my selfe, then will I beginne to reprove sinne in other.*

Plato departing from Sicilie, for his returne to Greece, and taking his leaue of Dionysius, the King spake thus vnto him. *Alter thou comest among the Philosophers of Greece: O how ill wilt thou speak of me, and of my tyranny? Plato answered; Doubt not (Dionysius) what I shall speake of thee in the hearing of Philosophers: for their manners are so vertuous, and themselves so employed in their studies; that they haue no time to heare idle talke.* Moreouer he sayd; Know, O Dionysius, if thou beest ignorant, that such is the height of our Philosophie, as to perswade and counsell men. Then euery one should iudge himselfe, and not to busie his brains, to defame or reprove the liues of other.

Philippides, who was the first inuenter of Comedies, being a great friend to king Lyfimachus; the King conuersing with him vpon a day, sayd; *What dost thou desire of me (O Philippides) and I will freely graunt it thee, whatsoeuer thou requirest?* The greatest grace (quoth Philippides, that thou canst giue me, is, neuer to acquaint mee with any of thy secrets. O wise and worthy answer! read by many, and vnderstood of few: For, if this Philosopher would not know the secrets of a King, much lesse would hee vnderstand them of his neighbours.

CHAP. XIX.

¶ Of the three Conquests of England, by the Saxons, Danes and Normans; occasioned by the finnes, either of the Princes, or of the People, or of both.

If wee consider the three diuerse Conquests of England, since it receyued the

Christian faith, and the state thereof at the same time, together with the iudgement and testimony of the grauest Authors that haue written thereof; we shall easily see, that the same haue proceeded of no other cause, but by the finnes of the Princes, or of the People, or of both. For, although the infirmities of man is such, as there neuer wanteth matter for Gods Iustice to punish in Common-wealths (by reason whereof, we see, that in all Countries, the people are scourged more or lesse from time to time, not onely particularly euery one in his owne person, with misadventures, sicknesse, losse of goods, death of children, and such like, but also generally, with plagues, famine, inundations and warres) yet the subuersion of Common-wealths neuer chaunceth, but for some great excess of sinne, eyther in the Prince, or in the People, or in both: And commonly, after many warnings & admonitions giuen by gentle and sweete corrections. Such being the longanimity and patience of Almighty God, that he layeth the Axe at the foote of the tree, long before he cutteth it downe, and trieth all means to cure the sores of his seruants, by lenities and fomentations, rather then by cauterisings and incisions, or by cutting off the infected member, which hee neuer doth, but when there is no other remedy.

This course (we see) hee helde with his owne people, for, though hee often chastised them with famine, pestilence, inundations of enemies, and ciuile wars: yet (after a while) hee euer restored them to tranquillitie, plentie and peace, vntill they prouoed so incorrigible, that the Prophet Ieremi in the second chapter, and the thirtieth verse, lamented, in the person of God, that all his Fatherly corrections were lost vpon them, saying: *Frustra percussisti filios vestros: I haue beaten and chastised your children in vaine.* And againe, the foresayd Prophet in the fifth chapter and in the third verse, saith to Almighty God; *Percussisti eos, &c.* Thou hast beaten them (O Lord) and they haue not bene forie; thou hast consumed them, and they haue refused to receiue correction. As who would say, there is no other remedy left, but reprobation, subuersion, and vtter extirpation of them. And therefore Almighty God

The causes of the three conquests of England by the Saxons, Danes and Normans.

Great excess of sinne in Prince, people, or both.

The proceedings of Almighty God towards his owne people, like to the course hee held with the Britains.

The patience which God vied towards the Brittaines before their Conquest.

The miserable state of the Brittaines invaded by the Picts and Scots. *Gildas de excidio Britan.*

The Brittaines destitute of humane help, had recourse to the diuine, and obtained it.

Beda Eccl[esi]e. lib. 2. c. 14. Gildas de excidio Britan.

gaue them ouer into the hands of their enemies; first, the tenn Tribes in *Samarra*, as in the fourth booke of the *Kings* the seuenteenth chapter and eightene verse, which were all taken with their King *Hisea*, and translated into *Syria*. And afterward also, the other two Tribes in *Juda*, were carried into captiuitie by *Nabuchadonisor* king of *Babylon*, where they remained three score and ten yeares. And though they were afterwards restored to their Countrey, and their Temple re-edified; yet at length they were (for their extreme ingratitude, and peruerse obstinacie) vterly ruined.

The like proceeding Almighty God vied with *England*, in the time of the *Brittaines*, after they recyued the Christian Faith; for he chastised them, sometimes with dearth and famine, sometimes with pestilence, and other-whiles with incursions of their enemies, and with ciuill warres amongst themselves: so long as the same sufficed to reduce them vnto repentance, and amendment of their sinfull liues, as sometimes it did; which their famous Countrey-man *Beda*, and ancient *Gildas* called, the *Sage*, doe testifie: Declaring, that the *Brittaines*, being partly driuen by famine, and partly by inuasion of *Scottes*, and *Pictes*, eyther to abandon the Countrey, or to hide themselves in the Mountaines, Woods, and *Caues*; crated helpe and succour of the *Romaines*; writing vnto them that lamentable Epistle, whereof *Gildas* maketh mention; in the which they sayd: Our barbarous enemies doe driue vs to the *Sea*, and the *Sea* doth driue vs backe to them agayne: so that of two kindes of death we haue our choice; that is to say, Whether we will haue our throates cut, or else be drowned. Thus wrote they to the *Romaines*.

But being not succoured by them, by reason of their great warres at the same time with *Attila*, they beganne to haue recourse to the mercie of God, and to relie wholly vpon his helpe (as the foresayd Authors haue reported) and so (with his assistance) assayed their enemies out of the *Caues* and *Woods* where they lay hidden, and not onely gaue vnto them great ouerthrowes, but also droue them out of the Countrey; and shortly after had such plenty of corne, fruite, and all

kinde of victualles, that the like had neuer beene seene, nor heard of before in many ages. Whereuppon followed the effect, which *Moses* noted and lamented in the children of *Israel*, *Deuteronomie* the one and thirtie chapter and the three and twentieth verse; *Incrassatus est dilectus* (sayeth hee) *& recalcitruuit*: The beloued people of God was made fatte, and then they beganne to kicke: that is to say, (as hee expoundeth it euen presently after) *Incrassatus, impinguitus, dilatus dereliquit Deum factorem suum*. Being become faire and fatte, they forsooke their God and Creator; so fell it out with the *Brittaines*.

For, they proued so vngratefull for Gods great mercy towards them, that (as the foresaid Authors doe asseme) they fell into the extremities of all mischiefe and wickednesse. *Non solum secularis viri, &c.* Not onely Secular men, but also the Ecclesiasticall; giuing themselves wholly to drunkennesse, to animosity and contention, enuy, cruelty, hatred of truth, loue of lies, and all vice. Wherevpon our Lord scourged them with such a pestilent mortalitie, that (within but a while) there were not men enow aliue (as these Authors testifie) to burie the dead.

And when that sufficed not to reuoke them from their vicious liues; *Non multo post* (saith *Beda*) *acrior gentem peccuricem vltio diri sceleris secuta est*. Shortly after, a sharper punishment of such detestable wickednesse followed vpon that sinfull people. For the *Pictes* and *Scots* beganne againe to make such irruptions vpon them, that (not being able to withstand them) they were forced to call in the *Saxons* to assist them. *Quod Domini nutu* (saith *Beda*) *dispositum esse constat, &c.* Which it is manifest was done by Gods disposition, to the end that their wickednes might receiue due punishment. For, within a while, the *Saxons* did confederate themselves with their enemies, and picking quarrells against them, destroyed all the Countrey with fire and sword, burning vp houses, villages, and townes, and killing all sortes of people: insomuch, that many fledde into forraigne Countries, and others hid themselves amongst the hilles, mountaines and wooddes, vntill acknowledging the iust iudgement of Almighty God vpon them, they called to him

Deut. 32. 33.

Psal. The Brittaines by prosperity become insolent and vnguardiall to God.

Beda Eccl[esi]e. lib. 2. c. 14.

The vices & finnes of the Brittaines.

Idem lib.

New intitions of the Brittaines by the Picts and Scots.

Idem lib.

The Brittaines called in the Saxons to their defense, which by Gods iudgement turned to their ouerthrow and end. Idem cap. 14. lib. 2. c. 15.

him for mercie. *Vnanimis consensu auxilium celeste precante*; Craving helpe from Heauen with vniforme consent, where-with Gods mercie was moued to giue them *Ambrosius Aurelianus* for their captaine, and diuerse notable victories, by his meanes. And especially at *Blackmore* in *Yorkseshire* (for so was called *Mons Badonicus*, as saith *Polydore Virgil* in his third booke) where they made such great slaughter of them: as that (for some certayne yeares) they did not further molest them.

For, beeing (as *Gildas* in his booke *De Excidiis Britann.* reporteth) vnindful of their former calamities, and of afflictions laid on them for their finnes: all sortes of men spirituall and temporall, as well the Princes as their subiects, did euerie one their dutie in his vocation. *At illi* (saith *Gildas*) *decidentibus, &c.* But they being dead, and another Age succeeding, ignorant of the miseries past, and corrupted with present ease and pleasure; All trueth and iustice was so subuerted: that there appeared not so much as aie light thereof, in all the foresaid states of men; *Exceptis paucis, & valde paucis*, Excepting a few, and those very few. For, the kings (saith he) were Tyrants, the Iudges most wicked and corrupt; the Priests negligent of their dutie. *Raro sacrificantes, & nunquam puro corde inter altaria stantes*; Seldome sacrificating, and neuer comming to the Altar with a pure heart. Ignorant, impudent, simoniackall, lasciuious; and all sortes of Lay men loaden with wickednesse, with murder, parricides, pride, adulteries, swearing, periuries, blasphemies, and all kindes of iniquitie.

And now to shew some particularities of this, and how iustly the vengeance of Almighty GOD was powred out vpon the whole Kingdome: The same Authour, in the place before cited, toucheth briefly the liues of some of the Kings and Princes, which liued in his time: as of *Constantinus*, *Aurelius*, *Conanus*, *Vortiporius*, *Cuneglasius* and *Maglocunus*, taxing them with tyrannie, periurie, sacrilegious murders, and parricides (committed euen before holy Altars) adulteries, horrible incests, breach of vowes, of religion and chastitie; yea, and two of them with beastly Sodomic.

For the which enormities, and the ge-

nerall corruption and wickednesse of the whole Kingdome, hee threatneth, or rather prophesieth vnto them, vnto ruine and destruction; which (shortly after) worthily fell vpon them, as the *Brittish* Chronicles by *Geoffrey of Monmouth* in the twelfth booke of his Historie and the fifteenth chapter, also acknowledged: For hee sayth, That King *Cadwallader* (who was the last of the *Brittaines* Race) vied these wordes, as hee fledde by *Sea* into *France*, with the reliques of the *Brittaines* nation; *Va nobis peccatoribus ob immunia scelera nostra, &c.* Voe bee to vs sinners, for our grievous sins, wherewith we neuer ceased to offend God, while we had time of repentance; and therefore now the punishment of God fallles vpon vs, which roots vs out of our native soile. Thus said *K. Cadwallader*, and more to that purpose.

Afterward hapned the inuasion of the *Danes*, who first by piracies, & after by open warres, cruelly infested & troubled the realme at sundry times, for the space of almost 200. yeares. But the good king *Alured*, or *Alfred*, Founder of the famous Vniuersity of *Oxford*, recovered all formerly lost, & droue the *Danes* out of *England*: except such as were content to become Christians, to whom he gaue the kingdomes of *Northumberland*, and of the *East-Angles*, who, during his time, neuer moued warre. And they of the *Easterne* parts, stirring afterward against his sonne, called *Edward*, were by him vterly ouerthrowne; as also the other in *Northumberland*, in like manner, and vpon the like occasion, were subdued by his Grandchilde *Aelfsane*, who made *England* a Monarchie, which so remained and flourished without further infestation of the *Danes*, during the reigne of four kings, the successors of *Aelfsane*; to wit, his two brethren, *Edmond* and *Eldred* (who succeeded one another) and the two sons of *Edmond*, called *Edwin* and *Edgar*, which *Edgar* was (for his excellent vertues, and prosperous reigne) called *Honor & delicia Anglorum*. The honour and delight of *England*: or, as *Ingluphus* tearmeth him, *Honor & Regum*: The Honour and Rofe of Kings.

Of whom it is written, that in his time, all Ecclesiasticall Orders flourished, learned and vertuous men were highly esteemed, all ciuill and forraigne warres ceased, and he was called the King of *Albion*, be-

King Cadwallader flying into France, acknowledged Gods iustice vpon himselfe and his people for their sins.

The conquest of the English by the Danes.

King Alured expelled all the Danes that would not become Christians. Psal. Virg. lib. 2. c. 38. 4. Ingluphus, hist. Angl.

The mercie of God to the posteritie of the good king Alured, to the 4. generation, Guil. Malmes. lib. 2. cap. 8. Ingluphus, hist. Anglorum.

ing no lesse powerfull by Sea, then by Land. No yeare of his reigne passed, wherein hee built not a Monasterie, or else did some great and notable good to his Country: And such were his vertues, and great fame for felicity, that there came principall men from out of all the Countries adioyning, to seee, and be acquainted with him.

Now, whereas the *Danes* returned againe into *England*, shortly after *Edgar*, in the reigne of his sonne *Etheldred*; and not onely molested it with incursions (as they were wont) but also conquered and possessed it for a time: it may well be presumed, that they were but the instruments of Gods iustice therein; and that this conquest made by the *Danes*, proceeded of the sinnes, partly of the famous King *Edgar* (though hee were dead before) and partly of his wife *Alfreda*; and lastly, of their sonne *Etheldred*, in whose time the Country was conquered. For, although King *Edgar* excelled in all pietie and vertue in his latter dayes; yet hee did an acte in his youth, whereof it may be thought, that his children and posteritie payed the penaltie.

This I say, for that after the death of *Alfreda* his wife (by whom hee had King *Edward* the Martyr) hee fell in love with *Alfreda*, wife to a Noble man called *Ethelwoolfe*, whom (with her consent) hee caused to be killed, to the end he might marry her. How grievous this sinne was in the sight of Almighty GOD, and how iustly punished in his posteritie, wee may well iudge by the like offence of King *David*, who, to the end he might marry *Bathsheba*, procured the death of *Urias* her husband, for the which, the Prophet *Nathan*, in the second booke of the *Kings*, chapter twelue, verse ten, told him from Almighty God; that the sword should neuer depart from his house; and that his sonne in the Cradle, should die therefore. Beside, Almighty God permitted (for punishment of that sinne) that all his other children (except *Salomon*) died most unfortunately. For *Amnon*, having deflowered his sister *Tamar*, was killed by his brother *Achislon*; and *Adonias* by *Salomon*; and lastly, *Abislon* rebelling and fighting against his owne father King *David*, was miserably slaine, hanging on a tree by the haire of the head. And therefore no mar-

uell, that the like sinne of King *Edgar*, was also severely punished in his children.

To this purpose, it is to be noted, that his marriage prooued most vnfortunate, not only to the fruit that proceeded thereof, and the whole Realme (as shall be declared hereafter) but also to King *Edgar*, his sonne by his former wife, who shortly after was killed, by the meanes of *Alfreda* his stepmother, for the aduancement of her sonne *Etheldred*. Wherein I cannot but note (by the way) the severity of Gods Iustice in punishing sinne, seeing the sayd young Prince, being very holy and innocent of life, could not escape the temporal punishment, due to his Fathers offence.

But to proceede, such was the common opinion of the innocencie and holynesse of this young King *Edward*, and enormitie of the sinne committed by *Alfreda*, in the murder of him: that the conceit of most men at that time was (as *William of Malmesburie* witnesseth) that the Conquest of *England* by the *Danes*, was a punishment of God for the same; which wee may be presumed, especially if we adde thereunto the offence, not onely of his father (whereof I haue already spoken) but also of his brother *Etheldred*, for whose cause hee was murdered; and in whose time that Conquest hapned. For it may be thought most consonant to the Iustice of Almighty God, that *Etheldred* (being the sonne of the wicked *Alfreda*, and fruit of the cursed marriage; yea, and withall, most wicked of himselfe) should beare the penaltie as well of his owne, as of both his parents sinnes: As partly was foretold at his coronation, by *Dunstan* then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, saying: That for his Mothers sin in the murder of King *Edward*, both hee and his children should bee severely punished, and his Kingdome transferred to strangers.

And if wee doe consider the manner of his life, and the nature and qualitie of his offences; we shall find them to be the very same, which the Scriptures ascribe to be the cause of the translation of Kingdoms from one nation to another, whereof Ecclesiasticus saith: *Regnum de gente in gentem transfertur, &c.* Kingdoms are transferred from one nation to another, because of iniustice, iniuries, calumniationes and diuers deceits. In which kinde of sinnes

sinnes King *Etheldred* greatly exceeded; for hee had his eares so open, and shewed such fauour to all kinde of accusers and calumniators; that (as *Polydore Virgil* saith) *No mans life was in securitie*. Besides, on euery light occasion, spoyld & banished the richest and wealthiest of his subiects, becoming also addicted to all kinde of riot and dissolutiō. And therefore *William of Malmesburie* writeth of him briefly thus: *Eius vita cursus sanus in principio, miser in medio, turpis in exitu*: The course of his life was cruell in the beginning, miserable in the middle, and shamefull in the end.

Furthermore, he was so cowardly and base minded, that hee was no lesse contemptible to strangers abroad, then hateful to his owne subiects at home. Whereupon, the *Danes* tooke courage to enter *England* againe, who made him graunt them a yearly tribute, wherewith they were content for a time; and after turning thither agayne, forced him to flee into *Normandie*, and to leaue his kingdome to *Sveno* their King, who exercised all kinde of crueltie vpon the *English*, and enioyed the Kingdome as long as hee liued. Which was not past five yeares. After whose death, *Etheldred* recovered it againe, and possessed it two yeares, whilest *Canutus* sonne to *Sveno* was held busied at home, with a rebellion of the people of *Normandie*.

In which meane while, *Etheldred* returned like the dogge to his olde vomite of cruelty and iniustice, especially against the *Danes* (who had bene for some yeares planted and marrowed in *England*) causing many of them to be killed with cruell torments. And amongst others, *Sigifredus* and *Morgandus*, two of the noblest of them) were falsly accused of fained crimes, and put to death for the same. Besides, Prince *Edmund* sonne to *Etheldred*, rauished the wife of *Sigifred*, being a woman no lesse admirable for her beautie, then commendable for her chastitie. All which when *Canutus* vnderstood, being moued with desire, as well to reuenge these iniuries done to his Countrey men, as also to recover the Kingdome of *England*, conquered by his father: hee passed ouer thither with an Armie, and put all to fire and sword, whereupon *Etheldred* dyed with sorrow.

And although his sonne, surnamed *Ironside* (after diuers conflicts, and a combatch fought hand to hand with *Canutus*) possessed the one half of *England* by composition: yet within a yeare, *Canutus* enioyed the whole by the foudaine death of *Edmund*, slaine vpon a priuy as he was eating himselfe; and so hee remayned absolute King thereof as long as hee did liue, which was about some twentie yeares after.

Herein neuertheless it is to be noted, how the mercie of Almighty God concurred with his Iustice, and moderated the rigour thereof; for that (of his infinite bounty) he determined by this conquest, as it seemed, rather to chastise, correct and redresse *England*, then to ruine and oppress it. And therefore, after hee had somewhat satisfied the severity of his iustice, not onely vpon the Realme, by the five yeares cruell reigne of *Sveno* (who ransacked and spoyled all sorts of men, as well Ecclesiasticall as Temporall) but also vpon the persons of *Etheldred*, and his sonne *Edmund*: hee gaue them *Canutus*, sonne to *Sveno*, for their King, who, although he was a stranger, yet gouerned with all clemencie and good example of life, doing continually actes of pietie, making good Lawes and wholesome, easing the people of taxes and impositions, and deferringe well of all estates, by the meanes whereof *England* flourished (in his time) in peace and much plentie. Of whom I can not forbear (this occasion being offered) to expresse and declare heere (by the way) a notable acte, which I with all Princes would well weigh and consider, in the height of their prosperity and greatest fortune.

It chanced once, as he was walking at *Southampton*, by the Sea side, some of his noble men flattered him, and extolled (as a bouen measure) his great power, calling him the most mightie and potent King of all Kings, commanding absolutely ouer men, land & sea. Whereupon, to correct their flatterie, and to shew mans infirmity, he went to the very Sea side, and sitting downe, said to the waues (as the tide was coming in.) *I command you, that you touch not my feete*. And being presently after well washed with a waue that came in vpon him; hee arose, and turning himselfe to his noblemen, said vnto them

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The *Danes* returned againe into *England*, and conquered it. *Polyd. Virg. Angl. lib. 7.*

Polyd. Virg. Angl. lib. 6. What the offence was of King *Edgar*, and *Alfreda* his wife.

Reg. 13, 10

Reg. 13, 19
Reg. 14, 14
Reg. 18, 5

Polyd. Virg. Angl. lib. 7.

The severity of Gods Iustice in punishing sinne.

William of Malmesburie witnesseth that the Conquest of *England* by the *Danes*, was a punishment of God for the same.

Dunstan foretold the conquest of *England* by the *Danes*, saying: That for his Mothers sin in the murder of King *Edward*, both hee and his children should bee severely punished, and his Kingdome transferred to strangers.

Ecclesiasticus, 8. The offences of King *Etheldred* were the same which the Scriptures ascribe to be the cause of the translation of Kingdoms from one nation to another.

Polyd. Virg. Angl. lib. 7.

William of Malmesburie writeth of him briefly thus: *Eius vita cursus sanus in principio, miser in medio, turpis in exitu*.

King *Etheldred* expelled out of *England* by *Sveno* King of the *Danes*, who reigned there five yeares.

King *Etheldred* recovered it againe, and possessed it two yeares, whilest *Canutus* sonne to *Sveno* was held busied at home, with a rebellion of the people of *Normandie*.

Edmund.

Canutus, sonne to *Sveno* invaded *England*.

Edmund Ironside, Son to King *Etheldred*. *Canutus* king of *England*.

The mercy of God towards the *English*, in turning their conquests to their comfort.

The great vertue and pietie of King *Canutus*.

Polyd. Virg. Angl. lib. 7. in fine.

A memorable acte of King *Canutus*.

Historie War-
and-His. Angl.
li. 6.

Loe my Lords, you call me King of Kings, and a Lord of Land and Sea; though I cannot command one of these little waues: Therefore know yee, that the King of Kings, and hee that commandeth Land and Sea, is the Father of our Lord Iesus Christ, by whose will and providence all things were governed. And having thus saide, hee returned to Winchester, and tooke the Crowne which he vsed to weare vpon his head, and put it (with his owne hands) vpon an Image of CHRIST crucified, which was in the Church of Saint Peter and Saint Paule, and would neuer after weare any crowne so long as he liued.

Though this may seeme a digression from my matter, yet I thought good to recount it heere, as well for the raritie of the example; as also that it may appeare, how mercifully God dealt with the people of England, to giue them such a King, by whose pietie their Conquest turned to comfort. And this his mercie appeared much more afterward, when it pleased his diuine Maiestie so sweetly to dispose, that after the death of Canutus, and his two sonnes Haraldus and Hardicanutus, or (as Polydore calles him) Canutus, which two reigned but sixe yeares: the Crowne returned agayne to English blood; yea, and to so excellent a Prince, as was King Edward the Confessor, who reigned in all tranquillity, peace and felicitie about three and twenty yeares.

Now, although learning, religion, and vertue had flourished many yeres among the English, yet a little before the coming of the Normans, the same was vtterly destroyed and decayed. For (sayth William of Malmesbury, who liued in the same age) the Priests were so vnlearned, that they could scarce pronounce truly, the very words of the Sacraments and diuine service. And such was the ignorance generally of all men, that a Grammarian was helde for a wonder; Religious men were wholly giuen to delicacie and kept no rules of Religion; the Noblemen and Gentlemen gaue themselves to gluttony and lechituousnesse; there was no respect of Religion, nor care of Iustice: infomuch that the common people serued for no other then as a prey to the Nobility, who spoyled and rancked them at their pleasure. It was a common custome when men had got their maid-seruants with childe, ey-

ther to send them to the Stewes, or to sell them for Slaues. Drunkennesse, and all the vices which commonly doe accompany the same, or follow thereon, were generally throughout the whole Realme; This reporteth William of Malmesburie in substance.

Allo holy King Edward himselfe, declaring a Vision which happened to him, sayd, That the Magistrates, as well spiritual as temporal, were no better then ministers of the diuell, that God was euery where dishonoured, Lawes contemned, truth trodden under foote, pity and mercy banished, crueltye hidde for a space time and entertainment. And therefore (sayd he) the wickednesse of the English is now compleate and growne to the height, and the reuenge and punishment thereof is shortly to follow.

This was proued true by the euent, which in a yere after, when William Duke of Normandie, called the Conquerour, came into England, whom God made the instrument and minister of his Iustice, to chastise them. For, being admitted and crowned King (prelently after the bloody battell, wherein king Harald and twentie thousand men were slaine) hee beganne to tyrannize vpon all estates: hee spoyled the Nobilitie of their lands, goods, dignities and offices, to giue the same to the Normans. He oppressed the people with infinite and intollerable taxes and impositions; hee depriued Citties, Bishoppricks and Monasteries of their immunities and priuileges, forcing them to redeeme them of him againe for great summes of money. Hee tooke from Churches and Religious houses, not onely such money as they had in store, but also the holy vessells, dedicated to Gods seruice. He abolished the olde Lawes, and ordayned new, causing them to be written in the Norman tongue, which the English vnderstood not: wherevpon there grew great confusion in the exercise thereof in all sortes of Actions and Pleas, as well criminall as ciuile, and many men wrongfully lost their lands, and goodes, and many their liues, and a gate was (at that time) opened to all iniustice.

Furthermore, he was not content onlie to spoyle the English of their wealth, but also depriued them of their pleasures, taking from very many Noble men and Gentlemen

Avidon. 12.
Edward.
King Edward
words of his
death, con-
cerning the
finer of the
English; the
Conqueror
follow in pur-
suer of the
theoroi.

Polyd. Virgil.
8. 10.
Edward 1. 1. 1.
Edward.

The tyranny
of William
the Conquer-
or vpon all
estates.

Olde Lawes
abolished, and
new ordained
in the Nor-
man tongue.

The English
depoyled of
their wealth
and pleasure.
Polyd. Virgil.
1. 1. 1.

The extreme
cruelty of
William the
Conqueror.

The English
had not one
day of ease,
during the
reigne of
William Con-
queror.

The cruelty
and avarice
of King Wil-
liam Rufus,
sonne to the
Conqueror.
Polyd. Virgil.
1. 1. 1.

The Propher-
cie King
Edward the
Confessor.

The conclusi-
on of this
Chapter, con-
cerning the
3. conquests
of England,
and the cau-
ses thereof.

Gentlemen, their Parkes and Chales for his owne vse; but also ouerthrowing houses, Churches, Villages and whole Parishes, to make Forreits. Infomuch, that (as Polydore Virgil reporteth) to make the Chafe, which now is called New Forreft, hee dispeopled and made desert all the Countrey betwixt Salisbury and the Sea side, for thirtie miles space. And when diuers of his Nobilitie (by reason of his tyrannie) rebelled against him: hee tooke occasion therevpon, to vse all kinde of seueritie and crueltie, not onely vpon their persons, when they fell into his hands; but also vpon whole Countreies and Prouinces, which hee so spoyled and rancked, that they lay waste for some yeares after. Finally, his gouernement, during the time of his reigne, seemed to ayme at nothing else, but to extirpate and extinguish the race and name of the English.

Wherefo if we adde the frequent wars in England in his time, partly by rebellion of his Subjects, and partly by inuasion of Strangers; wee shall finde, that England had not one yere, no, not one day of ease and repose, during the one and twentie yeares of his reigne. Which calamitie also continued, or rather encreased for thirteene yeres after his death, by the succession of his sonne William Rufus, who farre exceeded his father in crueltie, avarice, oppression of his Subjects, and contempt of God and man; by reason whereof, hee was so hated of the people, that when his death was knowne (which was so sodaine, and exemplary, for he was killed by chance with an Arrow, as he was hunting) the people were so transported with ioy, that they went euery where to the Churches, to giue God thanks therefore, as for the happiest newes that euer came to England, in hope, that the last day of his life, would be the first of their libertie. If therefore we consider all this, we shall evidently see, how true the prophecy of holy king Edward proued, when he said; That England should be giuen (for a time) into the hands of euill and wicked spirits, for the sins of the Nobilitie, Clergie and People.

Here then I conclude, that whereas the first Conquest seemes to haue proceeded, of the sins as well of the People, as of the Princes; and the second, of the offences, rather of the Princes, then of the Peo-

ple; the last was (as good King Edward testified) in punishment of the peoples sins, rather then of the Princes. V hereby we may see the sympathy in the body politique, no lesse then in the natural body, betwixt the head and the members in the participation for sinne, or reward for vertue. Which may serue for a motiue to all Princes and Magistrates, to haue especiall care, to auoyde the offence of God, not onely by their owne liues, but also by punishing and reforming their Subjects, lest negligence in eyther may draw GODS wrath vpon both, to the destruction of the whole Common-wealth.

CHAP. XX.

The Battell of Gaza, fought betweene Synanbasha, Generall for Selym the great Turke; And Gaszelles, Lieutenant of Tomybeyo, the Soldane, or Sultane of Egypt. 1516.

After the death of Campion, Selym intending to inuade Egypt, sent before (from Damascus) his Generall Synanbasha into Indea, with fiftene thousand horse, and a very strong power of Harquebutters, selected out of the fanizaries and Asappes, only to suruey that Region, and to open a passage way to Gaza; which indeed was very molestuous & troublesome, in regard of the potent Arabes. The city is leated on the sea-coast, and in the confines of Egypt, neighboring vpon the hote sandy deserts; a very hard and painefull passage, for such as journey to the remotest Egypt, and to the City of Cayro. The people of Gaza, being destitute of warlike garissons of souldiers, to stead them in extremitie of armes, entertained Synanbasha at the very first view, although in craftie and dissembling manner, giuing him many thankfull gratulations, for vouchsafing to free them from the Mamalukes; intollerable flauerie; in requital of which benefite, they promised to continue loyall and seruiceable to Selym and his successors for ever.

Now, while Synanbasha lay encamped, within an Arrow reach from the City, in expectation of Selyms coming, and practising his best meanes of vnderstanding the course of the Region and Countrey, that should allow them passage into

M m m 3 Egypt.

An admoni-
tion to Princes
& Magistrats

Collected out
of Paulus Jo-
uius.

The situati-
on of the Cit-
ty of Gaza.

Synanbasha
deceitfully
welcomed by
the Citiz-
ens of Gaza

Guilielm. M. 1. 1.
de Gest. Reg. Ric.
1. 1. 1.
Polyd. Virgil. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1.
Hen. 1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1.

Guilielm. M. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1.
1. 1. 1.

The enri-
mous sinnes
of the Clergy
Nobility, and
people of
England, at
the time of
the conquest
thereof by
the Normans.

Egypt; endeavouring beside, to compass friendship with the Arabian Commanders, and suborning certaine Spies, that went to *Cayro*, to vndermine the counsels of the *Mamlukes* and *Tumumbezo*, whome (vpon Campions death) they hadde made choise of to be their Sultane: the inhabitants of *Gaza* (being naturally extreme enemies of the present Turkish Armie) gaue *Tumumbezo* intelligence of *Synanbasas* coming; aduertising him withall, that this power of Turkes might easily be oppressed and destroyed, before *Selim* could arrive with his supplies: onely by sending a strong power of *Mamlukes*, vnder conduct of some skillfull Leaders, to venture vpon them at an expeditious advantage, projected in this manner. A time (in the dead of night) being concluded on, betweene themselves and the Citizens, the *Mamlukes* should make a souldaine inuasion on the sleeping Turkes, and they likewise (at the same instant) would ysue forth of the City, and ioyning with them, make vnauoidable spoile & hauock of the enemies Campe.

This aduise is allowed and embraced, betweene *Tumumbezo* and the *Mamlukes*; and *Gazelles* sent with six thousand horse or *Mamlukes*, and a strong Armie of the *Arabes*. Scarcely was hee departed from *Cayro*, but (by certaine Syrian Spies) *Synanbasas* had aduertisement thereof, and that (not staying for any carriages) they would be there within two dayes. Now, as these newes preferred the Turkish Army, so was it of no meane moment, for compassing the intire victory of the whol warres. And although *Synanbasas* had no intelligence at all of the *Gazans* fallhood, yet (being a man of great wisdom and providence) suspecting what Treacheries might circument him, and fearing least hee might meddle with two enemies at once: resolved to meet the *Mamlukes* by the way, and so try the fortune of fight. So, dislodging after the second watch, he silently marched away out of the Cities sight, reaching fiftene miles on the way towards *Cayro*; arriuing neere to a small village, which had the benefit of a plentiful Spring there arising, and therefore was the reason of Travellers vsual lodging there.

It fortuned, that *Synanbasas* purposed to stay in that Village, and *Gazelles* had

the like intention of breathing there some few houres, to refresh both his men and horses, that he might the sooner galloppe to *Gaza* in the night time: when, euen at one instant (as it were) both the Generals received intelligence (on either side) by their vanc-couriers, that a mighty dust was raised, and the enemy neere approached. *Gazelles* became much perplexed in mind at this strange and vnlookt for accident; perceiuing apparantly, that staying of his purposed intent, hee was also vnable to match the enemy, if he should encounter with him, because his horses were halfe spent and weary. Yet had he no diffinay in courage, although he was compelled (vpon such a sodaine) to deniue what instantly might be done, for general safety of the Army. Whereupon, he aduised euerie man to make ready his weapon; and to consider, that what could not be performed by stealth and ambush, according to a precedent intention, required now courageous resolution, and must be dispatched by manly valour.

On the other side, *Synanbasas* hauing his men sooner set in order, then *Gazelles* could doe, hauing formerly aduertised them, what was to be done on the fighes encounter; cheered all the ranks with honourable speeches. And the issue of his Oration, was, That fight must vterly be forgot, because all places round about the would be thus vp, and inuious to them, except they were victors. Moreover, of one thing to perswade themselves especially, that no man should perish that day, but he whom heauen had destinated vnto death, by the most certaine lawes of Fate; and that with equall perill, the Valiant should finde safety in midst of the enemies swords, and also the fearful, death in their very safest flight, through the power of inescutible lot.

The Harquebussiers were in the wings, & were extended forth in length with a single array, and no man standing nere to another, for handling their Harquebusses the more freely, and to compass the enemy: but the Pikes were placed in the very midst, to sustaine the impression of the *Mamlukes*. But *Gazelles* approaching, sent the Arabian troopes before, to disturbe the Wings; and he himself (with a square battaile) charged the middle regiment of the Turkes. The fight was very cruel, and long

One lineas happened to be the General, of flying at one end and the other place

The choice of Gazelles in this unexpected distress.

Synanbasas his encouraging speech to his soldiers

The making of the great battle with great facility on either side.

CHAP. XXI.

Of three severall Battails, fought in the years 1516. and 1517. betweene *Selym* the Great Turke and *Tumumbezo*, the great Sultan of Egypt.



Selym hauing received intelligence, that *Synanbasas* had surprized *Gaza*, overthrowne *Gazelles*, and had receiued a fresh supply of men by Sea, from *Constantinople*, for his owne further seruice he marched with all his Army towards *Gaza*, and (within eight dayes more) recovered so farre as * *Cayro*, reputed to be the Sultanes cheefe seat, *Synanbasas* still marching a daies iourney before him.

About the distance of fixe miles from the City, there was a smal village, named *Rhodania*, whereto *Tumumbezo* (the newe made Sultane) had conueyed all his provision and furniture of great Ordnance, hauing made also ditches, crosse thwarting the plaine fieldes, and high wayes: which ditches were covered ouer with light earth, and small stickes, artificially shadowing them. But himselfe, with his *Mamlukes* (who were about twelue thousand) and a great number of Arabian horsemen, fitted for the intent, kept in a place better beleeming: that when the Turkes Army should drawe neere, they might be there entrapt and beaten downe by the vndiscoverable Ordnance, ere they could come to reach the Egyptians with their Harquebusses; and then this stratagem hauing round engirt them, hee had the advantage of immediate fight, they being vterly disioyned, and fallen into the snare prepared for them.

So cunningly and prouidently were these matters ordered, and perfected with such answerable opportunity, that not a man in the Army could imagine, or vrgue any doubt of the dayes victory. And questionlesse, no meane disaster had mette with the Turkes: but that the giddie headed Goddesse Fortune, ouer-friendly to *Selym*, and cruelly vnkinde to *Tumumbezo*,

Collected out of Paulus Iosias.

* A City in Egypt, not farre from the Nile Delta.

A cunning ambushado, prepared by Tumumbezo, to entrap his enemy.

In stratagems of war neuer so artificially ordered, Fortune still will be a stickler.

Synanbasas released his army, being on the point of flight.

Victory inclined vnto the Turkes, notwithstanding on *Gazelles*, and his forces

Synanbasas could not greatly boast of this Victory, following a great losse.

long time doubtfull, because the Turkes (though superiour in number) were not able to endure the power of the Armed horse. And now being beaten from their ground; and disperfed, some one way, and some another, by the *Mamlukes* that brake in vpon them, they looked rounde about for flight, fixing their eyes and hearts stedfastly for it. When sodainly, by *Synanbasas* command, the Harquebussiers, who (with their first storme of shotte) had driuen backe the *Arabes*: reducing in their wings, enclosed all the whole battaile of the enemy.

Now, both men and horse, were (a far off) beaten down with deadly bullets, storming vpon them in such multitudes, as no place (to expresse valour) was left to the enclosed. For, when any troupe of *Mamlukes* ranne in violently vpon the Turkes; they, by reason of their nimble lightnesse (being accustomed to giue ground) did swiftly flye backe: and in all places this was their endeavour, not to encounter the with their horses, but onely to play vpon them with their Harquebusses. When *Gazelles* saw, that his horses were tyred with extreme wearinesse, and that manie of his stoutest men, were now either slain or hurt, and he himselfe grieuouly wounded in the necke; he, with the rest, making themselves way with their weapons, fled vnto *Cayro*, through those defarts that he came, losing all his Ensignes.

There perished in this batel the Capitaine of *Alexandria*, and *Orcomas* the gouernour of *Cayro*, men of great account; & besides them, a great number of *Arabes*, and almost a thousand horsemen of marke. Nor did *Synanbasas* win a ioyfull and vnbloody victory, for hee lost about two thousand horse; and (among them) some of his cheefest Capitaines. But because the fight had continued from noone to Sunset, the Turkes were not able to pursue their enemies, their horses being well-nere dead with thirst, and they themselves fainting through want of meate, and extreme labour: but encamped in the place where the battell was fought, neere to the Spring before remembered.

Intelligence sent by the men of Gaza, to the new Sultane Tumumbezo.

Syrian Spies send aduertisement to Synanbasas, and what he presently did to prevent all danger.

as had not the worthy paines of the *Mamlukes*, bin treacherously disappointed) onely through the meanes of a few perfidious Varlets, plainly had appeared.

As in all Armies there neuer wantes Villaines, so in the Sultanes were foure *Mamlukes*, borne *Albanijes*, who stiffly stomacked, that *Tomumbejo* (by suffrages of the contrary faction) was advanced to the dignity royall. And they, either impelled by lewd disposition, or adducted by hope of reward, and more bountifull respect, foreseeing their owne side to fall on wracke, and wisdom aduising, to seeke for new and more assured Friends: fled to *Synanbasba*, as to their chiefe Turkish Capitaine and Countiman. By these horsemen *Synanbasba*, and (soon after) *Selym*, understood all the counsels & intents of the enemy, and what an Ambuscado *Tomumbejo* had prepared for them, with singular subtilty and dexterious Art, vnavoidable from falling into, except they forsooke the high and direct way. Whereupon, being guided by these Fugitiues, they fetched a great compasse about on the left hand, and (before breake of day) recovered their old wonted way, having their battels ranged, their Ordinance ready mounted, to auoyde the least delay of fight, and so shewed themselves at the enemies reeward, and neuer coming neere the front of their Campe.

When *Tomumbejo* saw this, he coniectured by his enemies march, that (by his owne mens treason) his provided ambush was discouered. And albeit his mind was afflicted with marchesse greefe, to see so painfull an employment of his men, and so full of expectation, to be in a moment vtterly defeated: yet notwithstanding, he being a man of vnconquerable courage, called all his senses and valour to sodaine counsell, and summoning his Capitaines about him, gaue present order for those things which were to be done. And now was *Tomumbejo* in so narrow a strait and necessity, that all things, and at one instant, must receiue order from him. Hee was to giue the signall to his Soldiers, for mounting on horse-backe, vsing their weapons, turning the course of his camp, ranging his battailes, encouraging his men, and conueying his Ordinance to contrary quarters, as the occasion required. All which things, as one Capitaine could not

performe alone, but very hardly and confusedly, so must they neede be effected as rawly, peruerfly, and to halffes, by manie indiscreet vnder takers.

But that which most hindered speedie performance, was the huddling of men together, for removing the Ordinance from place to place, they being ill-fauoured huge pieces, made of Iron, and sette in great stockes of Wood, with Iron ringes, after the rude and nauall forme of Workmanship, vfed in elder times: and so, by reason of their excessiue waight, could not be carried from their places, but by the draught of many beastes; besides, great heauing with iron Crowes and Leauers, requiring greuous labour of men. And the other great Field-peeces, mounted on carriages with wheeles, being drawne by the wiselesse and hasty multitude, with great clamor of such ashaled and shoued them through all parts of the Campe: the tumultuous passage of them, disordered men mounted on their horses, and the Souldiers repairing to their ensignes: yet two maine helps equalled these hindring difficulties; namely, the chearefulness of the soldiers, and the singular constancy of them all, almost beyond the compasse of mans beleefe: because they had not conceiued so much as a thought of feare, nor failed in their hopefull hearts, as it commonly happeneth in sodain aduerse chances, whereby old tryed soldiers do manie times forget their ancient valour. For, being twice before vanquished in battel, yet they refused the greater confidence and courage: perswading themselves, that not valour or skill in fight, but onely fortune fayled them.

Nowe, when *Tomumbejo* had set his men in good order, and the soldiers (with earnest desire of fight) requested the signall: he commanded the multitude of the *Arabians*, to bring their winges about on the reere of the enemy, and to beginne the fight first, that the Turkish horsemen might be troubled and disordered with a doubtfull danger of fight, before himselfe would issue forth with his selected troops. Strait way he commanded the great Ordinance (which by this time was brought about, and directed against the enemies) to bee shot off. And immediately the Turkes did the like; who had once discharged their smaller and greater peeces, when they

The best capacity of a General, all or Commander, is well tried in warre.

Many inconveniences happen thorough want of discrete and orderly Military discipline.

A great comfort to a General, when his Souldiers contain their chearefull disposition.

they were a iust distance off, and quickly re-charging them, had brought the within an Arrowes shoote of the Egyptians Ordinance, fighting a long time on either side, onely with discharging their Ordinance, while the Armies approached neerer. In which contention, almost all the Egyptians Gunners were slain, and most of their Artillery dismounted from their wheeles, being broken in peeces by violence of the enemies bullets.

The Turke had very skilfull Gunners in his Campe, whom he had allured (by his great rewardes, and rich entertainment) out of Italy and Germany, and especially many out of the Jewes rable, who being expelled by the piety of King Ferdinand out of the Spaines; brought afterwarde such rare and vnused deadly Artes into all the East, to spi: our men withall. The Capitaine or cheefe man of all these Gunners, was one *James*, borne at Reggio in Lombardie, a man of extraordinary skill in those Artes, who being enticed by Turkish giftes: had (a little before) forsaken the seruice of Christ, and reuoluted vnto *Mahomets* superstition. The fight being brought (on both sides) to handy strokes, the *Mamlukes* raised a cruel and horrible cry, and in three quarters, charged the Turkes with great valour: For *Selym* (keeping his old order) so marched, that hee approached in the forme of a Crescent. The Capitaine of the *Asians* in the right Wing, was *Mustapha*, and *Innubasba* of the Europeans in the left: but himselfe gouerned the middle battell, wherein was the Squadron of the Ianizaries, with a great multitude of Ordinance.

But *Synanbasba* being made General of the ficke, had chosen for himselfe a band of the valiantest men, taken and pickt out of all the companies, to serue for all vncertaine euent of the battaile. Where hee added (our of *Selyms* Squadron) fute hundred foote of extraordinary valor and swiftnesse, that hee being ready in all places of the battaile, and for all chaunces (were they neuer so sodaine) might succour that part of his fellowes, which was most pressed by the enemy. So that almost at one time, when *Tomumbejo* stood in the middle battaile against *Selym*, and the wings of the *Mamlukes*, had encountered the Turkish with equall Front, and the *Arabians* had fought valiantly at

their backs, as they had beene commanded; foure fights were very furiously and hotly attached at one time, and in diuerse distinct places.

They that were present at this battell, do report, that thorough the cries of the Soldiers, the noise of Drums and Trumpets, the thundering of the Artillery, the clouds of dust, and clashing of Weapons, all mens minds were so amazed and confounded, that they being all on both sides alike blinded with furie, rushed on with such desperate madnesse, that neyther could the voices and watch wordes bee heard or knowne one from another, nor the Ensignes scene, nor commandes of Capitaines be regarded; but euen (by mutual error) they flew a great number both of their owne fellowes, and also of their enemies, without any respect at all. For neuer before that day, had any armies encountered together, enflamed with greater spleene and hatred; nor euer had two such mighty Emperors, more constantly and feruently declared their valour both of body and minde; nor with lesse care of life and safety. For, when both of them plainly perceived, that with like daunger of themselves and their Armies, they had set their liues and Empires vpon present ruine: they also well understood, that there would be no other hope lesse to eyther of them, but that which victorie it selfe should bring with it.

Now *Gazeller* enflamed with desire of honor and reuenge, to returne the Europeans a foile equal to that which hee had receiued at *Gaza*, charging *Innubasba* with great violence, had ouer-run the foremost and resisting troopes; had beaten downe the *Guidons*: and the *Arabes* pursuing on hard at his heeles, had made the vanquishing companies (euen those of the *Thracians*, *Thessalians*, and *Macedons*) to turne their backs, which neuer any enemy had done before.

Then *Synanbasba*, being readie for all occasions of victorie, flew vpon the side of the enemy, with a fresh and powerfull company of his men, re-enforcing the battell, which was much declined & foully scattered. But anon after, *Synanbasba*, who had discontinued the manifest victory of the enemy, by exercising a supreme acte of prowesse, was slain, fighting verie valiantly before his men, after that the

houre fightes at one time in foure distinct places.

Credible reports concerning this dreadfull battell.

The mad and desperate fury of both the Armies, as the Turk was neuer bearded.

The courage of *Gazeller* in hope of foiling his encounter.

Synanbasba slain fighting valiantly before his men.

Maml.

Foure trecherous *Mamlukes* defeated *Tomumbejo* hope for the ambush.

Prevention of perill is no means helpe in accidents of Armes.

A discrete that would trouble the brains of the best soldier in the world.

The Egyptian Gunners for their great Ordinance almost all slain.

The order & managing of *Selyms* army.

Synanbasba General of the ficke, and his bande of men.

Tomumbejo prepared his troops to give the ground battaile.

Mamlukes (vnder their fierce Captayne *Ido*) had turned themselves proudly on their new enemy. And his horsemen striving to take vp their dead captaines body from the ground, were (a great number of them) slaine and put to flight by *Gazelles*, who had spread abroad his troupes, that hauing the more spacious roome, they might the more freely vse their swords; in which kinde of fight the *Mamlukes* doe most excell. And also that noble band of *Ianzaries*, being enclosed, were ouer-runne & slaine; after that they (being for saken of the horsemen) had long time resisted very valiantly.

In another quarter, *Mustapha* giuing a vehement charge with all his horse, vpon the left wing of the *Egyptians* (wherin commaunded the most renowned captaines *Hylus Diadarius* and *Giapall Orcomas*) veyr sharply vtged them. A litle before they had receiued a notable detriment, by the Ordinance, which (by chaunce) was shot frō *Selyms* middle battell thwart the field; which *Mustapha* perceiving, and being desirous to trample on olde ignominy, they being once disordered, constrained them fiercely, & bringing in his troupes freshly vpon them, brake thorow ouer-ranne and beat them downe. And being remarkable all the battell ouer, both by his Armes and voyce: adhornt the *Asians* to consider, that their ancient martiall honor, they lately lost at the battell of *Alepo*, must be recovered now by height of manhood, or (at vitermost) by an honourable death.

At the same time also, *Tomunbeyo*, hauing broken through the middle regiment of horse, was come to the foot, and being a mighty man both in body and strength, performed infinite actions of worth with his Cemitarie: the *Arabians* likewise enclosed the outer-wings of the *Turkes*, forcing them (in many places) to fight with double front. And *Selym* aduanced forward his foote-squadron, which was his onely and assured helpe in this extremitie, whose charge, neither the fierce barded horse, nor the victors men could abide: because most part of his Souldiers being harquebussiers, and being impaled with pikes, did much mischiefe, for their immoueable force, being closed into the array of one body, bare downe all that they encountered. Yet they fought with variable euē on both sides, from the fourth houre

of the day, till Sun-set, neither was there any part of eyther Armie, but suffered sundry alterations, Fortune being some while prosperous, and then againe aduersē. For, both the vanquished and victors, becoming madd with mutuall & implacable rage, fought with obdurate & indurate hearts; the *Mamlukes* disdainig, that victorie should be taken from them, by men (of whom) they had slaine so many: and the *Turkes* chafing, that they whom they had before foiled in two seuerall battells, should make so long resistance against them. In somuch, that their bodies, wearied and tired with wounds, and their armes faintly languishing, yet supported onely by furie & pertinacy of heart, seemed able to haue maintained another daies murdering, but that dark snut vp the violence of so great a slaughter.

Tomunbeyo, who (no doubt) was vanquished, distrustig the entire losse of the field, first commanded retreat to be sounded, that his men, who now could not match the other Squadron, might seeme not to haue bin beaten backe, but onely to be led backe: which he conceived to be of no meane moment, both for the establishing of his souldiers, & maintenance of his owne authority. As one that being deceived in his first hope, might promise himselfe (as men in misery commonly do) more prosperous successe afterward, provided, that he fainted not in corage. Whereupon, preserving those few powers left him, he intended a fresh reparation of warre. The battell being broken off by the nights countermad, the *Turkes* being victors, won the enemies tents and Ordinance, pursued the *Mamlukes* still very late in the night, albeit (almost in manner of flight) they marched towards *Cayro*.

In the flight were taken *Diadarius*, who could make no speed, by reason of his grievous wounds, and with him *Idon*, hauing one of his knees broke with a falcon-shot, which also slue his horse. But the next day, *Selym* caused them both to be slaine, either in regard they could not be healed, or as thinking them to be acceptable sacrifices for appeasing *Synanbasia*; for whose losse hee greatly lamented. Now albeit the *Turkes* had nobly vanquished, yet was their strength mightily empayed, and by the means of these fortunate battells, wherein the 4. part of them was spent with sicknesse

Variable and fluctuall alike in both the Armies, from the 4. houre of the day till Sun-set.

Retreat was first sounded in the Campe of *Tomunbeyo*.

The hope of *Tomunbeyo* for better success in a second battell.

Diadarius and *Idon* taken and slaine by *Selym* command.

sicknesse and wounds, and a great number of their Horses vtterly foyled, especially through the tediousnesse of this daies seruice.

These were maine motives, to hinder *Selym* in his wonted course of expedition, because (as yet) he was ignorant, what deuotion the *Egyptian* inhabitants of *Cayro* bare towards him; neither did rumour afford him any intelligence, where *Tomunbeyo* had bestowed himselfe, or what hee further intended. For, till he had deliberately considered on all these occasions, he would not adventure the safety of his owne person, and perill of his whole Armie, to the mercy of innumerable Citizens, and in the greatest Cittie of the world. Wherefore, abiding foure dayes space in his old Campe at *Rhodania*, causing the wounded to be cured, and his slaine souldiers to be buried: but the bodies of his enemies, he left to be deuoured by Birds and Beasts. And then dislodging thence, and marching towards *Cayro*; he encamped on a plain, between old *Cayro* and *Bulach*: for the City of *Cayro* is diuided into three Townes; old *Cayro*, new *Cayro*, and *Bulach*, for their more commodious seruice of warre.

Selym refresheth his weary Army four daies at *Rhodania*.

The valiant courage of *Tomunbeyo*, notwithstanding all his grievous miseries and losses.

Omumbeyo, being all this while nothing bruised, notwithstanding so many lamentable losses and disasters; still assembled together the *Mamlukes* from all parts, and pitched his Campe in a most commodious place, betweene new *Cayro* and the riuer *Niles*, wherein he had eight thousand *Ethyopian* slaues or bondmen, which kinde of men he had not (till then) made any vse of, in regard of an ancient Rebellion by them committed. Beside, setting open the old Armory, he gaue armor and weapons to the *Mamlukes* sonnes, and to *Moors* which were their retainers, as also to the *Iewes* and *Arabians*, preparing for farre

sharper warre against the *Turkes*, then formerly had bene. But afterward, hauing intended a *foadaine* camifado vpon the Turkish Campe, and the same againe vnicely discovered to the *Turkes* (who being readily prepared for it, repelled (though with some losse) his foremost ranks; he by the aduice of all his Captaines, entred the City of *Cayro*.

The motive heere to was, because the *Mamlukes* (hauing bene foyled in all precedent battailes) considered with themselves, that they must now make warre after some other manner of way: & in that regard, aduised him to fortifie the Cittie, placing strong Courts of guard in the most conuenient parts thereof, to hinder euery way their enemies entrance. And being in this lamentable condition, that they must needs fight for their houses, wiues, and children; they helde it highly honourable, and answerable to the glorie of their ancient valour, to dye fighting in their fight, and euen before their owne doores.

Heereupon, each *Mamluke* going to his own house, furnished all his household, and the very toppe of his house with all kinde of weapons: instantly also entreating the *Egyptians* in each ward & streete to take Armes against the common cruell enemy, not suffering themselves to be slaine, and their wiues and children carried away as slaues. For (quoth they) if the sauage and insatiate enemy do winne the victory, as accidents of warre are alwayes doubtfull: no spare will be made, no not of such as beare themselves but indifferently leaning in help to neither side; because victory swellets with such insolent licence, as he respects not any man. But such as (without doubtful staggering) run desperately to assist his fortune, when war stands vpon vncertaine successe.

Most of the *Egyptians* that were rich and wealthy, as they did well foresee, that alteration in the State and Empire would be very hurtfull, and bring great losse and hinderance to their wealth and Traffike: so, in deuotion and helpe, they vvere not failing to the *Mamlukes*. As on the contrary, most of the poorer Citizens, and no meane multitude of the worse sort (who, being voide of danger, do euermore gaine by others losses) remembering all the villanies and extreme oppressions, which they had

His prociesses and intentions alwayes were unfortunately discovered.

The *Mamlukes* resolved to dye in the fight of their wiues & children.

Victorie admitteth no respect of persons.

The baser sort make their best benefite by fishing in troubled streames.

Heylous *Diadarius* and *Giapall Orcomas*, two famous Captaines of the *Egyptians*.

The vndownable spirit of *Tomunbeyo* in the ticklest throngs.

had suffered (for the space almost of three hundred yeares) vnder the *Mamlukes*, in very wofull and wretched slavery, they kept themselves within doores, awayting for the fights successe: iocondly hoping, that the time was now come, for punishing their proud oppressors, and that reuenge would be sought by the bloud of strangers; the issue sorting so, that they eyes should be satisfied, with a pleasing & long expected spectacle.

Tomumbeyo fortified the gates & waies belonging to the City.

In the meane time, *Tomumbeyo* with most indulgent care and labour, fortified the gates, and all the waies of the Cities entrance, appointing Captaines for euery street. In euery market place, Court, and assembly of people, he made very witty and perswasive Orationes, permitting no idle loytering in the workes; and finally (which is saide to be the hardest matter in distresse and danger) he carried an vnappalled countenance, deliuering signes of extraordinary hope and valour no way to be daunted. But the *Mamlukes*, ouer and aboue necessity (which in extremities makes men mad and desperate; yea, kindleth courage in errant Cowards) being stirred vp by emulation: did speedily and courageously execute the duties and offices of worthy Captaines; for euerie one of them, as his wit and inuention best instructed him, made trenches thwart the most passable streetes, laying also great Logges of Timber crosse vpon them. Others, made priuy pits and holes, with sharpe-pointed stakes surely fastened in them, whereon the enemies vnwarly falling, might gore and split themselves. Others likewise fitted the houses and Windows of euery turning streete, with such plenty of shot as their store and ability afforded; and all these things were performed with such expedition, as no man (not the very *Mamlukes*) made it nice, or strained courtisie, to take the pickaxe & spade, or to do any seruile seruicable Worke: whereby it appeared, that nothing could be thought deuised, but it was as expeditiously effected.

Now, although the City (being verie great and old) had no wals to enclose it; yet there were Gates, and but certayne wayes for entering into it, one whereof was a direct and very broad street, leading from the East gate to the Caffe, and into the midst of the City. The rest of the

wayes wer but very narrow streets or passages, somewhat vnshightly and disgracefull, where no Ordnance could be drawn, nor an aranged battell meete with his opposite. Into this maine way or streete had *Tomumbeyo* especially brought a power, because he well perceiued, that their enemy would couet entrance, in regarde of the spacious admittance. But the other quarters of the City further off, hee kept with small guards: yet the inner & middle part, where the Caffe stood, was guarded with a sufficient power, for the better supply of all other places, where the enemies cry, or their owne fellows perill might call their assistance. For the Citie, being the greatest of all other, with so final a power, could not be defended round about, namely, wayes lying open into it in euery place.

When *Selym* had received certaine intelligence, that *Tomumbeyo* was entered *Cayro*, and all the *Mamlukes* (gathering their strength into one maine head) would try the utmost fortune of warre: hee marched with his Army neerer to the Citie. All the way he encouraged his troopes, to confider with themselves aduicely, that now they must intend an entire conquest of those Enemies, whom they had already so often vanquished; and to take a little the more paines, that their victorious rewards, might be answerable vnto their braue endeavour, for which they had formerly coueted with immoderate desires. So pausing a while, and commanding a Trumpet to summon general silence, thus againe he proceeded.

A brieue Oration of Selym, to his Souldiers.

Friends, and Fellowes in Armes, let me intreat you to remember, that there remaineth now but a few wretched men, with a forsaken naked King, who, being lately spent with wounds and feare, were not able to endure the field, but flying thence cowardly, haue verily determined, to expect at home (in the sight of their wiues and children) the supreme and last cast of a miserable life.

Moreover the Egyptians (of their owne accord) haue sent for me: for they deadly ha-

One maine or chiefe streete in the City, all the rest but slender passages.

Selym arriueth towardes great Cayro.

He encourageth them by their late receiued good successe.

ting the *Mamlukes* very name: doe with greedy desire expect their destruction, and promise to fight from their owne houses, vnto the destruction of the race of those wicked savage men. Neuertheless, the absolute victory of the whole war, consisteth in vnter vanquishing the remnants of the defeated, & thoroughly affrighted Army; because they cannot be accounted as overcome, that are yet hopefull in Armes, and possesse the seat of the Empire, euen the greatest Citie thereof.

The entrance of Selym into Cayro at Bassel gate, and manner of his further proceeding.

The souldiers foules were on fire with desire of spoile, and being all readily ranked, wanted but the signall for irruption. Whē *Selym* entering at Bassel gate, sent in his horse troopes at many places at once: but the Ianizaries entered at the broader passage, where the horse (on eyther side) meeting together, a cruell & bloody fight began in the turning streets, and narrow lanes. The foar, haling out their Falcons and Culuerings before them in the front; flanked all the streetes with them as they went along, making them naked of anie defendants. But when they came to the munitions and trenches, labouring to remove the logges and beames, which were great hinderances vnto their passage: the *Mamlukes* gaue them very valiant resistance, and either side shewed such rare courage and valour: as neuer (in our memory) did men encounter more fiercely & bloodily. For both the *Mamlukes* and Turkes stode on their highest tearmes of manhood, vying all their cunning flights & policies of war, in this one deadly dangerous fight; neither part being ignorant, that this was the last hope of life and Empryre, Fortune equally and indifferently presenting them with honorable rewards for the Conqueror, and shamefull disgrace for the vanquished.

The great harm done by the ambushed trenches and downfalls.

Mighty slaughter was made at the munitions, by reason that the Turkes rashly turning vpon the couered trenches, pits, and downfalls, were ouerthrown on heaps one vpon another, the hindmost thrusting them on that were before; others, being gored & spited on sharpe pointed stakes: vpon which aduantage, the *Mamlukes* wiues and children (with man-like hardi-ness) hurled and tumbled down tiles and great stones on them thus ouerthrowne beneath, beating out the braines of verie many. On the contrary side, the Turkes

with their Harquebusses, fetcht off such as they saw in the windowes, & on the houses, breaking open the doores where any harmful thing was throwne downe, and fighting in those houses with diuerse euent. Also the Egyptians, beholding fortune now on the one side, and then againe turned to the other; assayed both sides alike as equal enemies, leaning where the lot of victory was likeliest to happen, that they might appeare onely to haue assisted that part, and thought vnto enemy to the other.

A cunning crafty manner of fighting in the Egyptians

Many encounters happened in diuers quarters at once, and according to they: confused running in the streets, now this company, then that, lighting vpon fresh and new troopes of enemies: & they that constrained the victors in the Front, were often intercluded by the aduerser part, and beaten downe in the Rere. It was a wofull sight to beholde, the distances betweene house and house, ouer-flowing with reeking blood, which ranne out of the slain mens bodies, as there they lay mangled & dismembred on heapes: that the Dust, which rose like a thicke mist or dark cloud before, was now laide therewith, and not to be seene at all. Notwithstanding, the ayre was meely darkened with the smoake of the Ordnance and lesser Artillerie, as also clouds of Arrowes shot from their bowes: and so great was the cry and clamour among the soldiers, the clattering of weapons, and thundering of the Cannons, that the very earth seemed to groan and tremble, and the houses were rent & torne in peeces. They fought continually two dayes and two nights, with doubtfull fortune, and slender apparence of aduantage on either side: but only that the *Mamlukes* (being few in number, and not able to endure labour and watching) had retreated themselves by little and litle, into the inner parts of the City, vnterly forsaking the foremost munitions.

The extremity of a thicke rising dust layd by the blood of slain mens bodies.

They fought two dayes and two nights continually.

The third day, when the *Mamlukes* were in the very pitch of perill of losing their whole estate, and all that they had, (which case vually augmenteth supreme enterprizes) chearing vp the hearts and endeouours of all men, they renewed the fight with such surpassing valor, that they droue the Turkes a great way backe, and intercepted certaine of their Faulcons. Which accident, made *Selym* to despair

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Selym despairing of victory, committed to let the houses on fire.

of victory, so that hee commanded to set the houses on fire in all places: iust wrath against the Egyptians, compelling him to that cruell proclamation, because (in his very sight, and but a little before) *Innubysa* was greuously wounded in the head, by a great stone thrown down from a window.

Now were the houses on a flaming fire, now was nothing heard but wayling and weeping of the suppliant entreating Egyptians: and now the Turkes fighting somewhat faintly, expected that retreat should be founded: when sodainly newes was brought by many men together, that in another quarter, the *Mamlukes* being beaten from their stand, and defeated by enforcing *Mustapha*, repoled theyr latest refuge in flight. For *Mustapha* thorough the intimation of certaine Egyptians, and fugitive *Mamlukes*, came to a very large streete, where the *Mamlukes* had placed their horses ready bridled and suled; intending, that if any ill hap befell the, their recourse might bee thither, where taking their horses, they might escape to places of further determination. He got all those horses, and led them away, hauing chased their guides within a part of the citie, nothing suspected, which was very weak, & defended by none but boyes and horse-keepers.

Which accident (as commonly it happeneth in serious and vnexpected chances) did wonderfully weaken their valour and resolution, wherefore when they wer thus defeated in their hope of flight, and they so roundly about, that the fight could be maintained by no other helpe or comfort, but only meere manhood: being as men vanquished by their own confession, they turnd their backs. Many making hast to *Nilus* with *Tomumbeyo* (who had in vaine tried all Art of valiancie, wisdom, and policy, to auoide the foile in this battaile) passing ouer the river by boats, went into the Region of *Seietica*. Another multitude hid themselves in the Egyptians houses, and in most shamefull lurking denes. But about 1500. of the valiantest *Mamlukes*, fled vnto the greatest Temple of the City; where after they had long time defended themselves, as out of a castle, because they would not yeeld but vpon honorable termes: at length, being confounded with thirst, wearines, wounds

and the Ordnance violently playing still vpon them, they submitted themselves to the will and pleasure of the Conquerour. Part of them were presently slaine before the Temple, by the angry souldiers of *Selym*, he politickly winking thereat; & another part (some few dayes after) were carried downe the riuer to *Alexandria*.

The victory thus standing for *Selym*, he sent two bands to quench the fires, and proclamations were made thorough all parts of the City, that all the *Mamlukes* which would come in and yeelde themselves, and within the limitation of twelve houres space, should be secured from any further harme. But all such as were found after that time, should dye for their refusal, and large rewards were promised to all the Egyptians, that could disclose the lurking *Mamlukes*. Contrarywise, such as hid or concealed any of them, were presently put in yrons, & afterwards all most cruellly slaine in prison; because they were said to haue practised an escape. But diuers, who would not violate the rites of faith and friendship by betraying their friends, being accused by their neighbors, suffered losse of life, dying very constantly for their friends.

After this, the soldiers encreasing their fury, vpon the pride of this victory, searching all places; drew violently out all such as were hidden, and presently slewe them, spoiling also the Egyptians houses where they were found, leauing no place shut or concealed from them. And the very same day it hapned, that *Gazelles* came to *Cayro*, who had bene sent (a little before) into *Thebus*, to leuy Arabians, & to hire aides. But seeing the case to bee quite changed, and that he was able to do no good either by his person or aduice; hee came with three Arabian Captaines, and many horse with them, and yeelded himselfe to *Selym*; who entertained him and all his traine very honourably, euery man according to his degree and merit.

CHAP.

The victory fauouring *Selym* also, together with his souldiers to quench the flaming fires.

A cruell murthering of the *Mamlukes* in prison, after that they had yeelded them selves.

The coming of *Gazelles* to *Cayro*, & his submission to *Selym*.

CHAP. XXII.

Of the third and last Battell fought at Nilus, betweene *Tomumbeyo* and *Selym*, with the ill successe and disgracefull death of *Tomumbeyo*, and hard fate of his *Mamlukes*.



Called also Pentapolis, of the five Cities, Bero-nice, Arsinoe, Ptolemis, Apollonia, & Cyrene.

BUT *Tomumbeyo*, being fled (as ye haue heard) ouer the Riuer of *Nilus*, into that region which is called *Seietica*, lying towards *Cyrenai-cz*, although with so many disastrous mishaps he had formerly bin vanquished, yet still hee made a couragious reparation of the war. For, there was come to him a potent supply of *Mamlukes* fro *Alexandria*, being sent for by letters out of the Cittie Garrisons, and many more also followed him in flight. Beside, the Arabians of *Africa* repaired to him, and the Moores likewise which were inhabitants of that country, promising him their vttermost fauour and helpe. Nay more, diuers Egyptians of *Cayro*, whose houses and people had bin spoiled and dishonested, by the couetous and luxurious Turks, gaue faith also, that they would raise a tumult and insurrection, if he would speedily come thither in the dead of night; whereby might be compassed, that such Turkes as were lodged in the City houses, might sodainly be destroyed by inuasion of all the people together. For the Citizens, hauing suffered by them all abhominable and enemy-like parts, could no longer endure the iniuries of such proude and malapart oppressors. Further they alledged, that the Turkes, being (before) a potent army, were now reduced to a contemptible number: for, a great part of them were slaine in the batels at *Rhodania* and *Cayro*, and well-neere all the rest were spent with woundes and sickness.

While *Tomumbeyo* was thus busied about his needfull preparations, *Albuchomar* the very greatest mar (for authority, lands, & riches) in all *Seietica*, came to *Selym*: eyther to prevent the mischief of imminent warre, to the no meane peril of his coun-

treys, or else to win the victors fauour by Treason: and acquainted him not only with the new collected powers of *Tomumbeyo*, but also with the practises concluded among the Citizens of *Cayro*. Which when *Selym* vnderstood, he caused strite and strong watch and ward, to bee planted in all parts of the City; commanding also, that the suspected Citizens should be kept in the Castle, which (vpon the Garrisons forsaking it) very easily hee surprized. Furthermore, in diuers places along the riuer of *Nilus*, he ordered a great number of vesselles, well furnished with Ordnance and soldiers, to defend the further banke of the riuer.

Neuertheless, considering aduisedly with himselfe, how perillously he had often fought with most valiant enemies, and how difficult it would be for him to intercept *Tomumbeyo*, who (by sight) still into walle and vknown Regions prolonged the Warre, still getting fresh and new supplies. Considering also, that his owne power was so small, and so far from succour, as it might easily bee oppressed in that mighty Citie, by huge multitudes of men of vncertaine Faith. Vpon these discrete considerations, hee desired rather to conclude the Warre by some honest composition, then by forcible further contending, to entangle himselfe in new dangers.

And so much the rather, because hee had intelligence by them of *Seietica*, that fresh Companies of Horse were leuyed from all partes by the *Mamlukes*, which had fledde into diuers Regions: and the Nauie likewise, which was sent into the streights of the Red Sea, in the Arabian Gulfe against the *Portugals*, floodde now vpon the hopefull expectation at *Porte Suezia*.

In the Nauy were about three thousand *Mamlukes*, and *Amyrasser*, and *Ray Salomon*, all very expert Captaines: and a great number of brasse Peeces: whereby it appeared, that *Tomumbeyo* might gather ability, to repaire his former received iniuries, and fo returne againe to the Citie, being sent for thither by his friends.

But the maine motiue of all, was his care of the *Persian* affairs, lest *Hunabrago* (whom he had sent before to the mountaine *Taurus*) should not prouue able to match the *Persian* power, whereby hee

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should

Selym proud-fion to with-stand *Tomumbeyo*.

Selym serious deliberation concerning his owne dangerous condition.

Fresh companies of Horse leuyed by the *Mamlukes*.

A sodain successe hapning to *Mustapha*, against the *Mamlukes*.

The *Mamlukes* vanquished and enforced to flight.

The great Temple could be no refuge for them.

The cheefe matter that moued Selym to seeke composition with Tomumbeyo.

The effect of the charge giuen to the Ambassadors.

The Ambassadors barbarously murdered.

A bridge builded ouer Nilus by Selym.

Tomumbeyo trusted the Prouinciall constancie to him.

should be excluded out of the lesser *Asia* and *Syria*, before the Fleet from *Constantinople* could come to *Alexandria*, with new supply of Victuals and souldiers. Hereupon, he sent very honorable men of the Clergy, and likewise certaine Egyptians of great estimation amongst them, as Ambassadors from him vnto *Tomumbeyo*. The effect of their Commission was briefly thus. To counsell him for a cessation from Armes, and now (at length) to acknowledge the Victors great fortune, engaging their faith to him, that if (in suppliant manner) he would come to *Selym*; by humanity and fauour of the Conqueror, he should quietly enioy the kingdom, which he was not able to hold by power. But if hee would proceede and continue Warre, carelessly forgetting his owne weakenesse: then, when warres fortune was thoroughly found and determined; according to his iust desert, he should expect no condition of dignity or life, at displeased *Selyms* hands. These Ambassadors being come into *Seiectica*, were (with frantick and barbarous cruelty) all slaine by certaine *Mamelukes*, before they had any audience.

Which proud and cruell deede, brake off all further patience in *Selym*, who was a man by nature (though not otherwise moued) extraordinarily vehement and fierce. Immediately he proclaimed a voyage into *Seiectica* against *Tomumbeyo*, commanding victuals and other prouision for it. Moreouer, he gathered Boats from all parts, causing a sure and a very broad bridge to be built ouer *Nilus* river: as allowing it neyther answerable vnto his dignitie, nor fitting with the vrgent occasion, to make his passage ouer with Boats.

When *Tomumbeyo* had intelligence by his Spies, as also from the Citizens of *Cayro*, that such an intention was prepared against him, and so strong a Bridge made ouer *Nilus*; hee (doubting the vnfaitfulness of the Prouincialles, whose hearts he feared to be revolted from him, by the treacherous departure of *Albuchemar*) determined to try the selfe-same fortune of battell, which had so oftentimes deceiued his hopes. For, he being inferior in all things, could not now lengthen out the war, nor make expectation of his enemy: neither did he hold it good for him,

to fly againe with losse of his dignity, and thorough farther wildernesses of hazardous aduenture, and dangerous successe.

Wherefore, consulting with his Captaines & Commanders, concerning this last attempt, which he and his *Mamelukes* were to make; by breake of day he departed fro *Seiectica*, accompanied with 4000. horse, and twice so many Moores and Arabes foot, continuing trauel night & day till they came to *Nilus*, that (by a bolde and sodain aduenture) he might deceiue the Turkes, who (as he vnderstood) suspected no such forwardnes, in weake, vanquished, & more then halfe dismayed men, whereas celerity would forfall any fame of his vnluck for comming; so to destroy part of the Turkish power, which first had aduentured ouer the river, before they could receive succour by their following Fellowes. Nor did the space of time beguile his opinion, because the hours (being truly accounted) made iust agreement with his speedy march thither; and even as hee formerly coniectured so fel it out, that the vaw-ward of the *Asians* had alreadye past the River. But the Muleters and boyes of *Selyms* Camp, seeking for the pleasantest places for pitching their Tents, rauaging ouer faire, were the first that descried the dust of the approaching enemy: whereof *Mustapha* being certified, the alarm was presently giuen.

This rumour so danted all hearts with feare, both of them that had alreadye passed the river, and theirs also which stood ready to follow after them: that *Tomumbeyo* charging the *Asians* with incomparable valour, while they were making themselves ready, and resorting vnto their Enginies, slew them in the Front, that durst endure the shoocke of the assailants, dispersed the rest, and forced them to flight; and all the vanguard was wel-neere ouer-run, and trodden downe, beside the disorder of the rest: before *Mustapha* (albeit hee fought fearlesse in the van, & very cheerfully encouraged his souldiers) was able to retaine them that hedde, or to repayre the other in array. For, in this sodaine and vnexpected chance, euery place was full of the peoples confused huddlings together, slaughter, flight, and feare: and all along the river-banke both aboue and below the newe made Bridge, were diuers companies of men discerned, looking ru-

His departure from Seiectica, to prevent the intention of the enemy, by a bold and vnexpected stratagem.

The discovery of Tomumbeyos neere approaching.

Sodaine accidents in Armes may cause a bold and vnexpected stratagem, especially when the troops fall into disorder and confusion.

The Bridge was spacious and large for passage.

Selim maketh a notable supply by the help of his Janizaries sent ouer in small Boats.

The Tartares pulled the River Nilus with their horses.

fully behind them, and crying out to their fellowes for succour. Many also being enforced (by the vrging troope of the Enemy) to the very brink of the banke, fell headlong downe into the river; and many also perished at the end or heade of the bridge, by reason they could not passe ouer it, being hindered by them that were continually sent from the further side; beside, many that would haue ascended the bridge, being impeached by fear, & thrust backe by their owne fellowes, were drowned in the river.

The bridge was so broad, that 4. horse in rank might well passe ouer together, & a great number sent ouer in an houres space. But because the Ordinance was to be drawne ouer, fewer horse were sent, then either the greatnesse of the danger, or sodainnesse of such a chance did vrgently require. Nor was there any helpe in the Ordinance, which could not speedily be drawne ouer, or shot off from the higher banke to the other against the Enemy, without great danger to themselves, by reason that their owne men stood in the way. In the meane time, *Selym* who ranne downe to the riuers side, at the beginning of this hurly burly, filled small boates with Janizaries Harquebusers, & sent them ouer to succour their distressed fellowes; commending the horse also to make what hast they could ouer the bridge, the nimble Marriners vsing their best pains, in often passing and returning with fresh supplies; so that within a short space they had conveyed ouer many bands of Janizaries, whose comming confirmed the disorder of *Asians*, and now boldly they endured the enemies violence.

Also *Canagles* son to a Tartar king, encouraging his troopes of Tartares to take the river with their horses; attained to the further bank of the river, to the admiration of all men, and losing but fewe of his men: for the Tartares hauing learned to swim ouer the violent and mightie River of *Tanaïs* and *Volga* with their horses, were the more apt for passage heere. At the same instant also, *Tomumbeyo* foreseeing, that the speedy victory consisted therein, endeouored with his thickest troopes, to win the head of the bridge, that pulling away the forme of boats, and cutting in sunder the cables, which fastened the rest together, & to the banke: the whole bridge

being so let loose at liberty, might be carried away with the streames violence, & all the Turkes that were vpon it. This caused a very dangerous conflict, for the chosen and best armed *Mamelukes* constraining the front, fought with singular valor. And on the other side, *Mustapha* perceiving the present perill, brought vp the colours, and all the valiantest of his souldiers, to make good that place: so that both sides contended with such surpassing manhood as the weightinesse of the case required. For, the *Mamelukes* saw manifestly, that if they could winne that place, they should (with very short worke) ouerthrow all the enemies former victories: and the Turkes as plainly perceived, that except they kept and preserved the bridge, the safety of themselves, the whole estate of the army, yea & the ruine of their Emperor, lay now at the stake, and all brought to vtter despair.

Hereupon, *Mustapha* so preuailed by his Harquebusers, & troopes of Greek horse, which in sundry companies had passed the bridge: that the enemies were repulsed & forced to retire a great way backe. Now *Tomumbeyo* that he might giue some respite to his *Mamelukes* to breathe themselves a while, being not able to fight fiercely, because their horse were spent and tired, & that after a fresh repaire of their strength he might aduenture the extreme & latest fortune of the battell, encouraged the Moores and Arabians to maintaine the fight, vntill the *Mamelukes* had breathed a little. Which when they had valiantly performed, and the *Mamelukes* (hauing somewhat comforted their own bodies & horses) making good their place, the battell was againe renewed with such rigour on their behalfe, that *Selym* (distrusting the victory) doubted not to ascend the bridge, and runne to succour his men, although his friends earnestly labored him to the contrary.

His coming (which brought fresh hope into his Souldiers hearts, they coueting to win reward and praise, by doing some seruicable action in their Emperours fight) repressed all the enemies best endeavour, and were forced vnto flight, only through the valiancie of the Janizaries. Pursued were they ouer all the Fieldes, by those Horse which had bene at the fight, & likewise by the Tartares, who gaunted them very greedously

A worthy policy deuised by Tomumbeyo, to cut away the bridge of boats.

The maine sime on eyther side, in their hope & expectation.

Tomumbeyo encouraged the Moores & Arabes to maintaine the fight.

The Janizaries put the foe to flight, and win the honour of the day.

with their Arrowes. But afterward, *Muflapha, Cayerbey, and Gazelles*, were sent with a company of fresh and swift horse, to follow them that fled, and not to suffer *Tomumbeys* to escape: who the third day after, was found by certaine Peazants, standing in a Marshy vppre to the waste in Water, among Bull-rushes and Reedes; and they (for feare of death) deliuered him to the Captaines, who brought him to *Selym*, who would not vouchsafe to see him.

After he had caused him to bee a long time in vaine tormented, to disclose the treasures of *Campfen*; at last he gaue command, that he should be carried about all the famous streets of the City, riding on a vile Camels backe, and in poore ragged Garments, with his hands bound behind him; and then to bee hanged vp with an halter, for the murdering (as hee pretended) of his Ambassadors, although the Noble Prince was altogether guiltlesse thereof. The like fate also befell to all the *Mamlukes* that were in prison, or could be taken. After the shamefull death of *Tomumbeys*, who was executed the thirteenth day of Aprill, Anno 1517. all the whole Empire of the Soldan yielded, and likewise all the Princes that had bene tributaries to the Soldan, euen vnto the dominions of *Presire Iohn*.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the first inuention of wearing Ringes: to what end it was. And of many ancient and admirable things, tending vnto the same purpose.



Mong all other Jewels and Ornaments, inuentioned by the spirite and industry, or rather by the vanity of man, to embellish & beautify himselfe withall: there is not any comparable to that of Ringes. bee it for riches, or curiosity in workmanship. For, ouer and beside that they are made in a round and circular figure, which is the most perfect of all other: they are beside so subiect

and light, that they may be worne on the least finger of the hand. Neuerthelesse, they are alwayes made of the very richest metall of all, and accompanied with stones, the most precious and exquisite that are to be had, and valewed to bee the onely esteemed things in the world. Be-hold then, what means the ambition of men found out, to weare a ring vpon one finger, valewing in price the worth of a City: for, it is not vnknowne, there are some such precious stones, that are esteemed as a world of Gold, and yet notwithstanding, they hinder not the hand from the vse of any exercise whatsoever. And albeit that Ringes haue serued, and yet do, to some other more necessary ends & effects, then those before related: yet the very principall point which brought them into vse, was to glad and delight the eye, and to deliuer an outward testimonie of Nobility, and shew the persons estimation. But because they are now grown very common, and yet much esteemed, I will set downe certaine ancient Histories, incident to our present purpose, not greatly irksome to read or heare.

In the first place, it is not resolutely determined, who was the prime inuenter of Ringes: and yet some do say, that the first Ringes knowne to be worne, was in the remembrance of *Prometheus*, who (as the Poets faigned) being chained to a rocke by the appointment of *Iupiter*, was deliuered by *Hercules*, with the permission of *Iupiter*; with this condition neuerthelesse, that in perpetual memory of his imprisonment, the saide *Prometheus* stood obliged, to weare incessantly a ring of gold, enchaufed with a stone of the rocke whereto hee was prisoner; and thereby forme hold, that the vse of rings tooke thence the first beginning. *Pliny* and many other authors reputed this discourse for a fable, as all Christians ought to do: and because it is a leasing, and frivoulously feigned, I meane to insist thereon no further.

Concerning mine owne opinion, I am of the mind, that the inuention of Ringes came not by one man only, but from many, and in diuers times; considering, it neuer was any note of great cunning, to take the fingers bignesse by a thred, and with that measure to make a Ring of Golde or Iron: such as anciently were worne by the very cheefe Lords of *Lacedemon* and

Ringes made of the purest and richest metall of all other.

The principall end that did bring Ringes into vse.

Ringes were outward notes of riches and Nobility.

Concerning the inuention of Rings.

Prometheus deliuered to the rocke by *Hercules*.

Ringes neuer the inuention of one man only.

and *Roms*, before they gaue themselves ouer to the superfluities and dissolutions, which afterwards reigned in all things. And vndoubtedly, the custome and ceremony continued long time amongst the *Romaines*, that the Ring of Honour, which the husband sent to his spouse on the marriage day, was made of yron. *Plinie* discoursing on the antiquitie of *Rings*, saith, That they were not in vse in the war time betweene the *Greekes* and *Troians*: considering that *Homer* (who wrote thereof very amply) maketh no mention at all of Rings, much lesse, that they sealed then with Rings. And yet notwithstanding, he speaketh sufficiently of Chains and Bracelets, which were at that time worne, and of the manner of clofing and sealing Letters: so that if Rings had then bin in vse, *Homer* would neuer haue let it sleepe in silence.

But the good olde man *Plinie*, cannot over-reach vs with his idle arguments and coniectures; for we read in *Genesis*, that *Ioseph* (who liued aboute five hundred and fifty yeares before the warres of *Troy*) hauing expounded the dreame of *Pharaoh*, King of *Aegypt*, was by the layde Prince made Superintendent ouer his kingdom, and for his safer possession in that estate, he tooke off his Ring from his hand, and put it vpon *Iosephs* hand. And surely, kings did not onely weare Rings in those times, because we read that *Thamar*, desiring to haue issue by the race of *Iudah* her father in lawe (who was brother to *Ioseph*) had his company, vnder colour of being a common whoore, and receiued as presents from him, his Staffe and his Ring. In *Moses* time, which was more then foure hundred yeares before *Troy* warres, we find Rings to be then in vse; for we read that they were comprehended in the ornaments, which *Aaron* the High-Priest should weare, and they of his posteritie afterward, as also it was auouched by *Iosephus*.

Wherby appeareth plainly, that the vse of Rings was much more ancient, then *Plinie* reporteth them in his Coniectures: but as he was a Pagan, and ignorant in sacred writings, so it is no maruell, if these things went beyond his knowledge. According as himselfe apparently manifesteth, speaking of them of his owne Countrey: for hee saith, the vse of *Rings* were

anciently so rare in *Rome*, & specially such as were of gold; that there was no ancient Statue to be seen ringed, except those of the Kings, *Numa*, and *Seruius Tullius*, for all other Statues were without Rings. Hee saith moreover, that (ordinarily) no other Rings were worne in *Rome*, but of yron, and that the custome of the *Romaines* was, to giue Rings of gold (by way of prerogative) to Ambassadors, which they sent to any King, or to some strange Nation. And yet notwithstanding, they that entred *Rome* triumphantly, wore no other Rings then of yron, although crownes of gold were allowed for their heads, & long time did this custome continue.

Afterward, when the *Romaines* became more braue and sumptuous, yet did they expressly prohibit in *Rome*, to all mechanick persons, and men of meane condition, to weare Rings of golde: except they were ranked with the Souldiers, or *Romain* Cauallerie, which was a third estate, betweene the Order of the Senators, and the common popularitie; as now adayes is our Nobilitie. Whereuppon, Rings were so priuileged, that in giuing licence to any one to weare a ring of gold, it was as much as to enoble him, and to passe him for a Gentleman. For, as *Plinie*, *Dion*, and many other haue left in their writings, the *Roman* Knights were known, and those of the Military Order, amongst the common people, and distinguished from them by Rings, which they wore on their fingers: euen as euidently as Senators were knowne by their long Purple Roabes, embroidered with large headed nailes. For this cause, the Poet *Horace* attributed Rings to the Cauallerie, bestowing on them the name of Knights, or Gentlemen.

This priuilege then of wearing Rings of golde, might not be granted, but to such as had accomplished some high enterprise, or that were men of power, and worthily deferred. And assuredly, this prerogative was so affected generally, that *Iulius Caesar*, coueting to embolden his Souldiours by remunerations and promises: after a long Oration made to them, hee would lift vp his finger, in signe, that they should enioy whatsoever he promised. And all his Army conceiuing, that by this signe, hee would permit them to weare Rings of golde, which intimated

Status of kings wearing Rings.

Triumphers in *Rome*, wore Iron Rings, but Crownes of gold.

No Mechanick or mean persons to weare Rings of gold in *Rome*.

Dion in lib. 9. *Plin*, in lib. viij. *supra*.

Equester order.

Who onely were allowed to weare rings of gold.

Caesars encouraging signe to his Souldiers.

The marriage Ring of Honour vied among the *Romaines*.

Rings not in vse at the warre of *Troy*.

Gen. 41. 42. *Plinie* reproved by greater authority.

Gen. 38. 18.

Exod. 28. 16.

Josephus lib. 1. *Antiquit.* 4. 6. 9.

Plinius lib. 7. cap. 18.

Tomumbeys taken and brought to *Selym*.

How basely *Selym* vied *Tomumbeys*, and afterward hanged him.

All the Sultanies Empire yielded to *Selym*.

Rings inuentioned by the vanity of man.

asmuch, as that they should all be knights, were the more sprightly encouraged, and serued him with most chearful dispositiō.

Very true it is, that in the time of the Emperours, this prehemine was giuen to many that deserued it not, as wee may see in *Iuuenall* and *Suetonius*, as also in the Commentaries or Chronicles of *Iulius Caesar*, and of *Pitellius*. Neuertheless, the Edict, whereby it was inhibited to Mechanickes to weare Rings of golde, was not in force at the second warre against the *Carthaginians*, and the ouerthrow of the *Romaines* which happened at *Cannas*: for, according as *Pliny* and *Titus Linius* doe report, three bushells of Ringd (belonging to the *Romaine* slaine in the battell of *Cannas*) were found among the slaughtered bodies. In like manner, as *Cicero* alleaded in his fift pleading against *Verris*, he vsed these very words; *When a Generallof the Romaine Army, obtained any victorie, hee ordinarily gaue a Ring to his Secretarie, as a reward for his faithfulness.* Many other things were also in custome then, which wee will heereafter more at large discusse: after we haue proceeded by Examples and Histories, to what end Rings were worne in elder times, and in what manner.

First then, our reuerend predeceffours vsed to weare their Rings, on the next finger to the least vpon the left hand, according as it was obserued by the Statues of *Numa*, and *Seruius Tullius*, Romain kings; because that finger was called *Digitus Anularis*, The Ring finger. And certainly (as *Plinie* saith in his seauenth Booke and eighteenth chapter) the Ring worne vpon the left hand, was a meere expression of modesty: the *Romaines* imagining, that it was a matter ouer-curious and superfluous, to weare any Rings at all: and therefore, to make the lesfer shew of them, they did euer weare them on the left hand. Nor can we say (according to *Plinie*) that this was done to any other end, but because the left hand was more at liberty then the right in the manning of Armes, it seruing then, but as a defence to the bodie, in carrying onely Shields and Targets, as Souldiers vsed then to doe, the right hand hauing no such ease.

Neuertheless, some do say, that Rings were worne on the left hand, for the more safetie and assurance, considering that it

is the hand least employed; and that the Ring-finger was elected for the same respect: For it is least set to labour of all the fingers, as *Macrobius* saith. Pursuing the same case, and alleging *Pliny* for the point, he addeth these words; *There is a veine or nerue, coming from the heart, which taketh his ending in the Ring-finger for which cause and reason, that finger deserueth to be crowned with golde.* *Aulus Gellius* also is of the same opinion. Others affirme, that Rings are worne vpon that finger, for physicke, or physically: and that the vertue of precious stones enchafted in them, doe penetrate to the heart, by means of the fore-named veine. *Macrobius*, grounding his conceit vpon the *Pythagorian* numbers, whereof the *Egyptians* made vse; allegeth many other reasons concerning Rings, which I passe the lightlier ouer, as seeming to bee matters of small importance. We will resolute then on the last opinion, appearing to bee the most receivable: although we see rings to be worne indifferently, vpon all the fingers that are on the hand.

Macrobius doth auouch, that the most principall cause of inuenting or finding rings, was to serue as Seales: for in former times, euerie man caused to be engrauen in Stones so enchafted in Rings, what did best please his owne minde and affection, and wherewith to seale vp his Letters.

This was then the reason of bringing Rings in vse, although now-aadays they are that way least employed: and assuredly, men (in elder dayes) were so curious for well keeping their Rings and Signers, that they would seale with them verie seldom. Which I thinke not to be so vsed amongst the *Romaines*, because they were so heare-handed, as not onely they sealed their Letters with their Signers, but also sealed therewith their Chests, Coffers, Ambries, Cub-boords and purses, that kept the houtholde keyes; yea, and sealed their Cellers, wherein were their stored wines, for feare lest they should be stolen away from them; and *Marcus Tullius Cicero* himselfe saith, that his mother did the same.

Now concerning the vse of sealling with Rings, it is very ancient, according as we may reade in many Examples and Histories, especially in the sacred Scriptures, where

A veine in the ring-finger coming from the heart.

Rings worne on Ligues are not only for physick, but for the regard of the veine leading to the heart.

Rings deuised for the sealing of Letters as the first.

The gripple-neck of the Ring remains in sealing vp all things.

The antiquity of sealling with Rings.

Reg 21.8.

Dan 6. 17.

Iuuenall

The famous Seale-ring of Polyocrates, Crowned with finis, and a miler. Plin. lib. 4. c. 9. Strabo in lib. 4. Herodotus in 1.

The history of Polyocrates and his voluntary falling into misfortune.

where it is said, That *Queene Isebel*, wife to *Achab King of Samaria*, sealed with the Kings Ring, the Command whereby the sent to haue *Naboth* put to death: and yet notwithstanding, this was fiftene hundred yeares before the foundation of the Cittie of *Rome*.

Moreouer, when the Prophet *Daniel* (by the Kings commaundement) was put into the Denne of Lions; the stone which closed the mouth of the sayde denne, was sealed with the Kings Ring, and the rings of all the Princes in the kingdome: where by appeareth, that Rings serued them to seale withall; as now they are vsed in any Kingdome, when the King confirmeth any especiall priuilege.

And in these venerable elder times, Stones were enchafted and fixed in Rings, vpon which stones were cut and engrauen diuers formes and figures, deuised onely to seale withall. Heereupon did the Poet write:

I knew the Letter, and the faithfull stone.

Asmuch to say, as hee knew the partie from whence the Letter came, by the figure engrauen vpon the stone in the ring, implying, that he knew the Seale. In regard whereof, when men made their rings, they studied to exceede one another in riches and costlinesse, especially Kings and other great Lords; witness the so much renowned Seale-ring of *Polyocrates* a Tyrant in the Isle of *Samos*. And although many did suspect the narration of that Seale, as a matter meereley fabulous: yet notwithstanding, *Cicero*, *Plinie*, *Strabo* and *Herodotus*, doe holde it for a true historie, affirming it to be an Emerald engrauen, wherewith this Prince vsed to seale his Mistresses and Patents, as briefly wee will say somewhat of the discourse.

This Prince, hauing long time liued in great prosperitie, neuer finding Fortune any way contrary to him, knowing also in others her instabilitie to be such, as it was impossible for a man to passe through the courtes of this life, without experimenting her variable traueses; was willing to fall into a voluntary misfortune, as hoping (by that means) to satisfie whatsoever Fortune could inflict vpon him. Heereupon, taking the Ring which he so highly esteemed, he threw it into the very deepest place of the Sea, to haue the lesse hope for euer finding it againe; which yet he did,

as *Herodotus* maintaineth, by the aduice of *Amasis* King of *Aegypt*, and his confederate. It hapned, that within some few dayes after, a Fisher-man presented him with a fish caught in the Sea, which was very great, and much remarkable. As the Cooke belonging to *Polyocrates* was in dressing the same fish, he found in the bowels thereof, the Ring which his Lord had throwne into the Sea; an accident very admirable, and fortunate to *Polyocrates*. When King *Amasis* heard thereof, hee departed from the league of friendship which hee had long continued with *Polyocrates*, sending him expresse word by his Ambassadors; that it was impossible for a man to be so fortunate, but ere long he must fall into farre greater misfortune, euen to the pitying of his best friends. As it hapned to him in short time after: For, King *Darius* making war against him, was taken in the said war by *Orandus*, Lieutenant generall to *Darius*, who caused him to be hanged and strangled. This came thus to passe, two hundred & thirty yeeres before the foundation of the Cittie of *Rome*.

Plinie sayth, that the Stone enchafted in this costly Ring, was a Cornalline: yet *Herodotus* affirmeth it to be an Emerald; but there appeareth some defect heerein, because *Plinie* sayth, *How was it possible in those times, that an Emerald could be engrauen?* In brieft, it was an ordinarie matter among Princes, to seale Letters with their Rings. As we may obserue by *Alexander the Great*, who (according as *Quintus Curtius*, and many more belide doe auouch) being willing to acquaint *Hephestion*, his choice favourite, with a secret which he had set downe in a Letter, shewing it to him, he tooke the Ring from his finger, and ser it to *Hephestion* lippes, as a signe of sealing them vp with silence.

Suetonius sayth, that *Octavianus* the Emperour vsed the forme of a * *Sphinx* in his Seale; whereupon the Poets fained, that the *Sphinx* was a monster like to a * *Harpyia*, which demanded many doubtfull questions of passengers, ouerthrowing and also killing such, as could not resolute their Riddles. Whereupon the *Romaines* emblazoning the Seale of *Octavianus*, vsed as a commō saying; that his *Sphinx* might raise some such doubtfull cause, as would be very difficult to resolute. And this made

Such accidents do not happen to many men, let them make triall neuer so often.

The fortunat man is alwaies waited on by misfortune.

Plinie in lib. 4. c. 9.

An ordinary thing for Princes to seale with their Rings.

* A beast like to an Ape or Monkey.

* The monstrous and ravenous birds Aello, Orype and Celane.

Octavianus

Rings giuen to such as deserued them not, onely in the Emperours times.

3 bushells of rings found in the field of Cannas.

On what finger our graue elders vsed to weare their rings, & the reason for so doing.

The left hand more at ease then the right

Doubtfull
figures in
Signet Rings.

A signet ring
caused the
long war be-
tweene Mari-
us and Sulla.

* Grandfather
to Cato.

Mens figures
engrauen in
Rings, as in
the time of
the Romaine
Emperors.

Rings onely
desu'd for
brauerie, and
the eyes con-
tentment.

Judith 19.

Offianus to alter his Seale, engraving therein the Image of *Alexander* the great.

Mecenas, a great fauourite of the sayde *Offianus*, had a Frogge engrauen in his Seale; and although that creature is naturally very timorous: yet notwithstanding, the Romaines greatly feared the Frog of *Mecenas*, because by vertue of the Mandations sent vnder that Seale, they payed great subsidies and tributes. *Pompey* the Great had a Lion in his Signet.

In briefe, Signets were so much respected, as it is well remembered, that the Signet Ring of *Silla*, moued that most cruell warre, which happened betweene him and *Marius*. In that Ring was engrauen the Image of *Bacchus*, King of *Carthay* or *Mauritania*, whom *Silla* tooke with king *Jugurthe*; which was so highly displeasing to *Marius*, to whom *Silla* was Lieutenant; as hee tooke occasion thereby, to enter open Armes against him. *Plinie* also saith, that the Sociall warre, which the Romaines waged against their confederates, was moued by the meanes of a Signet, which procured the enmitie betweene * *Drusus* and *Scipio*.

But passing from these particular Signets of diuers Princes, we are to obserue, that the Romaines caused their owne proper figures to be engrauen in their Rings. As is well deliuered by *Plautus*, who introduceth a Bowde in one of his Comedies, that by the impression of a Ring, knew the iests and countenance of a souldier her friend. Neuerthelesse, when the Emperours reigned in *Rome*, such as then were pleasing to them, carried their Images engrauen in their Signets. It may then be helde for certaine, that (almost) from the beginning of the world (by that which hath already bene said) Rings were in vse to be worne, euen as now adayes they are in many Countreies, where Armes and other deuices, are ordinarily carried in Rings.

We may conclude then, that Rings were made (at the first) for brauerie. and onely to giue delight to the eye; as also for some other reasons, whereof wee shall speake hereafter. And vndoubtedly, the custome of wearing Rings hath bene of long continuance; for, beSIDE the Histories and Examples before related, wee reade of that courageous woman *Judith*, who hauing sworne the death of *Holo-*

phernes, shee put off her mourning garments, and to execute her intention, shee clothed herselfe with goodly habites, enriching hir comely person with Bracelets, Rings and eare-rings. The Romaines likewise wore Iewelles, and Rings on all fingers of the hand, except on the middle finger, which is the greatest about all the other, and which they holde to bee infamous; for a reason, whereof I purpose not now to speake.

Plinie saith, that after the victory which *Pompey* obtrayned in *Asia*, the Romaines greatly inured themselues to wear rings; and brauerie grew then into such request, that in Winter they vsed to wear bigger rings: but those appointed for Summer, were much more light, subtiler and ingeniously made. Also, they named their Rings according to the fingers whereon they wore them, as is affirmed by *Iulius Pelagius*. *Plinie* saith, that the second finger, or that whereon the Romaines beganne to wear their rings, next vnto the Ring-finger, was the first finger, which is nearest to the pulle; and then afterwards they wore them on the little finger. Moreover he saith, that many (in his time) wore three Rings on each finger: neuerthelesse, such as were most dainty and curious, would wear but one Ring onely vpon the whole hand.

From hence it ensued, that euery Nation beganne to seeke very diligently for stones that were of greatest price and value; onely to serue in Rings as Signets, and thereon to engraue their deuices. Notwithstanding, among the stones of choicest esteeme, that of *Pyrrhus* (who waged warre against the Romaines) in ancient times was accounted to be most excellent. For, in that precious stone, (without any helpe, inuention or arte of man) was naturally discerned, the figures of nine goddesses, and a yong naked child standing by them: so that they were censured, by graue opinion, to bee the portraits of the nine Muses, and of *Apollo*. A matter very strange, and somewhat difficult to be credited: neuerthelesse, many Authors (worthy belife) doe auaunt it for a true historie, especially *Plinie*. And questionles, according to the iudgement of Philosophers, this might happen thus naturally, by the great and immeasurable heate of matter consiting in the sayde stone;

All fingers
rings except
the middle
finger.

Rings for
Winter and
for Summer.

Plinie 37.
capit.

Rich stones
sought for by
all Nations to
make Signets.

The rare pre-
cious stone
belonging to
King *Pyrrhus*.

Plinie in lib. 37.
capit.

Albert Magnus
in lib. 2. prop.
13. item.

Leonard Camil-
lus in Mir. Lap.
pag. 4.

Lively figures
discerned na-
turally in Mar-
ble and Jasper
pillars.

The wonder-
full Ring of
Gyges King
of *Lydia*.

Plinio lib.
37. cap.
Concerning
the history of
Gyges, and in
what manner
he found his
Ring.

stone; or else by some correspondencie, or celestiall influence, with the Stars and Planets, euen as a woman may produce a monster, wholly different from humane kind, and by the selfe same influences.

Albertus Magnus saith, that he sawe at *Colleen*, in the chappell of the three Kings, a Stone, wherein was naturally figured and discerned two mens heads, placed vpon a Serpent. *Leonardus Camillus*, in his Mirrour of precious Stones sayth, that this may be so, naturally; affirming moreover, to haue seene seauen trees, all of one forme, naturally portrayed in a Stone. And not to tie my selfe to other mens testimonies, I haue obserued in Columns of Marble and Jasper, men naturally figured, and many other shapcs beside, very remarkable, both for the diuersitie of colours, and singulartie of shadows naturally thereto belonging. And therefore, seeing so manie credible persons haue written, concerning the precious Ring-stone of King *Pyrrhus*: it might very well be, that the Nine Muses were therein naturally figured, and appearing to the life.

Now, for that which is reported, as touching the Ring of *Gyges*, King of *Lydia*, (which *Plinie* attributeth to King *Midax*) it seemes a matter strange and incredible. This Ring had such a property, that being on the finger, and turned to the in-side of the hand, the wearer went inuisible; but turning it to the out-side, then he was visible againe, and to be seene of all men as before; all which was made so publickely knowne, that men tooke it offensively, when they were demanded, if they had seene *Gyges* Ring, or no. *Plato* the diuine Philosopher sayth in his Booke of Commonwealth, that by reason of a certaine tempest and earthquake, the ground opened, and a great deepe gulfe was publickely discerned. *Gyges*, being then a Sheepeheard, but a man of bolde spirit, descended downe into the gulfe, and found there a great horselfe, which was of Brasse, and hollow; within which horselfe was a dead body, of a Giant-like and prodigious stature. He looking considerably on the huge body, espied a Ring vpon his finger, which he tooke off, and hauing put it vpon his owne, found himselfe suddenly returned to his fellowes: where they (as then) were keeping Cattell.

It came to passe, that *Gyges* (acciden-

tally) turned the stone in the Ring toward the palme of his hand; and then heard his companions talking of him, as if hee was absent from their company: whereupon, being wife and ingenious, hee presently conceived, that this proceeded from some hidden vertue in the Ring. So, finding it to be true; and trusting to the secret vertue thereof, he went to the Court of *Candaules* King of *Lydia*, where hee preyaued so fortunately, that he obtained the loue of the Queene. Afterward, hauing slaine the King, by meanes of his wife, he possessed himselfe of the kingdome, and so became King of *Lydia*. *Cicero* taketh this narration of *Plato*, no otherwise then as a morall Fable, applied by him to colour what he sayd. *Philostratus*, discoursing of Serpents and dragons in the *Indians* saith, That in certaine Stones, the heads of Serpents and Dragons are to be seene, naturally figured; and that this may be proued by the Ring of *Gyges*. Seeing then, that so many famous Writers make mention of *Gyges* Ring, we may well allow it to be a true Historie, and no Fable.

How *Gyges*
found out the
inuisibility of
the Ring.

In what man-
ner *Gyges*
became king
of *Lydia*.

Philostratus
discourseth
of stones in in-
dia.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of the properties and vertues, secretly concealed in precious Stones: And whence the vertue proceedeth, which is sayd to be in Magick Rings.



S touching the before mentioned Ring of *Gyges*, albeit I will not resolutely affirme, that it had (indeede) any such propertie (as easily) in other places, according as hath bene obserued by experience, and as may be gathered by the writings of diuers credible authors, concerning precious stones, hauing wonderfull and vnpeakeable qualities and vertues; yet notwithstanding, making no such strange reckoning of that ring, Magicians haue promised to execute far greater matters, then the ring of *Gyges* was able to do. Therefore, if that which is written of *Gyges* be true, I am of the mind, that he did it by the Art of Magicke, rather then any other vertue else: as all they doe, that

The Author
relieth to
iustifie the
hidden vertue
of *Gyges* ring.

Magicall mat-
ters per-
formed by Astro-
logie.

More vertues
reputed to be
in precious
stones, then
the Author
credith.

Of the Di-
amond, and
his properties

The Ame-
thyst.

The Ruby.

The Carbun-
cle.

The Corall.

The Cryfall.

The Iacinth.

that compasse all their intentions, by the power of Astrologie, obseruing times, as also the aspects and influences of Starres and Planets, whereunto they ascribe peculiar rules, whereof we purpose to speake somewhat.

But, returning to the vertues and properties of precious stones; It is very certayne, that our graue Ancients did place such stones in their Rings, and wore them vpon their fingers, onely to be sensible of their properties. Neuerthelesse, although they should be indued with great vertues, yet I am perswaded, that their qualities are not so precious, as proclamation is made of them. Wherefore, not to stand on deciphering their vertues particularly, I will direct my Readers to such Bookes, where their natures are at large described, contenting my selfe, to speake of some few, as they haue beene (in some measure) related to me.

First then, it is saide of the Diamond, that it is very singular against forerie, charmes and enchantments, naturally strengthening the heart by his vertues: but especially against illusions of phantasies and spirites, which terrifie by sodaine affrightings. Also I reade, that it is exceeding good for women with child, for the conseruation of their fruit. The Amethyst serueth as a counter-poyson, and likewise is a defensatiue against drunkenesse. The Balais or Ruby, restraineth the inordinate appetites of the flesh, and is a soueraigne help to the health of any body. The Carbuncle is very preseruatiue against pestilentiall and infecting ayres, and allwaging luxurious or carnall desires, doth greatly comfort and delight the heart. The Corall containeth in it diuers especiall properties; for it stencheth or stayeth bleeding; it is a preseruatiue against gally visions, and dreadfull dreames; it is likewise very chearefull to the heart and vitall spirits. As concerning the Cryfall, it is soueraigne against such persons or things, as can enchaunt or charme by their looks or sight: and it also is a restriction and defence, from dreaming of offensive matters. The Iacinth, is cordiall and comfortable to the heart, in like manner as the Corall is; and is also a soueraigne preseruatiue against the pestilence.

It is credibly reported and written, that wearing an Emeraude on the finger, it

maketh the partie chaste and continent, as hating and despising the lusts of the flesh. And some holde it for certaine, that it be worn on the finger of a Maide, that hath lost her virgin honour, it will break immediately. It is also greatly auailable against euill spirits, against tempests, and against the falling sickenes. The Cornaline moderateth all wanton appetites, and glads the heart wonderfully: this stone is the best of all other to seale withall, because waxe will neuer cleaue vnto it. The Topaze doth appease the passions of the mind, allwaging the imperious tempests of chollier and phrensies, quite ouerthroweth the melancholy humour; and finally, it purifieth the blood. Behold what leuerall vertues remayne in the fore-remembered Stones.

Many other there are, of great and extraordinary vertue, which I let passe the lightier, referring the Reader to *Aristotle* (although the booke of Stones, and bearing his name, was none of his worke, by plaine appearance) and to *Albertus Magnus*, in his Treatise of Minerall matters; to the Poet *Marbodius*, in his Booke of precious Stones; to *Serapion*, in his Booke of Simples; to *Isidorus*, in his sixt Booke of Etymologies; to *Bartholomew* the Englishman, in his Tract of the Properties of naturall things; and (about all) to *Leonardus Camillus*, in his Mirrour or Glasse of precious Stones. *Plinie* also hath written of them in many places; likewise *Vincencius*, and many other, whom I spare to name for breuities sake.

But I pray you, let vs bestow a little consideration, on the perspicacitie and ready apprehension of mans spirit, in finding out the manner and meanes to set and enchaune precious Stones in Rings, thereby to enioy their properties and vertues. Nay, there were some that conueighed poison into their rings, to compasse their owne speedy death, if any misfortune did throw them into any dangerous disaster: notwithstanding it ensued from the infection of the duell, inducing diuers ancient Pagans to despair, as may be obserued in sundry olde Histories. Especially renowned *Hanniball*, who vially carried poyson in his Ring, whereof he dyed in *Bythinia*, because he would not fall into the hands of *Titus Flaminius* (Ambassador from the Romaines) his capitall enemy;

The Emerald
called the
Stone of Cha-
stity.

The Corna-
line or Cor-
nace.

The Topaze

Affects and
influences of
the stars en-
chained in
rings, and
greatly trust-
ed vnto.

Magicall rings
made vnder
the obseruation
of Starres
and Planets.

The ingenu-
ity of men, by
enchaining
precious
stones in
Rings.

Poysons put
into diuers
Rings in el-
der times.

The ring of
Hanniball,
bearing poy-
son in it.

he hauing slaine (before) the father of *Flaminius* in Italy: to whom *Prusias* King of *Bythinia*, would haue deliuered *Hanniball*, thereby to winne grace with the *Romans*. *Plinie* sayth, that the great *Athenian* Orator *Demosthenes*, imitated the very same example.

Heliogabalus, a very vile conditioned prince, ordinarily carried poyson in his Ring, and to the same end: albeit as *Lampridius* sayth, in reporting his life, he deserved not so honourable a death, as impoysoning. *Plinie* speaks of this matter, and manner of carrying poysons in rings, to bee an ordinary obseruation, and very common in his time.

Moreover, those ancient fore-goers did singularly observe the aspects, & influences of Starres, as well by forging them into their rings, as also by engraving them in stones, when they were to be enchained, by those meanes to giue them vertue: a most wicked, vile & vnworthy action, not meet to be remembered among Christians. And assuredly there are many Authours, which discourse on those Images & Characters, made by obseruation of Astronomical Constellations, and which made promise of mountaines and meruailes by those meanes. Affirming, that ouer and beside the naturall vertue of the stone; it attained to a new strength and quality, by the Image engrauen thereon, as also by the alliance and propinquity, which it had with the metall wherein it was placed. And they would maintayne, that those Planets and Starres gaue influence, and communicated their vertue to those rings, forged in that ceremonious manner; euen as to the things subiect to their influences; and so by this meane, the naturall vertue of those stones, was fortified by the Magicall vertue thus attained vnto.

In this manner, they baptized (by the name of naturall Magicke) this colligation or connexion, which they performed by hearbs, metalls, perfumes and characters, and which they vnited or combined together in one ring, saying: That rings composed in that manner, were soueraigne against the Apoplexie or dead palie, and anguish in the sides. Some there were made proper to reioyce the heart, to heale and mitigate the rage and fury of a madman, and also that they serued as preseruatiues against poyson, and for many other

diseases; as to conferre a man, euen for the encreasing of his naturall strength. In briefe, they attributed many admirable proprieties to these Rings, wherein breuitie constraineth me to be silent. Norwithstanding, whoeuer desireth to be better informed, may make his recourse to the Mirrour of precious Stones, set downe by *Leonardus Camillus*, and to *Cornelius Agrippa*, in his Booke of Secret Philosophie; to *Albertus Magnus*; and *Tabithus*, a Philosopher highly renowned, discoursing on this Argument; as the like doth *Iustinus*, *Seuerinus* and diuers others. Neuerthelesse, I doe not greatly rely on what they haue sayd; because I neuer expetimented the vertue of Magicall Rings.

True it is, that such a make profession hereof, do say and vouch, That by obseruing the Constellations, requisite as well for forging the metall, as for engraving the stone enchained in the Ring, and vnder the Planet named *Mars*; that ring doth fortifie the heart, and hath the reuerent vertue, working many other great effects, almost incredible. Likewise, such Rings as are made vnder the influence of *Mercurie*, doe adorne the speaking of a man; and maketh him a singular Orator, as also apt to deale in merchandise. And so the like may bee sayde of such, as are made vnder the obseruation of other Planets.

Others engrave in their Rings, the characters belonging to the signes of the Zodiacke, and according to their triplicities, saying: that they of the first triplicity, are namely, *Aries*, *Leo* and *Sagittarius*, doe serue for colic diseases, for Feauers occasioned by phlegme, and for dead Palles. Also the characters appertaining to the second and ayrie triplicity, as *Geminis*, *Libra* and *Aquarius*, are singular against corruption and putrifaction of the blood. And so doe they say of other triplicities of the signes, according to their Elementarie qualitie. And indeed, this obseruation is very ancient, and was practised a long time amongst the oldest Philosophers, as well *Chaldeans*, and *Aegyptians*, as the *Iewes*.

Some also affirme, that the seauen fortunate Rings, which King *Zircas* gaue to *Appolonius Thymanus* (according as *Philostatus* sayth) were of the same temper.

Helps for
further in-
formation to
such as are
desirous.

Rings to be
made vnder
each seuerall
Planet, and
their secret
influenced ver-
tues.

Characters of
the Zodiack
engrauen in
rings, & their
vertues.

Of rings wear-
ed by seue-
n fortunate
rings.

Iarchas was
cheefe of
the Indian
Philosophers.

A man lived
130. yeares
by vertue of
a Ring.

Aristophanes in
Plato.

Erasmus Ro-
tterdamus,
concerning
Magical rings

Claudian de
Salerno.

Diseases en-
graven upon
Rings.

Farther affirming, that the sayd Prince did daily wear a Ring, answerable to the Planet that day reigning: by the which meanes, he preferred himselfe for an hundred yeares, being alwayes as in the floure of his age. The grand-father to this King Iarchas, liued an hundred and thirty yerres, by vertue of the afore-sayd Rings, being continually in manly verdure. And hereupon, the Greekes made great vse of these Magicall and sophisticated Rings, as may be seene in the Comedies of *Aristophanes*, where hee bringeth in a man-Bawde, peremptorily contesting against *Dicem*, who had threatened him, and these are his words: *I care not for all the threatenings that can be used against me, hauing this Ring upon my finger, which his Mistress sold for a Drachma. And shewing the Ring, he proceeded thus: With this Ring I will keep my selfe from his teeth, and from his barking.*

Erasmus, speaking of these Magical Rings, hath these words: *Some daily vse to wear Rings, wherein are certayne characters engrauen, vnder obseruation of constellations and aspects of Starres, and firmly holde, that they serue for diseases in the sides, and are proper (also) for diuerse infirmities. Others, imagining this to be true, do counterfeite these Rings, but all is merely abuse. For, to giue them such vertue; the course of the Starres must be diligently obserued, and the constellations when they are made. Notwithstanding, many regard not the influences of the Starres at all; but onely respect the nature of the stone enchaisted in the Ring, and the character there engrauen. This may be seene in the Bookes of the wings of *Rogierius*, and in the writings of *Leonardus Camillus*, as also of *Tetellus* and *Caclus*, in those bookes which are attributed to *Salomon* for their credite, and which amply doe discourse thereon. For, according as *Tetellus* sayth, a Iaspur stone enchaisted in a Ring, hauing the Image of a Maiden engrauen thereon: preferueth the wearer from ill spirits, and from water. If a Lambe be engrauen thereon, the Ring defendeth from the Apoplexie, and cureth also the seauer quartane. A Cornaline also, hauing the shape of a man figured thereon, holding in his hand some goodly and respectable thing; doth stench the fluxe of blood. In brieue, they speake of so manie matters, pleasant to heare, and very hard to be credited: as I can say nothing in the*

case; but let such as please, make their own experience of them.

But returning againe to Rings & Signets, in *Spaine* they serue in all contracts, instead of full determination: also in matter of marriage, the two parties giue rings to ech other, as a signall and confirmation of the mutuall promise, which they haue made one to an other. In like manner, when religious women doe vndertake the veile; in signe of their profession, Rings are giuen them, as well from the religious house, as from their Parents, in testimony of this true and chaste marriage. There is yet another poynt, concerning this case in question, and though of small importance, yet it doth diuers needfull seruices. Many will change their Rings from one finger to another, for better remembering some occasion to be performed, which otherwise might remayne forgotten. Wherefore, if we consider well the vse of rings, they are not so much to be blamed as *Pliny* and some others doe: For, (in all times) men of vertue and honour haue vsed them. Hereto we may add, that God created golde and precious stones, for the seruice of man, and to maintaine him in health; enduing them with such sundrie properties, to the end they might be the more commodious for men. Finally, Rings are particularly attributed vnto Bishops, in signe of dignitie.

CHAP. XXV.

When e is came at the first, that the name of Gentleman was giuen, as wel to Knights, as to the sonnes of Presidents & Counsellors. What Armes the ancient Romans carried: And whence came the inuention of emblazoning Armes first in Escutcheons.



HE custome ordinarily obserued in *France*, *Italy* and *Spain*, is to call him a Gentleman, that is a Knight extracted of a noble house; especially such a one, as is a Gentleman by name and Arms. Also, when a King sends a man of noble house in Embassie, he stileth him so in his Patent, by these words: *I send you a Gentleman of my house*. Kings and Princes, as well in these dayes, as in times past, vsed to haue (ordinarily) in their Courts, men of learning, and Knights, who

What vse is made of rings and signets in *Spaine*.

Rings needfully vsed for tokens remembrance, and haue bin requested by laws of honour and vertue.

Customes for the stile of a Gentleman.

Knights and Gentlemen of the Kings house.

Gentleman signifies Nobleman.

Whence the name Gentle or Gentle came at the first.

Cicero in *Top.*

Bookes of logical inuention.

Salutis in *Top.*

Cicero de *Cl. Or.*

Bucens his 3. degrees of Romane duties.

The name of Gentleman among the Romans.

who were named Gentlemen of the Kings house, or Gentlemen seruants. And these Gentlemen were descended of great houses in the Kingdome, as well Schollers as Soulieders, and they remained continually in the Court, attending on the King in times of peace and warre. Wherefore, the name of Gentleman, signifies as much as Nobleman, and extracted of a noble lineage. Neuertheless, it appeareth not much differing from our purpose, to say somewhat, concerning whence came the name of Gentleman, or of Gentilitie, together, with the custome of bearing Arms in Escutcheons.

As touching the first point, the name of Gentle came from the *Latines*, who called such men Gentles or Gentiles, as were of one and the same race, and of one selfe same name; being at libertie, and of free condition from all Antiquitie: and those houses also were tearmed Ancient Gentiles, euen as now adayes we call them houses of Noble race, houses of Gentlemen. Which *Cicero* well witnesseth, in his *Topickes*, speaking thus: *We call these Gentiles, that are of one name, and who from all times haue bene of free condition: so that no part or parcell of their race, was euer seruant or slave, and much lesse, degraded from honour, and of the Romaine Burgeship*. And *Batius* also sayth in his *Topickes*, we call ancient Gentiles, all such as are issued of one ancient house and race, franke and free: as were the *Scipioes*, the family of *Brutus*, & other noble houses of *Rome*. *Cicero* likewise taketh this name of Gentle, for one that is of our race, and that beareth the same name and Armes as we doe.

The learned *Budeus*, speaking of deuoirs or duties of parentage, obserued among the *Romaines*, sayth: *They were three in number: Dutie of consanguinitie, Dutie of blood and lineage direct line. And duty of Gentilitie, as much to say, as when a man is descended of the same name & Armes*. The title then of Gentle or Gentility was and should be attributed onely to Noble houses. And therefore the name of Gentleman among the *Romaines*, valued as much as a Nobleman among the *Castilians* and *French*. And assuredly, the *Romaine* Gentlemen did (ordinarily) shew the Images and Deuices of their predecessors, that had illustrated their memorie by their worthy deedes: and this repre-

sentation of Nobility, was highly esteemed among the *Romaines*, euen as yet to this day, are ancient *Armes*, and *Penons* and *Standards*, belonging to the predecessors of Gentlemen, who would not forget any thing of Antiquitie (concerning their Image) in funeral orations, made at the obsequies of their parents, thereby to haue the man accounted so much the more Noble.

In this respect *Cicero* reprooued *Piso*, in the change and pleading he made against him, saying: *The honours and estates which thou hast obtained, were giuen thee, only for respect of the Image of thy predecessor, of whom thou carriest the colour onely; so that thou canst not be deemed to be a Gentleman*. And in another place, speaking of himselfe, he confesseth: *To haue no Images of his race; for by his excellent knowledge, admirable wisdom and highly esteemed eloquence, he so much ennobled himselfe; that he came to be Consul of Rome, enjoying other degrees and prerogatiues, euen as if hee had bene a Gentleman of race, and issued from the house of a Senator*. Which himselfe also further confesseth in his last pleading against *Verres*, saying: *Thou being great Surueyours of Rome, for some especiall seruices done by thee to the Common-wealth, hast a place appointed for thine Image, and enjoyed the priuileges of a Gentleman*.

I reade, that the *Romaines* were verie careful of those Images, which were called *Stemmata*: for commonly they were made of waxe, and placed ouer the portallies of their houses; or else proudly kept in aptly contriued boxes, and so preferred in places appointed for their standing, as witnesseth *Iuuenal*, *Martial*, *Seneca*, *Plinie*, and many more.

And when there was question of some publicke ceremony or of funerall pompe, the people of the houses would make a goodly shew of the Images belonging to their Ancestours, with their names fixed vpon them, according as *Plinie* reporteth. He also declareth in his ninth booke and fifth chapter, that the *Romaines* would place before their houses, the *Ensignes*, *Penons* and other Coates of Armes and spoiles, which they had wonne from their enemies in war, and remained there to perpetuities: so that if the house were sold, it was not lawfull for the buyer to take them away, because they serued for

Ancient Armes in Penons & Standards belonging to Gentlemen.

Cicero cent. Piso.

Cicero in *Orat.* lib. 3.

Cicero in *De. Clau.* lib. 3.

Images made of waxe, and crowned with Garland of flowers.

Plinie lib. 9. c. 5

Ensignes and Coates of Armes fixed before the Romaine houses.

an honour and prehemine vnto their houses.

From hence came the custome of bearing Armes in a Escutchian, as now adates Gentlemen vse to do. Notwithstanding, it seemes that the emblazoning of Armes, receiued their originall from those deuices, which were on the Banners and Ensignes, as well of the Romaines, as other strange Nations, and carried by them in warre. As at this very day, the Emperours beare an Eagle in their Armes; because *Julius Cesar*, the first Emperour of *Rome*, carried an Eagle in his Ensignes. As much may be said concerning the Flowers de Luces, which the Kings of *France* carrie, and of diuers other.

Now, concerning mine owne opinion, I finde, that long time before the *Romaines* were, the Armes of Gentlemen were in vse. For, it is said, in the first Booke of the *Macchabees*, that *Simon*, Captaine general of the Jews armie, made a very sumptuous sepulcher for his father, mother and brethren, which was enriched with Pyramids and Pillars, whereon was engrauen Ships, in manner of a Deuice; and thereon were fixed coats of Armes, wherewith he had vanquished his brethren. *Messala Corvinus*, in the Oration which he made, to honour the lineage of the Emperour *Octavius* (although the Oration deserued not the title of *Messala*, alleading *Virgil*, vpon that he wrote; affirming *Antenor* the Trojan, to be the founder of *Padua*) sayth; *The Troians Armes were placed by Antenor, on the Temple of new Padua*; and that the emblazon of the Armes, was a Swine in a field golde. So that, if *Messala* do speake truly, the vse of Armes is very auncient. Heereupon I conceiue, that the emblazons of Gentlemen, took name of Armes or Armories, because they were continually engrauen neare to their Armes. For, as *Messala* saith; *Our Auncients*, after they had obtained any victorie, ordinarily placed in their Temples, the Armes and Ensignes, wherewith they wonne the victorie from the enemy.

Wherefore we may well say, that the name of Gentleman, and the manner of bearing Armes in Escutchions, is no moderne matter, but very auncient; and that the name of Gentle or Gentile, came from those ordained and appointed for horsemen in the Romaine Caualerie:

who were of the third estate or degree amongst the common people. And they that wore the long robe or Gowne, were the Order of Senators, and their sonnes aunciently called *Patricians*; as much to say, as issued from fathers. For, in the time of *Romulus*, according as *Titus Livius* auoucheth: *The Senatours were called Fathers, and their sonnes Patricians, and this degree was the most noble and chiefe in Rome*. Other Gentlemen, that were not of this rancke, were stiled Knights: from whence issued, that Gentlemen in *Spaine* are called *Cheualiers*. The like we say of the long gownned men, who commaund ouer the people, as Senatours; and yet notwithstanding, they come after the other. Briefly, the name of *Knight* is come to such credite, as the very greatest do holde themselves honoured to be called *Knight*; albeit the name of *Knight* was but the proper title of a Souldier of the ordnances, or of the light horse.

CHAP. XXVI.

Of the Septuagint, or Seauentie Translations of the olde Testament, out of the hebreue into Greeke: At what time it was done, and for what occasion.

Every man is very briefe, concerning the traduction of the Seauentie persons, who translated the Olde Testament out of Hebrew into Greeke; but yet very few do know, whence it came, and wherefore that translation was so appointed: wherein assuredly, many Diuines, in their publique preaching, haue declared ouer-much sloath & negligence. First then it is to be obserued, that this Translation of the Seauentie men, hath bene only in the Church holily and religiously respected: but in the time of Pope *Damasus*, *Saint Hierome* conuerted it into Latine. And to speak seriously, the traduction of the Septuagint hath bene of such authoritie, that it is alleaged for diuine: for so it appeareth by our blessed Saviour and his Apostles, in often alleading Scriptures, according to the saide Translation.

And

And because the historie of that Translation is very worthy and famous, I will set downe that which is sayd by *Saint Augustine*, in his Booke of the Citie of God, *Iosephus* the Jew, *Eusebius*, *Irenaeus*, *Iustinus*, *Ruffinus*, and many other.

Here is to be noted, that the five bookes of *Moses*, the Prophets, and other Histories of the holy Bible, were first of all written in the Hebrew tongue, which was the first viual tongue among men; before the confusion of Tongues, which happened at the building of the Tower of *Babylon*. In that tongue and language God spake first to his Prophets; as the like our blessed Lord and Saviour did, when he was conuersant among men. This language then being particular to the Iewes, and the mysteries and prophecies (as also the coming of Christ) being concealed therein: it was very requisite, that such mysteries should be written in a tongue more common then the Hebrew: as that was then among the Greekes, who were sole Gouvernours of the wide Vniuerse, by the fresh and recent victories of *Alexander* the Great. So that, by the frequentation and traffique of men, the Greeke tongue had courie generally, and was esteemed the most common of all other Languages whatsoever.

To the end then, that the mysteries of sacred Scripture, might bee vnderstood of euery one, before the coming of Iesus Christ; it was requisite of necessity, that the Scriptures should be traduced into a common and vulgar tongue, for feare lest the Iewes at the *Messias* his coming, should suppress them, or else falsifie them (for that race of people was of bolde and most wicked inclination) because it might, and not be sayd, that the Christians had added or diminished any thing from the Scriptures, according to their owne humour and phantasie. And therefore, about two hundred and seauentie yeares before the Incarnation of Iesus Christ, it pleased the goodnesse of Almighty God, to inspire *Ptolomie Philadelphus* King of *Egypt*, to procure the translation of the holie Bible. But seeing we are fallen into discourse of that Prince; we will reach into his Historie somewhat higher.

After that *Alexander* the great had subdued *Asia* (which he performed in small compasse of time) and that he had ranged

a great part of *Europe* and *Africa*: he died without any lawfull heire, that might succeede him in such great Empires. He being dead, the Princes and Captains of his Court, who were all most valiant and famous men: laboured by force of Armes to possesse themselves of what they possibly could: So that the kingdomes appertaining to *Alexander* onely, became diuided into many parts: for *Antigonus* possessed himselfe of *Asia*, *Seleucus* of *Chaldea*, and of many other Provinces. By the same meanes also *Ptolomie*, the sonne of *Lagus* made himselfe King of *Egypt*, of *Phoenicia*, of *Cyprus*, and diuerse other Countreies, among which *Iudea* then was one. Being Lord of *Iudea*, he made there many great booties, leading away store of Iewes captiues into *Egypt*, where hee had ordeined the chiefe seate of his Kingdome. So that he was the first King of *Egypt*, that called himselfe *Ptolomie*: which name remained hereditary to the successours in the sayd Kingdome; for, before that *Cambyses*, sonne to *Cyrus*, King of *Persia*, had conquered *Egypt*, all the Egyptian Kings called themselves *Pharaohs*.

But returning againe to our *Ptolomie*, after he had reigned a long time, he dyed, and then succeeded him *Ptolomie Philadelphus*, who likewise reigned peaceably in *Egypt*.

This Prince gaue leaue, and set at libertie all the Iewes, which his father led prisoners into *Egypt*. And then it came to passe, according to the pleasure of Almighty GOD, that this King erected a goodly Librarie, in *Alexandria* the capital Citie of *Egypt*, by the meanes of *Demetrius Phalarus* the *Alenian*, a man much renowned for his knowledge, and to whom hee gaue full power and commission. So that, by the diligence of *Phalarus*, hee compassed the finishing of the fairest and most compleate Librarie, that euer was scene in the world; as well for number of Bookes, as the qualitie of Authors, and diuinitie of disciplines.

This King, vnderstanding that the Bookes of the Iewes, contained admirable and vnespressible mysteries, resolved to haue them reduced into the Greeke language. And to effect this his purpose, he dispatched an Embassie to *Elexazar*, Prince of the Iewish Synagogue, with great presents; intreating him, in memory of fauours

done by

Aug in Cuius
Deo 4.

The hebreue
tongue the
first general
tongue.

God spake to
his Prophets
in the hebreue
tongue.

The Greeke
tongue esteemed
the most
frequent
tongue.

The necessity
of our Scrip-
ture in a vul-
gar language.

The Transla-
tion of the
Bible, 170.
yeares before
Christ's incar-
nation.

The original
of bearing
Armes in a
Escutchian.

The Romaine
Eagle borne
by Emperours.

1 Macchab 13
27; 8. 29.

Armes in vse
long before
the Romaines
time.

Messala Cor
vinus in Oration
of his.

The Troians
Armes vpon
new Padua.

Messala in his
lib. supra.

The name of
Gentleman, &
bearing Armes
very auncient.

The death of
Alexander
the Great.

Alexanders
Kingdome di-
uided into
many parts.

The first *Pto-*
lomy King of
Egypt, after
the *Pharaohs*.

Demetrius
Phalarus, a
Noble *Philos-*
opher and
Oratour,
Scholler to
Theophrastus,
for his excel-
lent vertues
gouerned the
Athenians
ten yeares.

Ptolomies
Ambassie to
Elexazar the
Iew.

by him to those of his Nation, and for the good neighbourhood betweene them, to send him a Bible in *Hebrue*, as also such learned and skilfull men, as could translate it into the *Greeke* tongue. *Iosephus* and *Eusebius* haue set downe the forme of the Letter, which was as followeth:

The Tenour of the Letter,
sent by King Ptolomy Philadelphus, to Eleazar the High-Priest.

Ptolomy a King, to the High-Priest Eleazar, health.

NO man can be ignorant, that manie Jewes haue dwelt in this kingdome of *Egypt*, being brought thither prisoners by the *Persians*, at such time as they subuigated *Iudea*. And againe, when the late deceased king my father brought diuers hither also, to whom (neuertheless) my said Lord & Father trusted so much, that they did him seruice in his warres: yea, he planted them in strong forts, by way of Garrisons, to keep the *Egyptians* in awe & feare. As for my selfe, from such time as I came to the Crowne, I haue alwaies vsed humanity towards your Nation, and haue sent home more then 200000 that were detained here as slaues, paying their ranfome & charges to them that held them prisoners. Such as desired to follow the wars, to them I haue giuen wages, euery one answerable to his worth and merit. Many of them I haue lodged in mine owne house ordinarily, as hoping by this means, to do somewhat acceptable to God; who deliuered this Kingdome into my hands.

And the better to declare the affection I beare in doing all pleasures that I can to you, and all the rest of your nation, as well for the time present as to come: I haue determined, to cause your Bookes in the *Hebrew* language, to be translated into the *Greek* tongue, because I would not haue my newly erected Library, to remaine vnfurnisht any way. And therefore you shall chuse a great number, to chuse fiftie auncient men out of each Tribe, that are expert in your Lawe; and well versed in the *Greek* tongue, for this intended translation. Not doubting, but that it will redound to our great honour, and ample contentment of mind. For this purpose, I haue sent vnto you *Am-*

dress and *Aristeus*, who more at large will informe you of mine intention: to them haue I deliuered large summes of gold and silver, to fulfill the Sacrifices as I haue appointed them, desiring you to send mee by them, such as may further this negotiation. Assuring you, that you cannot doe me a greater pleasure, nor more, to maintaine the friendship begun betweene vs: if (as I intreat you) this may be done with some expedition. *Ptolomie.*

After that the High-Priest *Eleazar* had received the Kings Letters, and understood the further trust referred to the Ambassadors; he entertained them very honorably, receiuing (with chearefull looks) the golde and silver sent by king *Ptolomie*, which (according to *Iosephus*) was a mightie quantitie. And hauing assembled the principall men of the twelue Tribes of *Israel*, hee acquainted them with the Kings intention, and to what end he had sent the Ambassadors. Wherein, to satisfie his desire, they elected out of each Tribe fix aged men, well experimented in the Lawe, and expert in the *Greek* language. For the *Jewes* had a custome to send their people into *Asia*, to learne the *Greek* and *Latine* tongues, as also the Artes and Sciences comprised vnder those languages, euen as yet to this day they obserue the same; so that all the men made choice of, were seuentie two. After they were thus chosen, they were sent with the Ambassadors to king *Ptolomie*, and the Bookes of the Old Testament with them, written (as *Iosephus* sayth) in most places all in golden Letters, and vpon such parchment, the most ingeniously made that euer was seene. Moreouer, he sent diuers great gifts to the said Prince, returning him answer in maner following.

The Answer of the High-Priest Eleazar, to great king Ptolomy Philadelphus,

Eleazar, to his friend King Ptolomie, health.

I Am very glad of your present welfare, and the health of Queene *Arctinoe* your wife, with the young Lords your Sonnes, or any thing you can wish to your contentment: certifying you likewise of my

Two men of great honour and worth, sent by the King.

Eleazar entertained the Ambassadors very honourably.

The lawes by which the Jews were governed, written in the Greek and Latine Languages.

The High-Priests vnto write very familiarly to such Kings, with whom they were acquainted in former times.

instant healthfull condition. By the Misfortune you sent vnto mee, I vnderstand the faire loue and affection, which you beare to our Nation, and haue caused your letters to bee publicly read before all the people, and to let them fully vnderstand, what holy deuotion you declare towards God; I haue exposed to open view, the twenty Vessels of gold, and thirty of silver, together with fifty Cups, and a Table of silver for the sacrifices, beside forty Talents of gold, and as many of silver, sent by you to furnish the Ornaments of our Temple. All which I haue received from the hands of the Noble Lords *Andreas* and *Aristeus*, your faithfull Counsellors and Ambassadors, who haue amply entrusted vs in the cause by you required. And therefore, we haue sent them backe againe vnto yee, offering our selues by them, to accomplish your good pleasure.

And because the extraordinary great fauours which you haue done to them of our Nation, are such, as it is impossible for vs to vie or return any condigne requital: wee must make our recourse to solemne prayers and sacrifices, for the prosperity of you, of your Queene, and of the Noble Lords your sonnes. In which holy action, all our people very voluntarily desire to employ their vtmost paines, in crauing of God, to further and finish your desires, as may best stand with the conseruation of your Estate, and maintenance of your Kingdome in glory and honour.

Now concerning the Translation of the Bookes of our Law, by you so greatly and earnestly desired; we haue elected fix Auncients out of our severall Tribes, who we send vnto you, with the Bookes of our Bible. But when the Translation shall be perfected; according to the office of a iust and louing king, wee desire that they may be sent backe againe to their native Country.

Eleazar, and the people of the Jewes.

When King *Ptolomy* had receiued the Letters of *Eleazar*, with the Bookes of the Bible, and such Presents as were sent by *Eleazar*; he most royally welcomed the seuentie two aged men, and (as *Iosephus* sayth) ioyed not a litle for their arrival. Their lodgings being prepared, & all things necessary for their employment,

they setled themselves to the Bibles translation: wherein happened an admirable and miraculose case; for the seuentie two men being placed seaparately, according to the kings Commission, without any meanes or power of conferring one with another: after they had thus diuidedly finished their Translation, they all appeared before the King with their severall labours, and were found therein all so conforme and agreeing, that one man had not a fillable more then another; which doubtlesse could not bee done, without the power and especiall grace of the holy Ghost, according to the saying of *S. Augustine*, *Irenaeus* and *Tertullian*, who auoucheth in his time, to haue seene at *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, the written Bookes of the seuentie two Translators, vnder their own hands, which were in *Hebrew* and in *Greece*.

As much is said and maintained by *Iustinus* the Philosopher, in the booke of Advertisements, which he wrote to the Gentiles and Pagans, where he speaketh thus. King *Ptolomy* caused to bee builded without the City of *Alexandria*, seuentie two Houses, to lodge therein seaparately, the seuentie two Translators, and there provided for them all things necessary, in most honourable manner. In which places the Translators remained, without seeing one another, until the translation was perfected. Nay more, he affirmed to haue seene the ruines and old walls of those buildings, which were esteemed as reliques and sacred things. And although *S. Hierome* and *Ruffinus* do disagree concerning the number of those Houses or Chambers; yet notwithstanding, that is no matter of any moment, considering (according to *S. Augustine*, and many other Authors) each Translator wrote his bookes alone by himselfe, notwithstanding conferring one with another, and yet neuertheless, all the Translations were found conformable.

And assuredly, when I consider aduisedly on this mystery, I hold it for a mighty miracle, that they should agree in such a conformity of stile, order and method, traducing matter so long and diuers, although they had bene admitted altogether, and had begun the worke with their owne agreement, because we see it a matter of no meane moment, to finde two men agreeing vpon one and the same point, when

Augustine, Irenaeus, Tertullian, who auoucheth in his time, to haue seene at Alexandria in Egypt, the written Bookes of the seuentie two Translators, Gentiles.

Iustinus Adversus gentes.

The difference of S. Hierome and Ruffinus about the buildings.

The admirable conformity of stile, method and matter, in so long a labour.

The Jewes were diuers times brought as captiues into *Egypt*, by feuerall kings conquerors of their them.

King Ptolomy vsed great kindness and humanity to the Jewes.

He desired the full turning of his goodly Library.

The royall gift sent by Ptolomy Philadelphus.

A confession of the Jewes vnto king Ptolomy, to requite his great & gracious kindness.

The 72 translators seaparately, and none of them differing in any thing in all their labours.

when they are to intermeddle with one argument together. But, after the translation was finished, the Lewes which dwell in Egypt, and were very learnedly skillfull in their Law, commended these Sacred writings to the King, wherewith hee was most highly pleased. And according as *Iosephus* and *Eusebius* do maintaine, King *Ptolomy*, being amazed at those Scriptures, and the holy mysteries in them comprized, demanded of *Demetrius Phalaris*, who had the charge of his Library, how it hapned, that *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, and other Law-makers, were silent in this law of the Lewes? Whereunto *Demetrius* thus answered.

Sir, this Law, as your selfe haue sufficiently seene, came from God; and no Lawyer euer durst be so bold, to meddle with it vnderenly, or misuse any text therein contained. Theopompus was smitten with the hand of heauen, with an extraordinary perturbation in his senses, and mighty paine at his hart: because he medled with the holy Histories of the Hebrews among his owne, beautifying the with borrowed words, and rhetoricall phrases. But upon his true repentance and humiliation to God, committing himselfe wholly to his mercy, it was revealed to him in his sleep: that this disaster happened to him, because he durst be so bolde, to embelish and enrich the sincerity of holy Scripture, with curious and adorning words; and thereby to impart them to Pagan and Infidell Nations.

I remember also to haue read, that Theodorus a Tragical Poet, lost his sight sodainly for taking a place of Scripture to maintaine an argument in his Tragedy: and yet upon his vnfeigned repentance, his sight was restored to him againe.

King *Ptolomy* wondering at this discourse of *Demetrius*, placed the translated Bible in his Library, and hauing thankfully respected the ancient Lewes, he licensed their departure, giuing to each man sumptuous gifts; thanking likewise (by his Letters) the Prince *Eleszar*, to whom he sent Kingly presents. Thus you see, how the translation of the Septuagint was performed, they being men (as *S. Augustine* and *Saint Hierom* saide) that then had the spirit of Prophesie: which appeared plainly, in that our blessed Lord and his Euangelists, alledged Scriptures according to their translation. And if perchappes any thing is found in the Hebrew Bible, which

is not in the translation of the Septuagint, wee may well say, that the holy Ghost would not reueale it by their means. And contrarywise, if some thing bee in their translation & is not in the Hebrew text: we must verily beleue, that the blessed Spirit reuealed the passage by their meanes. For the selfsame Spirit that directed the Prophets, when they set down their Prophecies in writing, governed the seauenty two Translators in translating the holy Bible; so faith *S. Augustine*, concerning the version of the Old Testament.

This was the first, before the coming of Iesus Christ; for, after our Saviours Passion, *Aquila* the Lew wrote another. Two other translations were afterwards performed, but by whom it was not known: notwithstanding, they came to the hands of *Saint Hierom*, as *Eusebius* maketh mention in the first booke of his Ecclesiastical history. By these translations the Bible was reduced out of Greeke into Latine: but *Saint Hierom* did his out of Hebrew into Latine, without staying on the Septuagints labour, nor the other Greeke translations. Beside, *Palmes* and other things are sung and sayde in the Church, whereof no disputation neede to be made, whether they were of *S. Hieroms* writing or no.

CHAP. XXVII.

Of the admirable vertues and proprietie, which God and Nature hath giuen vnto the Ant, Emmet, or Pisse-mire: And what worthy examples haue from it bin deriued.



You may well say, that it is no difficult matter for mee, to speake of the Nature and properties of Creatures, hauing for my Patroness, Masters, and Guides, *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, *Alianus*, and many other, writing on that argument: but because my desire extendeth selfe beyonde ordinary compasse,

One and the same blessed Spirit guided the Prophets and Septuagint.

Aquila the Lew wrote the second translation.

Eusebius in Hist. Eccl. lib. 4.

Aristotle in Meteor. 2. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

courting things curious, and knowne to few people; I purpose to say something of the Ant, Emmet, or Pisse-mire; albeit in regard of the creatures smallnesse, some may thereby take occasion to condemne my discourse. Neuerthelesse, let their humors serue them howsoeuer, I cannot exclude this creature out of our rich & spacious Forrest: for there is not any garden how warily or closely soeuer it bee kept; but the Ant will make his entrance, euen in despite of the Master and Owner. And how little in our iudgement and subltie of the creature, it seemeth to vs; yet many renowned Authors haue written wonderful things thereof.

Very true it is, that *Pliny* sayeth; *This creature is vnprofitable, and of no worth at all, but onely for it selfe: when contrariwise, the Bee, as little as it is, doeth (neuerthelesse) giue a pleasing taste to our food, by the sweet sauer of his honey, whereas the Ant doeth gnaw and eate them.* But yet in another place, he speaketh wonders of the Ant, & extollet it extraordinarily. For, concerning the blamefull imputation hee imposeth on this little creature, it proceedeth from a certaine kinde of Couetousnesse, whereunto man is so inclined for his own particular profit, that he would deriue benefit from all creatures, how small soeuer they be, being greatly offended, that our Ant should prouide it selfe of one poore graine of Corne. But if we would consider things, in such kinde as duly appertaineth to them, we should finde more profit from the Ant, then from the Bee. For the Ant serueth vs as an example of industry, prouidence and friendship, and of many other vertues beside, related at large by *Salomon* in his Proverbs, who sendeth the sluggard to the Ant, to consider what paine and sollicitude hee taketh, and to learne discipline and direction of her. For, hauing neither guide or Captaine, or way to command and direct her: shee prepareth her food in the Summer for Winter.

From hence it ensued, that *Saint Ambrose* (speaking of this silly little creature) vseth these words: *The designes and enterprises of the Ant, being iustly considered, do farre exceede her power and strength. And although she haue none to incite her to labor: yet notwithstanding, by a certaine kind of dominion or authority, she prouideth for after-claps and future necessities.* Behold what

Saint Ambrose hath saide, who speaketh much more amply concerning the proprieties of this little Ant; whereon *Cicero* likewise discoursing, sayeth: *That the Ants Commonwealt is to be aduised to every City.* For, not onely they haue vnderstanding like other Animales: but also they haue sense, reason, and memory.

Pliny, *Aristotle*, and *Alianus*, are verie stayed in iudgement, for their consideration of the Ant, and not without great reason: for in duly observing her forme, her dreadfull aspect, her hardnesse, her lively colour, and her piercing knowe; there is not any Lion so fierce as this creature, were it but as great as it is little; it is so strong, bold, and dreadfull.

First, there is not any animall, that can carry the weight of himselfe: but the Ant carrieth and draweth ten times a heauier load then it selfe, so that if this final creature were as great as a horse, it would easily beare the burthen of foure Waggon. Other beasts can hardly defend themselves against her assaults; for, although shee is so small a worme, yet notwithstanding, her teeth are so strong, as the very hardest graine of Corne is not able to withstand them. Nay, she will carry hard stones in her teeth, and howsoeuer she fasteneth vpon them, shee will squash and bruisse them, holding them so forcibly: that no pincers are able to open her mouth. And so opiniuitie is she is of her power, as shee will rather suffer her selfe to be rent in peeces, then to forsake whatsoever shee holdeth: which strength would be farre greater, if her body were equiualent thereto.

But leauing her strength (whereof so small account is made, in regard of her littlenesse) let vs somewhat consider the natural instinct, together with the vertue & wisdom abiding in her. For nature (throughout the whole wide world) hath not produced any other creature, making more demonstration of vertue, then the Ant: nor fith profession of amity, industry, prouidence, and diuers other singular vertues, as wee shall haue occasion to speake of hereafter, in theyr apte places.

In the prime place, Ants haue the form of a Commonwealt among themselues, according as *Pliny* saith; for they haue neither King, Lord, nor any Commander; as much is affirmed by *Aristotle* and *Salomon*:

Cicero in *Tullian*, *Cap. 19.*

Pliny, *Aristotle*, *Alianus*.

No beast able to beare so great a burthen as the Ant.

The wonderful & great strength in her teeth.

What vertues are in the Ant by naturall instinct.

King *Ptolomy* amazed at the Sacred Scriptures.

Theopompus punished for prophesying the Sacred Scriptures.

Gods sacred word hath no need of mens vaine adorning.

The punishment of *Theodorus* a Tragical Poet.

Aquila in *Cicero*, *De L. 7.* *Historia* in *Pliny*, *lib. 4.*

The Ant will haue room in all mens places.

Pliny in *Cap. 19.* The Ant good for none but it telle.

The couetous selfe or men, who gather benefit from all kind of creatures.

Proou. 6, 6, 7, 8.

Ambrose in *Enchiridion*, *lib. 1.*

and the people feare them as they do Lyons, according to the testimony of diuers Authors. And some say, that in digging and turning vp the earth, they throwe vp great quantities of gold; which the country people go to gather, when these dreadful Ants are retired; which they dare not do, if they but sent them in the fields. For sometimes, these Ants hauing winded those seekers for Gold, rush forth vpon them, and kill as many as they can meete withall.

And they haue no other means to seek for gold with safety, but by comming thither mounted vpon light Camels, for their better expedition in flight. And if (by mischance) these Ants do winde those Gold-finders; they haue some peece of flesh hanging about them, which sodainly they let fall, and so escape away. Finally, it seemeth a thing monstrous, that our Ants should be charged with wings: Neuertheless, there is a common Prouerbe, saying: *To the damme of the Ant, wings are proper.* Whereby it appeareth, that some further meaning is hid therein: because such creatures as haue Wings, the winds will carrie them whether they please.

CHAP. XXVIII.

From whence it proceedeth, that some men live long, and others farre lesse while. And what complexion is the best for liuing long. Also how we are to vnderstand the place, where it is said, that The dayes of a man are numbred.

THE Apostle S. Paul sayeth, *That all men are subiect once to dye,* and therein all men are equall and alike. Notwithstanding, there is a difference in the tearmes of life; because some live long, and other lesse space. Neuertheless (as Job saith) *The time of our life is compassed, and no man can passe the boundes which God hath limited and determined to our life.* These things then standing thus (as in truth they do) it is not ill or amisse, to vnderstand that which causeth the life of man; wherefore one liueth longer then

another; what complexion is most proper for long life: and lastly, how it ought to be vnderstood, when it is said, that our dayes are counted and determined, being no way able to passe on further, which are points sufficiently obscure, and comprehended by few people.

To vnderstand therefore the cause of long life, it behooueth vs to presuppose in the first place, that the life of man, and maintenance of this his humane bodie, consisteth in the concord and harmony of the foure Elementary qualities whereof it is composed, as namely heate, colde, moysture, and drinesse. But expressly in the proportionable harmony of heate and moiture, which Aristotle well declareth: who onely maketh mention of the conueniency of these two qualities, for the support and continuance of man. In like manner, we perceiue by experience, that man hath little care of his owne failing, so long as he keepeth his naturall heate: for that heate is the principall instrument, to conserue the vegetatiue soule.

Now, to speake vprightly, the life of man consisteth in nothing else, then in maintaining the instruments and organes of the soule; among which, naturall heat (by right) holdeth the prime place: for this heate is so necessary to support mans body, as whensoever it is failing, the soul is constrained to forsake the body, & giue a period to the life of man. And because this naturall heate holdeth of fire, which (of his owne nature) consumeth whatsoever it meeteth withall: it was truly conuenient, that another contrarie qualitie should be opposed against it, for conseruation of the inferiour bodies. Vpon which occasion, God placed the radicall or naturall humor, with this naturall heate, onely to nourish and maintaine it, euen as fire feedeth it selfe by Oyle. And, in regard that this radicall humor consumeth and diminisheth it selfe daily; to supply & defend it, it was necessary, that all Creatures should browse and feede, and that by means thereof, the humor (being the cause of digestion) should supply the naturall defect.

But seeing that (according to Aristotle) the humor which is cause of digestion, is neuer so perfect as the radicall and naturall, although it serueth much for maintenance: of necessity the radicall humor decayeth

The harmony of the foure elementary qualities gouerneth the body of man.

Wherein the life of man mainly consisteth: the naturall heate being the chiefe instrument.

Other radicall or naturall humour.

The humor which is cause of digestion, is neuer so perfect as the radicall humor.

caueth it selfe daily (for the accidental humor, cause of digestion, is neuer so perfect as the radicall, which vaniseth away) and by this meanes of intirely vanishing, naturall heate loseth it selfe, and the body takes ending. For, if the humor radicall, and cause of digestion, were so perfect as the naturall humor vanished away, a man should liue infinitely, according to Diuines say. Who maintain, that the propriety of the Tree of life, which God placed in the terrestriall Paradise, consisted in this principally: that eating the fruite thereof, it should re-establish the radicall humor, that else would vanish & be lost. From hence it ensued, that this tree was prohibited to Adam and Eue, after they were excluded out of terrestriall Paradise. For, if our first Parents had kept themselves in their original righteousness; they and their successors, feeding on the fruite of that tree, had liued eternally in the flower of their time, without euer tasting corruption, or old age: vntill such time as God had glorified their bodies, without enduring the passage of death. But seeing that humane Linage hath lost this prerogative by sinne, which brought death into the world; it is no wonder, if this defect sheweth it selfe in vs all.

Proceeding now to our former purpose, I say, that life endureth more or lesse, according as the radicall humor is concordant and proportionable: for they in whom these qualities are most temperate and best proportioned, liue longest, and not such as abound in those qualities. From thence it cometh, that wee see many small animals, who haue least heat and humidity, to liue (neuertheless) longer then they that are of bigger and greater bulke, and abound more in the said qualities; which likewise cometh so to passe in trees, as well as in men. So that we may say, and say truly, that long life consisteth in the temperature and iust proportion of heate and moiture: which wanting their kind companion life, dissolueth it selfe. For when heate ouer aboundeth humidity, it consumeth the body in little time, as may be discerned in chollericke men. Where contrariwise, by excessiue humidity, heat feeleth it selfe to be quenched, as in Fleumaticke persons it happeneth in the same manner. Neuertheless, we do not by these examples vnderstand, that hee must also

faile, who hath as much of the moyt humor as of heat, because it is necessary, that a proportion should be obserued therein: that is to say, heate to exceed humidity proportionably. For, one thing being agent, hath no great vertue in working on the other, if it surmount not the part patient. And this did Aristotle couertly declare, when he said; *Among those two qualities before remembered, there ought to be a little coldnes mingled, to moderate the heat of the radicall fire, so the end, it may not wholly consume the humor naturall.* And drinesse also is as requisite, to dry up the radicall humor, so that it may not extinguish the naturall fire. As we often see to happen in young children, that dy by ouermuch humidity; notwithstanding, among these foure qualities, heate and moiture are held for the principall, as being vitall complexions, & causing life. As for the humors cold and dry, although they serue greatly to the conseruation of life: yet neuertheless these two qualities are held for the doore & entrance to death. Because cold is enemy to heate, wherein principally consisteth the point of life: and drinesse is opposite and contrary to moiture, which yet is the nourisher of naturall heat. According as wee see in aged people, who grow to be colde and dry, when they draw nere to death; as chiefly in dead bodies, which ordinarily are dry and colde. A man then (according to the good temperature of heate) ought also to temper his complexion by these foure qualities, and that in such sort: as, to maintaine his heate in the first place, and humidity next after, causing cold and dry to do seruice, according to their offices & quarters. By which means, they that finde not themselves thus proportionably tempered, are naturally off short life: thus then you see the causes of long life.

Now remaineth that somewhat should be saide, concerning the best complexion of all other, for the maintenance of long life. First of all then is to be noted, that of the foure complexions, as Choler, flegme, Blood, & Melancholy, blood is the best, to help him in the length of life: for blood is hot & moist, which qualities are the aptest to prolong life. But the humidity must not be watry, but airy, being hot & moist, and so the sanguine complexion, participating of some temperate heat and moiture sufficient to nourish the heat, it is most

Heate ought to exceed humidity proportionably.

Arist. in Anim. lib. 5. cap. 10.

Young children dying by ouer abounding moiture.

Concerning the diuersities of contraries.

By the good temperature of heate, a man should gouerne his own complexion in those foure qualities.

Blood the best of all the four complexions in man.

The Tree of life in the terrestriall Paradise, preserving from corruption & old age.

Life lasteth longer or lesse time, according to the proportion and temperature of the radicall humor.

Life dieth, losing her companions heate and moiture.

Riding on light Camels, to escape fro these Ants.

Though all men are subiect to death, yet the number of their dayes are not alike. Job. 14. 5.

The Choleric complexion.

The Phlegmatick & watric.

The Melancholy.

Choller and Phlegme.

Blood and Melancholy.

Compound Complexions

The life of man limited by power of his complexion.

Many men die before nature faileth in the through their owne extremity of excess.

proper of all the complexions to make long life. As for the Choleric complexion, it is of lesse continuance, because the vivacity and force of his fire, and also of the heate, cannot long endure with his drynesse. The Phlegmaticke & watric complexion, cannot bee digested by heate, in regard of his excessive humidity: & therefore falleth easily into corruption, which (in the end) procureth death.

The melancholy complexion, being earthie, abridgeth life by his coldnesse & drought, which are qualities contrary to heate and moisture: and therefore it is not to bee wondered at, though they shorten life, by over-abounding in some bodies. Notwithstanding, if Choller mingle it self with Phlegme, and that it surmounteth proportionably the Phlegme; that Complexion also is very apt to maintaine long life. When likewise blood surpasseth Melancholy in a good proportion, that complexion is good: for the heate and humidity of the blood do beguile themselves, with the cold and driness of melancholy. Whereby we may gather, that there are compounded Complexions, which are much better then the Sanguine simple, to preserve and prosper the length of life.

By that which formerly hath bene said, we may perceiue, that the life of man is limited by power and vertue of his Complexion, and by the proportion of Elementary qualities: so that the diuersitie of proportions doe cause the diuersity of termes of life in man. And some hold, that a man may liue so long as naturall heate lasteth, and the radicall humor giueth maintenance. Also, whereas some say, that the life of man hath his limit, beyond which, it is impossible for him to passe; it is to be noted, that although the complexion and naturall vertue of man, may supply and maintaine vnto the latest point; yet notwithstanding, of a thousand men, hardly one attaineth to that point, because there are so many disasters which happen accidentally, or else by some disorder: that the most part die, before nature failes in them, either by hunger, pestilence, poison, goutmandize, whoredome, bad victuals, or by diseases, caused throw inhuir excesses in me, by them daily committed, and so the true naturall terme of mans life is, when nature faileth, being the

viterly impossible for them to passe that point.

Thus are we to vnderstand that place in *Iob*, where it is sayde: *Lord, thou hast established the bounds of mans life, which is impossible for him to go beyond.* Whereby may clearly be discerned, that a man may very easily shorten his life, but not lengthen it. So that we see many of good complexion, and likely to liue a World of yeares: who neuertheless are of short life, by some exterior cause, which hastens on the expiration of their daies. Notwithstanding, that passage in *Iob* may bee otherwise vnderstood, in regard of Gods preference or foreknowledge, who giueth to euery one his terme of life; be it by his naturall complexion, or by some other meanes, which he hath assigned to the life of man. And because there is nothing hidden from the wisdom of God (for, hee knoweth all the causes and accidents that can happen to man) it is impossible for man, to haue any power of lengthening his life, beyond the ordination of God, although there were contingent causes.

In this respect it may be said, that there are two termes in the life of man, one whereof, dependeth vpon the harmony & proportion of the Elementary qualities; and the other is according to the preordination and preference of God. Between which termes, there is onely this difference, that a man may come or proceede so farre as the first, and yet without passing it; but all men attaine to the second. And although that (by course of nature) some one may passe on to his second terme; yet notwithstanding, there is not any that can go beyond it; as the like may bee sayde of other creatures and plants.

CHAP. XXIX.

How the life of man hath bene abridged and shortened from the beginning of the World, & that in diuers times. Of the diuersity of termes allotted to men: With many histories tending to that purpose, especially of such as haue liued longest.

HAuing shewne how to maintaine this life, & declared also the reasons, why some liue long, & others lesse time; it may appeare

Many men likely to liue long, haue yet their daies shortened.

Two termes in the life of man, and how they are attained vnto.

Concerning the naturall harmonie of Elementary qualities, sup porting mans body.

The long life of our forefathers in the first world.

Gen. 6, 3.

Gods owne limitation for the life of man.

Genesis 15, 7.

Genesis 46, 6.

Palme 90, 10.

The yeares of weak & strong men in these our infant times.

peare good to vnderstand, at what times the naturall harmonie of the Elementary qualities (which support the body of man) began to grow into decadence; which, from the beginning of the world, euen to this instant day, hath kept alwayes in diminution, concerning the temperature of Complexions, with the quality of fooles, which do conferre and establish life, and yet mans life daily waxing to be lesse and lesse in continuance.

In the first world, men liued eight hundred and nine hundred yeares, according as we haue already declared in our former volume, and the eighth Chapter, where is amply related the yeares of our ancient forefathers, farre differing from ours. Our present intention and purpose, is to speake concerning the decadence of the age of man; a matter very remarkable, & whereof the sacred Scripture doth make mention. For it is written, that the first declining of mans yeares or age, was ruled and limited to an 120. yeares, immediately after the flood, according as we read in Genesis, where the Lord God himselfe said, *The life of man shall be an hundred and twentie yeares.* Not that hee saith, that a man cannot out-liue six score yeares; but as if that the rest or over-plus of his life, will be but wearisome and insupportable old age.

Abraham, who was long time after the deluge, liued an hundred seuentie and five yeares. *Iacob* was an hundred and thirty yeares olde, when he went down into Egypt, where hee yet liued ten yeares longer. And so of many other to bee alleged, that liued many happy yeares. Since then, the life of man became shortned againe, euen in the time of *Dauid*, who speaketh thus in one of his Psalmes. *The dayes of our age is threescore yeares and ten, & though men be so strong, that they attaine to foure score yeares; yet is their strength then, but labour and sorrow, so soone it passeth away, and we are gone.* Now a dayes we see, that such as are of feeble Complexion, passe not about fiftie and fifty yeares, and (very strong men) but three score & fiftie (I meane in lusty disposition, for operatiue actions to be in men) & therefore the life of man in these our daies, lasteth not the twentieth part, of those men liuing in the worlds first Age, and howe much shorter they will be, God only knoweth.

The ancient Philosophers labored verily, in seeking a reason for this difference and decadence in mens yeares. Some attributed it to the celestiall influences. Others alleged farre contrarie reasons, as *Plinie*, and many more beside, that limit the life of man to fixe score yeares. *Berossus* alloweth no more then 20 hundred and seauenteene; *Petofiris*, an hundred twenty six: but *Censorinus* (following the opinion of the Philosopher *Effratius*) assigneth a man to liue but foure score yeares. *Dioscorides*, imitating the Egyptians, and speaking of the life of man, saith: *It is long or short, according vnto the poise or weight of his heart.* Euen as we haue more at large deliuered, in the precedent part to this Volume, where manie reasons are alleged, making to this purpose, without presuming into any secret, concerning the will and providence of God.

In the first place, God ordaind a creature to eate and drinke, for maintenance of the naturall and radicall humor, granting them means also, to perpetuate their severall kindes, by the acte of generation. But, as eating & drinking is not sufficient enough, to re-establish the radicall humor, which diminisheth and vanisheth away of it selfe daily, so that life may likewise be lost as soone as it is; so is it not possible also, to yeeld a body by the acte of generation, of such compleat perfection, as others were, that liued in the first age of the world. For the vertue and power of the radicall complexion (which is called the principal complexion) is mightily decayed: & from hence it enlieth, that the life of man became abridged and shortned dayly more and more.

Another reason, which neuertheless dependeth vpon the former, is this; that the food wherewith man sustaineth himselfe, hath lost, and cometh far short of such vertue, as it had at the beginning of the world. So that it is viterly impossible, to haue mankind in such bodily perfection, as the men of the first world had. And therefore the vertue of complexion failing in man, and the harmonie of the Elementary qualities being adulterated and bastardized, and fooles likewise decayed in goodness; it is no marvel, if our present life be become so much shortned. And though those times then obserued, euen as an

Ppp 2 ordi

The search of Phil. sayes, is for the reason of mens short life, as one few authors four, call war tings.

All creatures appointed to feede for a similitude of the last, most reduced, and naturall.

The radicall complexion, the principall.

A second reason concerning the loss, and sustentation.

ordinarie limitation to the life of man: yet notwithstanding, diuers persones (among them) haue bene noted to liue longer then some other, by being of a strong and good complexion; and in regard it pleased God that it should be so, whose hand is neuer tied, much lesse subiect to any law or limit. Neuertheless, because we may not complaine, concerning our little time of life, and also to comfort vs in the breuitie thereof: I will set downe certaine examples of some men, that haue exceeded others in length of life, though not speaking of any in the first age, because such as I purpose to discouerie on, liued long since that large extent of life came to be thorned.

Arpachshad, sonne of *Sem*, and Nephew to *Noah*, liued two hundred yeeres after the flood; and yet notwithstanding, he attained to foure hundred and thirty yeeres before he dyed. *Shelah* also his sonne, liued foure hundred and three yeeres. *Heber*, the son of *Shelah*, (of whom the Hebrewes took their name) liued foure hundred sixty and seuen yeeres. In his time happened the confusion of tongues: but he lately preferred the Hebrew, which was the first language of the worlde) because he consented not to the proud building of *Babel's Tower*.

Terah, the Father of *Abraham*, liued two hundred and fife yeeres, and *Abraham* liued an hundred, seauentie and fife yeeres; as also *Isaac* an hundred seauenty fife yeeres, after which time, the life time of men beganne greatly to diminish. Neuertheless, *Moses* liued six score yeeres, and *Aaron* six score and thre yeeres: *Sara*, that ancient matrone (so much renowned) liued six score and seuen yeeres, and that valiant woman *Judith* who smote off the head of *Holofernes*, liued an hundred and fife yeeres, as we may reade in the sacred Scriptures, which render true testimony of all that hath hitherto bin said.

Now, as concerning prophane Histories, many are recorded to liue long time: as *Neistor*, who liued so faire and large an extent of life, that our reuerend predecessors, when they desired the long life of any man; they wished, that hee might liue *Neistor's* yeeres, hee being three hundred yeeres old, when he went with the *Greekes* to *Troy*. For *Homer* sayeth: *Prince Neistor*

being about three hundred yeeres of age, went to succour the *Greekes* against the *Troyans*, with a potent army by sea.

The same is also auouched by *Ouid*, *Iuuenall*, and *Tibullus*, with many other Authors besides. *Arganthonius*, King of *Andalouzia* (anciently called *Turdissima*) liued an hundred and fiftie yeeres, according as *Strabo* affirmeth, from the Poet *Aschreom*: Neuertheless *Heraclutus*, and *Silius Italicus*, a Spanish Poet do auouch, that this Prince liued the space of three hundred yeeres.

Valerius Maximus, and *Pliny* also say, that he reigned fourescore yeeres, and liued six score yeeres. *Pliny* likewise maketh a large Narration, of certaine Kings in *Arabia*, and many other (as well men as women) that liued multitudes of yeeres: but because matters fecht so farre off, may raise doubt and suspicion, I will insert other histories, which are maintained to be true and certaine.

Valerius Maximus Corvinus, did liue an hundred yeeres, at it is auouched by *Valerius Maximus*, hauing bene six times Consul of *Rome*: and further saith, That there were sixe and forty yeeres betweene his first Consulship, and the last yeere of his honor in the same dignity, and that he liued the rest of his age in abledisposition, so that hee could make good vse of all the dignities and Offices imposed vpon him.

Stephanus the *Romane*, being farre entered into yeeres, serued as dancer before the Emperour *Octauius*, in those Secular pastimes which he ordained in *Rome*: and seueny three yeeres after, hee danced againe in the sports of the Emperour *Claudius*, and yet liued long time afterwarde. *Titus Fulinius*, borne in *Bologna*, liued an hundred and fiftie yeeres, as appeared by the numbering and accounts, made from fife yeeres to fife yeeres in elder times, & wherein the Emperour *Claudius* tooke great paines to be informed in the truth, for he was very curious in such matters.

And, not to estrange or barre women, from the benefite of our instant discourse, but to blesse them also with hope of long life; it is obserued that *Terentia*, the wife of *Cicero*, liued an hundred and seuenteen yeeres. *Claudia*, the Wife of *Offellus*, attained to an hundred and fiftie yeeres of age, hauing had fifteen male children.

Sumura

Homer's words of Nestors going to the Trojan warre.

* Now Graduated.

Arganthonius King of Turdissima.

Kings of Arabia and Judah.

The life time of Marcus Valerius Corvinus, Consul of Rome.

These were spent within one hundred yeeres and their hundred.

The long life of the Romanes.

Sumura a *Romane* Lady, was an hundred and ten yeeres old when she dyed; who being aged an hundred and foure yeeres, yet serued as Lady dancer, in the secular sports of the Emperour *Octauius*; hauing formerly danced in other secular pastimes, when she was fourescore and eleuen yeeres old.

Pliny reporteth a matter very admirable, and yet true, that in the accounts and numberings made by *Titus* and *Vespasian*, then Censors, there liued three men at *Parma*, each of them being aged six score yeeres, and two that were six score and ten yeeres old; beside a woman, that was aged six score and twelue yeeres. He saith moreover, that in *Romania*, there were foure and fifty men, each of them being an hundred yeeres olde: fifty seauen men being aged an hundred and tenne yeeres: foure men, aged an hundred and thirtie yeeres: and other foure men, who were feuerally aged six score & fifteen yeeres: beside foure men more, each of them being seauen score yeeres old, a thing not vsuall, and hardly to be seene in these daies of ours.

But leauing *Italy*, let vs looke vpon some further strangers, that liued long. *Gorgias Leontinus*, a Philosopher greatly renowned, who liued (in very healthfull disposition) more then an hundred yeeres. Hee hauing attained to an hundred and seuen yeeres, was demanded, why heooke so great delight to abide in the world; whereunto he thus replied, *I thanke God, I neuer did any thing, whereby I deserued to be blamed in mine Age*. An answer very excellent and singular, for such as are able to make or speake it truly.

Seneca the Philosopher, borne at *Carduba*, liued an hundred & fourteen yeeres. The famous *Apollonius Thyaneus* hadde passed an hundred yeeres before he dyed. *Democritus*, by the testimony of *Diogenes*, liued an hundred and nine yeeres; and dyed, hauing neuer felt Feauer, nor any other disease. *Galen*, the Prince of Phylitians,

liued (in absolute and able disposition) an hundred and forty yeeres: and dyed by defect of Nature, without the lesse of any sickness.

* *Attyla*, King of the *Goshes*, who (in his time) was most cruell, and of great power liued an hundred and foure yeeres, seruing as a scourge to mankinde, and making lamentable waste and spoile by his warres, and infinite cruelties. *Masimista*, King of *Ginner*, liued fourescore and seauenteene yeeres, hauing reigned threescore. This Prince neuer had his head covered, neyther from the Sun, windes, or raines, or greatest Tempests, but continued so (bare-headed) to his very latest dayes: marching alwayes on foote in his Armour, and as lightly as the youngest fouldier in his Armie. When hee was fourescore yeeres of age, he begate a Son, and left (after his death) foure and forty sonnes, by him begotten.

As for Hermites and ancient Fathers, many are recorded to liue long, onely by their abstinence; as *Saint Paule*, the first Hermit, who liued sixe score yeeres; *Saint Anthony* the Egyptian Hermit, who liued an hundred and fifty yeeres; and *Crenius* (his Companion) an hundred. Now a dayes, wee finde few, or none at all, to liue so long, for (day by day) the life time of man groweth shorter and shorter; whereby it appeareth, that the end of the world approacheth neere. Neuertheless God hath declared his wonderful workes in all times; for in the life of the Emperour *Conrade*, which was in the yeere one thousand, one hundred, and forty, or nere thereabout, a man dyed, who had serued the Emperour *Charlemagne* in his warres, so large a time, that this man was founde to haue liued three hundred and threescore yeeres, and was called *Iohn of Time*. Which name was giuen him (as I thinke) in regard of his great age; and I am halfe perswaded also, that of him was raised the old Prouerbe, when men commonly saide, *Iohn, Iohn, thou art thou in God*.

Galen, Prince of all other Phylitians.

* A valiant Scythian Prince, who subdued *Parmania*, &c.

He was also King of *Nauidia*.

The long life of Hermits & holy Fathers.

Iohn of Time hadde liued 360 yeeres.

CHAP. XXX.

A briefe Chronologicall Survey, concerning the Netherlands, divided into feventeene Prouinces: with a breuiate of the Earles and Princes there reigning, from Thierry (who was the first Earle of Holland and Zeland) to this instant time.



Concerning the Originall of the people inhabiting these countries, wee finde, that two Brethren, sonnes to the king of *Cathes*, the one being named *Battus*, or *Batton*; and the other *Zelandus*, were the first Fathers of them, and that (from them) they deriued their Names. For these two Princes, being too extreame ly pursued by the hatred of a Stepmother, and no way pittied or supported by the King their father (escaping many traines and machinations, of poysoning, murdering, and diuers other dangers by her daily deuised and put in practise against them) were forced to forsake their native abiding, & fly to an Island within the *Rhine*: where *Battus* determining to make his stay, called it *Battania*, after his owne Name; and that is (in plainer vnderstanding) *Holland*.

Zelandus, not liking to liue so neere, or with his brother (least pursuit should surprize them both, and reuenge there fasten which in more desperate place they had auoyded) he trauelled on to the vtermost confines of the *Rhine*, and liking there to set downe his rest, imitated his Brothers example (in styling the country) and called it *Zeland*.

Concerning their building of Cities, Townes, Castles, and Forts, which afterward came to be ruined & defaced againe by warres with the *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Gauls*, *Danes*, &c. or to what order of life the people disposed themselves, and through how many and infinite encumbrances (from their originall) they passed, for no meane store of yeares together: these are matters meereley exempt from our intended breuities, and may more amply be seen

in the history at large, whereunto I refer any such desirous Reader, and borrowing fauour for so large a leap, I instantly proceeded to the yeare, 863. when *Holland* first became to be an Earledome.

In the yeare before mentioned, *Charles* the Bald, King of *France*, at *Bladell* in the Prouince of *Campaigne*, hauing there (in his company) a generall assembly of his Princes and Barons, for consultation of many important matters; pleased to aduance the two sonnes of Count *Haghen* (who was Vnckle to the King) for their great deseruings, and for the farther encouragement of the like vertuous minded Gentlemen. *Walger*, who was the eldest sonne, he made Earle of *Theyssebrandt*; and *Thierry* the yongest son, or *Theodor*, as some tearme him, being formerly called *Thierry of Aquitaine*, he made earle of *Holland*.

This gift of the kings, especially that to *Thierry*, was much with flood by the *Friselanders*, as (coming to be commanded by any new Lord or Ruler: wherefore they consulted with the *Hollanders*, and a plot was laid to expell this new Earle. But it proued to no effect, for the king comming thither (in person) with a powerful army, made such an example on the Ring-leaders in this rebellion, that the rest (in very great humility) submitted themselves, casting their Weapons not onely at the Kings feete, but likewise at the Earles, and (vpon pardon) they vowed their continuall bounden duty to *Thierry*. His authority was then further strengthened, in the yeare eight hundred sixty eight, by the letters Patents of King *Charles*, as also by them of *Lewes* King of *Germany*, confirming him to bee Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Friseland*.

This *Thierry* married *Genna*, or *Ienna*, daughter to *Pepin* the Bald, king of *Italy*, sonne to the Emperour *Charlemagne*. Hee worthly foyled the *Danes*, that then possessed the Towne of *Prichit*, the *Wiltes* and the *Slaues*, disabling them from any further footing in *Holland*, which made them presume to meddle in *Zeland*, but thence they were repulsed likewise. By which meanes, he remained afterward in peace, beautifying his Countries both with faire buildings and good Lawes. He dyed very old, hauing reigned 40. yeares, and after him succeeded

2 *Thierry*

863.

The two Sins of Count Haghen.

Thierry Earle of Holland, Zeland, and Lord of Friseland.

The Friselanders rebell againe.

2 *Thierry* his son, second of that name, Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Friseland*, who married with *Hildegarde*, daughter vnto King *Lewes* of *France*, the Stammerer, and Sister to King *Charles* the Simple. The *Friselanders* did twice revolt from their obedience, and would not allow Earl *Thierry* to be their Lord, slaying very many of them that obeyed the Earl, waisting, spoiling, and burning all the way as they went. But at length they were iustly repayed for their insolencie, and such a slaughter was made of the *Frisons* (without any mercy) that few or none of them returned home to their dwellings. Afterward, he forced them to make the doores of entrance into their houses, so lowe and narrow, that they must koope verie lowe before they could get in; and this he did, to make them the more humble and seruile, receiuing a new Oath of allegiance of them. And hauing reigned about fiftie yeares, being then aged 88. yeares old, he dyed, leauing two sonnes behind him, the eldest whereof (being named *Egbert*) became Archbishop of *Treues*, and *Arnold* his yongest son succeeded him.

A dreadfull Comet, eclipses and earthquakes

3 *Arnold*, (or as others will haue it) *Arnulph*, yongest son to Earle *Thierry*, followed in rule as his fathers successor: but he held the Earledomes of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lordship of *Friseland*, no longer of the crown of *France*, but of *Otho* the third, Emperour; and so became in see to the Empire. A very fearefull Comet appeared in his time, with straunge Eccipses both of the Sunne and Moone, being as red as blood, and terrible Earthquakes: a fire also fell from heauen, in similitude like an huge Tower, burning for a long time: after which ensued so violent a pestilence, that the liuing died burying the dead. The *Frisons* reuolting again from obedience, made all his reigne a continuall warfare, and the Armies (on either side) meeting neere vnto *Winckell*, so dreadfull a battaile was fought betwene them: that the *Hollanders* sustained the worst, Count *Arnold* being there slaine, and a great number of his cheefest Nobility. This battaile was fought the eighteenth of October, the morrow after *S. Lamberts* day, in the yeare 993. So this Earle *Arnold*, hauing reigned fye yeares, and being thus vnfortunatly slaine, was buried by his Father and Grandfather, in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

4 *Thierry*, third of that name, and son to Count *Arnold*, succeeded as fourth Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Friseland*. Being desirous to reuenge his Fathers death vpon the *Frisons*: hee was much impeached therein by *Adelbold*, Bishop of *Prichit*, against whom (neuertheless) hee preuailed in two foughten battailes, in the yeare 1018. and (with great slaughter of the *Frisons*) brought them vnder obedience to his youngest son *Floris*, whom he made Lord of them. This Earle *Thierry*, liuing afterward in verie peacefull dayes, vnderooke a Pilgrimage to *Ierusalem*, with the Lord of *Arckell*, his loyall subiect; who died at *Ierusalem*, & was there very honourably buried by *Thierry*. After whose return home, and some yeares passed in peace with his Wife and Children, hauing reigned 46. yeares, hee died in Anno 1039. and was buried by his father in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

Adelbold Bishop of Prichit.

1309.

5 *Thierry*, fourth of that Name, was the fifth Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, & Lord of *Friseland*, after the decease of *Thierry* his Father. In a Tourney of Princes and Lords, performed (for pleasure) in the Citie of *Liege*, it was this Earles hard happe, to kill a Brother of the Bishops of *Cullen* and *Liege*: whereby ensued such discord and molestation, that, after many aduentures of reuenge, vndertaken by the *German* Gentlemen, albeit therein they sustained much losse of men, the Earle was shot into the thigh with a poisoned dart, of which wound hee dyed the fifteenth of May, one thousand foure hundred and eight, after he had gouerned nine yeares, and was buried by his father, in the Abbey of *Egmont*. He was neuer married, and therefore left not any childe to succcede him.

The Bishops of Cullen and Liege.

1048.

6 *Floris*, who (as you haue heard before) was Earle of *Friseland*, now after his brothers death, became the sixth Earle of *Holland* and *Zeland*. The former mishap at *Liege*, could not as yet be forgotten by the Bishops of *Cullen* and *Liege*, but they wold needs prosecute fresh reuenge on Count *Floris*, who being a man of vndated spirit, defeated his enemies in two attemptes. Once by a cunning stratagem, causing ditches and pitfalls to be made in south *Holland*, couering them with straw and graffe, so that they could not be easily discerned. At this time a bloody battell being fought betweene

Two militarie Stratagems.

*A people neere to the Seydhams.

Battania is Holland.

Zeland, named by Zelandus.

betweene them, there was forty thousand of the Earles enemies slaine, beside twenty six thousand more, who were drowned and smothered in those ditches, Anno Domini 1058. The second foyle of his adversaries, happened foure yeares after this, when the *Hollanders* (putting the *Germans* to flight) returned with rich spoiles, and great store of prisoners; this was in the yeare of our Lord 1062. Yet was it this Earles ill fortune, to be afterward slayne vnarmed, as he sate vnder an Elme, taking the ayre, his enemies preuailing by this aduantage. He had ruled in *Holland* foureteeen yeares, and in *Friseland* 21. yeares, and lyeth buried at *Egmont*.

7. *Gertrude*, widow to Earle *Floris*, in regarde that *Thierrie* her sonne was in his nonage, gouerned those Countries in his right. And in the yeare of our Lord, 1063, she re-married with Count the *Friszon* (sonne to *Baldwine of Lisse de Bucke*, Earle of *Flanders*) with the good liking of all the States and Nobilitie. Hee also was made Guardian of young Earle *Thierrie*, and (had by this *Gertrude*) three sonnes, *Robert*, surnamed the Yong (who went with *Godfrey of Bullen* to the holie Land, and was (after his fathers decease) Earle of *Flanders*); *Philip*, father to *William of Ist*, and *Baldwin* Bishop of *Teroanne*; beside three daughters also, which he had by the said *Gertrude*. This *Robert* was called the *Friszon*, not in regarde of his birth, but of his bigge stature, strength and courage. For, hauing preuailed against the *Frisons*, and hearing of his Brothers death, *Baldwine de Mons*, Earle of *Flanders*; hee layd clayme to the sayde Earldome, and (notwithstanding the opposition of *Vichid*, widow to Earle *Baldwine*: by meanes of the *Flemings*, he ouerthrew the King of *France* in battell, and the with her sonne *Baldwine*, remayning satisfied with the Countie of *Hennault*, *Robert* became quickly Earle of *Flanders*. For eight yeares space, hee carried himselfe with great wisdom and valour, and dying in the yeare of our Lord 1077, was buried in the Cannons Church, founded by himselfe at *Cassell*. *Gertrude*s time of rule by her selfe, and *Roberts* after, are reckoned as two seuerall gouernements.

9. *Godfrey*, surnamed the crooke-backed Duke of *Lorraine*, in this time of young Earle *Thierries* minority, was made an in-

strument (in regard of the former quarrell of Count *Floris*, and the Bishops of *Cullen* and *Liege*, as yet not reuenged to their mindes) to suggest a false information to *Henry* the fourth, Emperour, whereby the sayde *Godfrey* became an vniuerser of the young Earles right, for the space of foure years. But as he was sitting on the draught to ease his body, a seruant of young Count *Thierries*, did thrust a launc vp into his fundament, whereof he died (not long after) at *Maestricht*.

10. *Thierrie*, the fift of that name, who (by crooke-backed *Godfrey*, and other strange oppositions) had long time bene debarred from quiet possession of his right; at length, by an absolute conquest of the *Frisons*, in two seuerall great battells, recovered all, and returned home as a Conqueror. Afterward, he married *Whitilde*, daughter to *Fredericke*, Duke of *Saxony*, by whom he had a sonne and daughter: *Floris* that succeeded him, and *Mathilde*, married to the Duke of *Orleans*. Earle *Thierrie* hauing gouerned fifteene yeares, dyed, and was buried in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

11. *Floris*, the second of that name, & surnamed the Fat or Grosse, succeeded next after his father *Thierrie*: he greatly fauoured Church-men, whereby the Abbey of *Egmont*s reuenews were largely increased. He being a man of very peacefull inclination, little or no disturbances happened in his time: but onely by the *Frisons*, who, for their rebelling, were seuerely punished, and forced to submit themselves to his mercy. This *Floris* married *Petronilla*, or *Parnell*, daughter to *Didier*, Duke of *Saxony*, and sister to *Lotharius* the Emperour: By her he had three sons, *Thierrie*, *Floris*, called the Blacke Prince of *Kemerland*; and *Symon*, also one daughter named *Hadewicke*, who was Countesse of *Guedres*. Hauing gouerned his Countries very honourably, for the space of one and thirty yeares; he dyed in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand one hundred thirty and three, and lyeth buried in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

12. *Thierrie*, sixt of that name, succeeded his father *Floris*, and was much molested by the *Frisons*, in regard that his brother *Floris* the Blacke Prince, enuying the happines and quiet of *Thierrie*, went and tooke part with them against him; vntill such

Lotharius & Conrad Emperors.

1163

Earldomes of Othello & Westergo.

1168.

The Dam or Sluce, called Dogs Sluce.

1208.

L. William of Holland.

(such time as the Emperour *Lotharius* (being theyr vnckle) had reconciled them, and made them friends. *Conrade* beeing ioynd as competitor in the Empire with *Lotharius*, caused a fresh quarrell between *Thierrie* and the Bishop of *Vtrecht*, he ratifying the former graunt of *Henry*, which caused very long contention, and much blood to be shed on either side. *Thierrie* hauing gouerned his Countries of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Friseland* fortie yeares, died in the yeare 1163, and lieth buried in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

13. *Floris* the third, eldest sonne of *Thierrie*, as heyre to his father, inherited his right in *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Friseland*. The *Frisons* (pretending their former freedoms and imperiall liberties) made still their reuoltes from time to time, imboldned thereto by the often suggestions of *Godfrey of Rhemen*, Bishop of *Vtrecht*, who (as his predecessors had done before him) still questioned the Earldomes of *Ostergo* and *Westergo*: but the Emperour *Fredericke*, went himselfe in person, and made an agreement between them. All which notwithstanding, much hurt was done on eyther side, as time and treachery fitted them with apt opportunity. A great controuersie happened betweene the Earles of *Holland* and *Flanders*, for the Isle of *Walchren*, and Count *Floris* (in triall of fight) became prisoner to the Earle of *Flanders*, who neuertheless vsed him princely, and they being accorded by the Archbishop of *Cullen*, and the Bishoppes of *Liege*; the great hole neare to the damme or sluce; was recovered with much adoe, by casting a dogfish therinto, and speedily filling it vp with earth, whereon they named it *Hondidam*, that is, *Dogs-slucce*. This Earle *Floris*, assisting the Emperour *Fredericke*, *Philip* King of *France*, *Richard* King of *England*, with many other Dukes, Christian Princes and Earles, at the siege of *Damieta* in *Soria*: fell there sicke in the Army, and died 1208. hauing gouerned his prouinces twenty seuen yeares.

14. *Thierrie* the seuenth, hearing of his fathers death in *Palestine*; succeeded as his heire in all his Earldomes. The whole time of his regiment, was in war and continuall combutions. First by his brother Lord *William* of *Holland* (who was with his father *Floris* in *Palestine*, and performed

there many honourable seruices) thorow diuers disagreements that happened betweene them; notwithstanding, as many laboured reconcilings, and pacifications. Next, *Baldwine* Earle of *Flanders*, he was as molefuous to him likewise, for the Isle of *Walchren*: besides the *Frisons* rebellions, and his trouble with the Bishops of *Cologne* and *Liege*, as also his imprisonment to the Duke of *Brabant*, and then the intrusion of the Bishop of *Vtrecht*, after which, ensued a peace and vnited amity on all sides. This Count *Thierrie* had no heires male, but two beautifull daughters; *Adella*, married to *Henry* of *Guedres*, who dyed without anie Children, and *Ada*, meanly married by her mother (after her fathers death) to Count *Lewes* of *Loos*, that so the gouernement might be disposed at her pleasure. In the yeare of our Lord, 1203, Earle *Thierrie* dyed, hauing gouerned his Countries thirteene yeares, and lyeth buried in the Abbey of *Egmont*.

15. *Ada*, daughter to Earle *Thierrie*, was Countesse of *Holland* and *Zeland*, after her fathers death; which moued a great heart-burning in the Lordes and Gentlemen, that they should liue vnder a Woman, and a poore Earles command. Therefore, they sent into *Friseland* for Count *William*, protesting to assist him in attaining the gouernement of *Holland*. The young Countesse *Ada* was surprized in their first attempt, and her husband the Earle of *Loos* driuen to flight; who yet wunne the Bishop of *Vtrecht* (by money and other promises) to ayde him, and by this means he had some small successe for a while. But the Countesse *Ada* dying without any children, Earle *William* was then the true and onely heyre to *Holland* and *Zeland*. In which right of his, hee went with his power against the Earle of *Loos*, and such was his successe, that the Women did beate his enemies with *Distaves* and *Stones*, they beeing glad to cast away their Armour for lightnesse, to saue themselves by flight; yet many were drowned in the Ditches, and a great number taken prisoners, with all the Earle of *Loos* Tents, Paviillions, Plate, Iewelles, and Munition, which Count *William* royally diuided amongst his *Hollanders*, remayning absolute Prince of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Friseland*.

16. *William*, first of that name, succeeded

1198.

1203

The gouernment of a woman despised

Women beate Men with Distaves and Stones.

1065.

Robert the Friszon.

Robert Earle of Flanders.

1077.

The crooke-backed Duke of Lorraine.

The Frisones conquered in two battells.

1119.

Duke of Saxony.

1133.

1188.

Edmond of Lancaster, son to the King of England.

ded rightfully in all his Earledoms, by the death of his Neece the yong Countesse Adas. He had some strife with Didier Bishop of Trecht, and Gerard Vander Are his brother: but (vpon certayne Articles) all displeasures were qualified. By his first wife Alix, daughter to the Earle of Guelders, he had Floris, that next succeeded him, Otho Bishop of Trecht, William Lieutenant of Holland, and two daughters, the one was Abbess at Rhynsborg, and the other at Delfe. His second wife was named Mary, daughter to Edmond of Lancaster, son to Henry the third, King of England, by whom he had no issue. He gouerned 19. years, and dying, lies buried at Rhynsborg.

17 Floris the fourth, succeeded his father Count William in his Earledomes. He took great delight in lusts & Turnaments, and the Earle of Clermont proclayming a publike Triumph for all commers, at the Countesse his wives request (who greatly desired to see this Floris, of whom he had heard much commendation) this honorable Earle of Holland, Zeland, &c. was there treacherously slaine, onely through iealous suspition of the old Earle of Clermont, who was there likewise presently slaine himselfe, and the Countesse (griuing for this great mishap) died soon after. This Count Floris had a daughter named Mathilde, or Margaret, as some call her, who was married to Count Herman of Henneberg. She despising a poore widow, that desired her almes vpon vrgent necessitie, holding in either arme a sweet yong child, both which, God had sent hir at one birth, gaue hir very reprochful words beside, as, that she could not be honest of her bodie; and (by her husband) haue two children lawfully begotten. The poore woman, griuing to be reiected in such extreame want and need, but much more, to heare her reputation so nearely rouched, knowing her soule cleare from all dishonest detraction: made no further suite to the Lady, but (falling vpon her knees) appealed to God for defence of her Innocencie, and earnestly desired, that as she had coueied and borne those two infants lawfully by her husband; euen so, if euer that Ladie should be subiect to the custome of Women, that it would please him, to send her as many children at one birth, as there are daies in the year. Not long after, the Lady conceiued with childe by her husband,

The wonderfull birth of 365. Children

This History is annotated for a truth by diuers good Authors.

& (for her deliuerance) went into Holland, to visite the Earle her brother, taking vp lodging in the Abbey of religious women at Losdunen, and grew so exceeding great, as the like had neuer before bene seene. When her time came, on the Friday before Palme-sunday, in the year of our Lord God 1276. shee was deliuered of 365. children, the one halfe being sonnes, and the other daughters; but the odder childe was an Hermaphrodite, and they were all well shaped and proportioned in their litle members. These children were layd in two balins, and were all baptized by Guydon, Suffragan to the Bishop of Trecht, who named all the sonnes Iohn, and the daughters Elizabeth, but what name hee gaue the Hermaphrodite, it is not recorded. They were no sooner baptized, but they all died, and the mother also. The two Balins are yet to be seene in the sayde Church of Losdunen, and a memorie of them, both in Latine and Dutch. The Latine beginning thus: *Margareta, Comitiss Hennebergie uxor, & Florentij Hollandia & Zelandia filia, &c.* Underneath are these verses:

*En tibi manifestum & memorabile factum,
Quale nec a mundi condicione datum.*

This Count Floris, being so treacherously slaine, as yee haue heard before, had his body brought backe into Holland, by the Earle of Cleues, and other noble Lords, who buried it in the Abby of Rhynsborg; he hauing honourably and vertuously gouerned his Countreies twelue yeares. He left but one son named William, six yeares old, who was in the tutelage of his vnckle Otho, Bishop of Trecht, during his minority.

18 William, second of that name, succeeded his father Floris in all his dominions, being all the time of his vnder yeares, in the gouernement of Otho Bishop of Trecht his vnckle, who was a very worthy & carefull Guardian to him. The Pope hauing deposed Fredericke the second, and Comrade his sonne from the Empire: the Princes Electors (in despite of the Pope) made this Earle William King of the Romans, and crowned him at Aix la Chapelle, he hauing then attained to the age of 20. yeares. A long & tedious trouble happened, betwene him, & Margaret Countesse of Flanders, a very high-minded and proude

Earle William King of the Romans.

woman,

King William usually slaine.

1290.

The History of the death of Earle Floris.

woman, for the country of Walchren, wherein, after a great foile and slaughter of the Flemings, (taking part with her) and imprisonment of her two sonnes (Guy and Iohn) she implored the aid of Charles duke of Aniou, against king William, & sped thereby no better then she had done before, but was glad in the end to seek reconciliation. This King William built the Pallace of the Earles of Holland, in the vilage of La Hage, or the Hague, where it is at this day, and a goodly Cloister at Harlem. At his warres in west Friseland, where he preuailed very fruissefully, he would needs (without any other assistance then himselfe) follow the rebels ouer the Ice, where his horse slipping in, himselfe almost drowned, and none near to helpe him (but enemies of the Frizons, that lay secretly in ambush) they beate him downe with clubbes and stauces, not knowing that it was the King, and so they slew him. But when afterward they tooke better notice of him, by his Target and Armes thereon emblazoned: in very hearty sorrow for their foule deed, they buried him secretly, in a poore house in the vilage of Hookswond, thinking to wipe out all remembrance of him. But his body was after found, and buried in the Abbey of Middlebourg, in the Isle of Walchren.

19 Floris the fift, son to King William, who was slaine so inhumanely, albeit hee was but fixe months old, yet he succeeded his father, his vnckle Floris being his Gouernor and Tutor. At 17. yeares of age, he went with an army against the euer-reuolting Frizons, and ouercame them at a vilage called Schellinghout, very severely reuenging his fathers death on them, and (by building foure Castles in Friseland) brought them wholly vnder his obediēce. Afterward, Count Floris made a voyage into England, where a marriage was contracted, betwene Iohn, eldest son to Earle Floris, and Elizabeth, daughter to king Edward the first: Iohn being (not long after) sent into England, to accomplish the sayd marriage, where he remained in the Court of England, vntill his fathers vnfortunate death, which briefly was thus:

A knight liued in the Earles Court, named Gerard van Velsen, who had bene a whole yeares space detayned in prison, & his brother beheaded, through certaine false suggestions whispered to the Earle,

which (afterward) appearing to be a meere iniury: the Earle sought to repayre this wrong, with very especiall fauours done to the knight, great aduancements, & would haue bestowed also his concubine in marriage on him. Which Gerard disdaind & replying, that he would not weare his cast shoes: the Earle rashly answerd, that he should take his leauings, in despite of his hart. To preuent marriage with the Earles minion, the knight bestowed his affections else-where, and wedded a Ladie of great honour and beauty. Which when the Earle vnderstood, he pursued his former rash folly, to the price of his own life: Sending Gerard on an employment of much credit & respect, and wherewith he was not a little pleased, not doubting anie such wicked intention. The Earle came to Gerard's house, vnder color of hospitality, and there (winning her to priuate conference in her bed chamber) forcibly detoured her, to performe his rash promise to her husband. At Gerard's returne, and this foule wrong discovered, it was pursued with very bloody reuenge, by a resolved conspiracy sworne against his life: which albeit he had some warning of (by a paper deliuered him by a poore woman), yet his disaster being inevitable, a traine was laid for him as he rode a hawking, and twentie one wounds he receiued on his body, by the hand of the sayd Gerard. But hee and the rest of the conspirators escaped not unpunished, for they had their heads smitten off, and were then laid vpon wheelles; but Gerard was put (stark naked) into a Pipe sticke full of sharp nailes, and was so rowled vp and downe through all the streetes of Leyden. Then was he beheaded, & layd on a wheele, and all his kindred (to the ninth degree) put to death, and laid on wheelles.

20 After the wicked murder of Earle Floris the fift, committed by the Frizons, as hath bene declared: Iohn his only son (being then in England with King Edward his father in law) was next to succeed him as his rightfull heire. But before he could leaue England, some partialities and factions happened in Holland for the gouernement, which soone were qualified at Earle Iohns being there present, notwithstanding the subtle policie of Wolfart of Borfelle, seizing the person of Earle Iohn, and Lady Elizabeth his wife, thinking to haue the gouernement of the sayd Earle, because, as yet,

A severe reuenge for the Earles death.

1297

Wolfart of Borfelle, his secret intention.

yet, he was but young. Earle *Iohn* prevailed against the *Frizons*, and the Bishop of *Vtrecht*, and having governed his Countries about foure yeares, hee fell sicke at *Harlem*, and there dyed. He was the first of all the Earles of *Holland*, that died without children: wherefore in him failed the line masculine of the Earls from the dukes of *Aquitaine*, which *Thierry*, or *Theodor*, the first Earle of *Holland*, had continued 47 yeares. He was buried in the Abbey of *Rhinibourg*, his widow Lady *Elizabeth* being caried back into *England*, where she was afterward married to the Earle of *Oxford*: So that by the death of Earle *Iohn* in this manner, those Countries were deuolued to the Earles of *Hennault*, issuing by the mothers side frō the earles of *Holland*.

21 *Iohn*, the second of that name, called *Iohn of Hennault* (claiming his right from *Alix*, Sister to *William* king of the *Romans*) succeeded after *Iohn*, as Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland*, &c. He had a long and tedious trouble with *Iohn de Renesse*, who perswaded the Emperour, that *Iohn* Earle of *Holland* dying without issue, his Earledome ought (in right) to returne to the Empire; according as *Charls* the bad, Emperour of the *Romans*, had at first giuen them in fee and homage to *Thierry* of *Aquitaine*. This suggestion raised the Emperour *Albert* in Armes against *Iohn* of *Hennault*, but the Bishop of *Cullen* compounded the matter betweene them; and *Iohn de Renesse* was afterward drowned, by which means, *Iohn* of *Hennault*, having gouerned *Hennault* thirty yeres, and his countreies of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland* five yeares, died, & was buried at *Valenciennes*.

22 *William* the third, sonne and heire to count *Iohn* of *Hennault*, succeeded his fathers Earledome: he was commonly called, *The good Earle William*, for his vertues, iustice, good life, and honourable actions. In his time hapned so great a dearth and famine in *Holland*, that poore people dyed with hunger, even in the streets as they went: seeking also for hearbs and rootes in the fields and woods, there they were likewise found dead, and in the common high wayes: little children dyed sucking at their mothers breasts, and some were enforced to feede on their dead children. In this time of famine, a poore woman in the Towne of *Leyden*, bring extremely ouercharged with hunger, entreated her

owne sister, (being a woman of better abilitye) to lend her some bread, which she would thankfully repay againe, when God should enable her. She, very vnkindly, and without any pity of her extremity, denyed her oftentimes, notwithstanding the others often vrgings; that shee was assured, that shee could not be without bread. Heereupon the vnmerrifull sister (lying, both to God and to her owne poore sister) sayde: If I haue any bread, I with that it may instantly be turned into a stone: wherewith the heauy displeasure of almighty God laid hold vpon her words, and going afterward to hir Cupboard (to relieue her selfe) she found all her loaves of bread conuerted into apparant stones, and died herselfe with extremity of hunger. It is credibly said, that one or two of those stones, are yet to be seene in Saint *Peters* Church at *Leyden*, as a memorie of this iust iudgement of God.

There is also recorded another memorable Historie, of vpright Iustice done by this good Earle *William*, to a poore country-man, against a Bayliffe of South *Holland*, who had taken a goodly faire Cowe from him, that was the reliefe of himselfe, his poore wife and children; as there are some Kine in that Countrey, which doe giue twenty portles of milke and more, in a day. The Bayliffe at the poore mans complaint to this good earle *William*, who lay then sicke in his Bed at *Valenciennes* (yet neuer debarred any suiters from audience, were he sicke or well) was adiuaged to giue the poore man an hundred crownes of good gold, for the wrong he had done to him, which was accordingly performed. But for his iniurie to publike Iustice (being himselfe an Officer) and abusing the authority committed in trust to him; the Earle sent for an Executioner, and caused his head to be smitten off by his beds side. This good Count *William*, being a vertuous Prince, victorious in warre, a man learned, wife, well spoken, and iudicious, a great friend to peace, gracious to all men, and beloued in all courts, hauing gouerned his Prouinces 32 yeares, dyed the ninth day of Iune 1337. and was buried with great pomp at *Valenciennes*.

23 *William* the fourth, son to the good Earle *William* came to his fathers Earledome by lawfull succession. He was a man of high merit, & a most famous Souldier, whereof

whereof he made good proofe; first against the *Sarazins* and *Moors*, in the kingdome of *Granada*: Next, with the Emperour *Lewis*, and many noble Earles, ayding his brother in lawe *Edward* the third King of *England*, against the king of *France*; thirdly, in ouer-running *Lithuania*, *Liuonia*, and warring against the *Russian* Infidels, lading home his men with victory & wealth; spoiles: And lastly, in preuailing against the *Frizons*, and *Robert* of *Arckell* gouernour of *Vtrecht*: Yet it was his hard hap to be slaine knowne (amongst the *Frizons*) before any could haue power to helpe him: so that he left no lawfull child to succcede him, and therefore his sister, (being Emperesse) remayned his onelic heire.

24 *Margaret*, wife to *Lewis* of *Bauaria*, (then Emperour) and the eldest sister to Earle *William*, slayne (as you haue heard) by the *Frizons*, by the Emperours interposition of his authority, and her owne native right, went downe by the *Rhine* into *Holland*, accompanied with a most princely and well-beseeming traine, and was acknowledged to be Ladie and Princeesse of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland*. But before her returne back to the Emperour againe, shee constituted both his and her eldest sonne (named *William* of *Bauaria*) to bee her Regent there in those Countries, for a summe of money yearlye payed to her: but remayning vnpayd, she might refuse all her rights to herselfe againe. The Emperour deceasing, the Emperesse *Margaret* came thither againe, and had resignation (from her sonne *William*) of all the aforesaid Countries, retrying himselfe into *Hennault*, as being well contented there to liue: vntill by intestine discord, and dangerous practices of two intruded factions, called *Cabillaux* and *Hoeks* (wherein both nobles and gentlemen did too far enter) the mothers gouernment did grow vn sufferable, and Duke *William* was recovered from *Hennault*, to vnder-goe the sole authority. Two very bloody battells were fought betweene the Emperesse and her sonne; and in the first, Earle *William* escaped with great difficultie, and fledde into *Holland*, for this battell was fought at *La Vere* in *Zeland*. But in the second, there was so much blood spilt, that (for three dayes after) the old Riuer of *Menfe* (at full Sea) was (all ouer) red in that place. The

Emperesse (by helpe of a small Barke) escaped into *England*, and vpon an agreement afterwards made betweene them: Duke *William* had the quiet possession of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland* assigned him, and the Emperesse *Margaret* had the countie of *Hennault*, where (five yeares after) she ended her dayes, and lyeth buried at *Valenciennes*.

25 Duke *William* being peaceably possessed of his Seigneuries, according to the former compulsion, being also Duke of *Bauaria*, *Palatine* of *Rhine*, and Earle of *Hennault* by his mothers death, tooke to wife the Lady *Mauda*, daughter to *Henry* duke of *Lancaster* in *England*, by whom hee had no children. Much strife, warre, and bloody bickering, hapned betweene him and the Bishop of *Vtrecht*, with shrewd disaduantages on eyther side; till, by the means of some Noblemen, they were reduced to amitie.

This Duke *William* (vpon what occasion it could neuer be knowne) fell distracted of his senses, and slew a Knight with a blow of his fist: so that hee was shut vp (vnder good Guard) for nineteene yeares space, euen till he dyed. Hauing gouerned his prouinces of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Frizeland* (before his madnesse) seauen yeares, and *Hennault* two.

26 *Albert* of *Bauaria*, brother to Duke *William*, in the time of his distraction, was sent for from *Bauaria*, and made Gouernor of his brothers Countries, in hope of his recovery, which by no meanes could be compassed. Hee vanquished the *Frizons* in many rebellions, tooke the towne of *Deijst*, and beleached the Baron of *Eughien*, vpon sinister reformations, which caused great trouble betweene him, and sixe brethren of the said Baron: but, vpon their reconciliation, Count *Albert* builded the Chanoury of the Chappell, at the Court of the *Hague*.

In his time, a Sea-woman (by reason of great tempests at Sea, and extraordinary high Tides) was seene swimming in the *Zuyderzee*, betweene the Townes of *Campen* and *Edam*; which being brought to *Edam*, and cleane from the Sea-moss growne about her, by her long abiding there: she was like to another woman, endured to be apparelled, and would feede on meats as others did, yet fought the all meanes to escape, and get into the water againe,

1300.

The end of the race of the Dukes of Aquitaine, & succession of the Earles of Hennault.

1301.

Iohn de Renesse drowned.

1302.

The good Earle William

1316.

A wonderful dearth.

A strange example of an vnmerrifull sister.

1312.

Robert of Arckell, Gouernour of Vtrecht. 1316.

Margaret the Emperesse, Princeesse of Holland.

A worthy action of Iustice done by this good Earle William.

The factions of Cabillaux and Hoeks.

1331.

Agreat effusion of blood.

1337. Earle William a worthy Souldier.

1338

The Baron of Eughien beleached.

1368

A Sea-Woman seene in the Zuyderzee.

1441

agayne, had she not very carefully been tended. Since did learne to spinne, and exercise other womanly qualities, being daily scene of infinite persons, who haue made perfect testimoniall of this rare accident, and signified it for an vndoubted truth, auouching, that she liued fifteene yeares, and lyeth there buried in the Church-yard. In the yeare of our Lord, one thousand foure hundred and foure, this famous Prince *Albert* dyed, after hee had gouerned his Countries fixe and fortie yeares: nineteene as he was Tutor to his distracted brother, and twenty seauen as Prince, heire and Lord of those Countries, being buried at the *Hague* in *Holland*.

Philip the
bold Duke
of Burgundy.

27 *William*, sixt of that name, after the death of Duke *Albert* of *Bavaria* his father, succeeded as his immediate heire. His first wife was daughter to *Charles* the first, King of *France*, and she dyed yong, without any issue. He secondly married the daughter of *John*, sonne to *Philip* the bold Duke of *Burgundy*, by whom he had one onely daughter, named *Iaqueline* or *Jacoba*, as the Dutch vse to call her. This Count *William* wasted *Friseland*, spoyled *Liege*, and preyed against the *Guelphes*, and also the Lordes (father and sonne) of *Arckell* at *Gorrichem*, and reconciled the Duke of *Burgundy* to the French King. The Dolphin of *France*, sonne to King *Charles* the sixt, married *Iaqueline*, Count *Williams* daughter; but hee being poysoned, by putting on a shirt of maile, dyed without issue. As Earle *William* himselfe did not long after, being bitten in the leg by a mad Dogge, which hurt could neuer be cured. So that the Lady *Iaqueline* (his daughter, and widow to the Dolphin of *France*) was his true heire in all his Seigneuries: Hee gouerned thirtene yeares, and lieth buried at *Valenciennes* in *Hennault*.

28 *Iaqueline*, or *Jacoba*, daughter and sole heire to *William* of *Bavaria*, succeeded her father in all his Earldomes and Seigneuries, being then widow to the Dolphin of *France*, and yet but nineteene yeares of age. In regard of her youth and widowhood, she endured much molestation in her gouernement, chiefly in *Holland*: for the two factions rooke head agayne, and banded their boldnes on both sides, the *Hoerckins* fauouring the Countesses faction, and the *Cabillants* her e-

emies, by which meanes her rule was greatly disturbed. For *John* of *Bavaria* (foraking his Bishoppricke of *Liege*) sought to make himselfe an Earle, and marrie his Niece *Iaqueline* (vterly against her will) and yet to dispossesse her of her rightfull inheritance, for which purpose he leagued himselfe with the *Cabillants*, and other powerfull friends, who neuertheless were flaine in their bolde aduicature at *Gorrichome*. And, to frustrate the Bishops vaine hope, the Pope dispensed her marriage with *John* Duke of *Brabant*, albeit he was her neare kinsman, whereby their patrimoniall inheritances were the more strengthened, and hee acknowledged as their Prince, in *Hennault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Friseland*, &c. It were needlesse heere, to relate the following molestations of *John* of *Bavaria* the Bishop, to his Niece *Iaqueline*, taking on himselfe the title of Earle, and therefore, (by some) ranked among the Earles of *Holland*, or the after-marriages of Lady *Iaqueline*; to the Duke of *Gloucester*, winkle to *Henry* the sixt, King of *England*, the fourth and last time (in great privacy) to *Franke* of *Borselle*, Lieutenant of *Zeland*, or her (no meane troubles) by the Duke of *Burgundy*, to whom hee resigned vnto all her Countries. Let it suffice, that hee liued in continuall vexations nineteene yeares, and dying at the *Hague*, was buried in the Chappell of the Court of *Holland*.

30 *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie*, being (both by father & mother) rightfull heire and successeur to the aforementioned Countesse *Iaqueline*; was thus entitled: *Philip* Duke of *Bourgogne*, *Brabant*, and *Lembourge*; Earle of *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Burgogne*, *Hennault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Namure*; Marquesse of the hoke Empire; and Lord of *Friseland*, *Salins* and *Macklyn*. Hee had three wiues; by the two first hee had no children; but by the last, named *Isabell* (daughter to *John* King of *Portugal*) hee had three sonnes; *Anthony* and *Joffe*, who dyed yong, and *Charles Martin*, Earle of *Charolais*, and successeur vnto his father. This *Philip* of *Bourgogne* instituted the order of Knighthood of the golden *Fleece*, and had much discontent with his sonne *Charles*, whom (at length) he married to the Lady *Margaret*, sister to *Edward* the fourth, King of *England*. The rebels of *Ganin* and *Bruges* dearly felt the valour of

John of Bau-
ria Bishop of
Liege.

John of Bau-
ria the Bishop
reckoned the
30. Earle of
Holland.

1436.

The Titles of
Philip Duke
of Bourgogne

The order of
the golden
Fleece institu-
ted.

of this *Philip*; hee besieged *Callis*, surprized *Luxembourg*, subdued *Liege*, and ouercame the *Hunecoms*. Hee exceeded all his predecessors (dukes of *Burgogne*) in riches, Seigneuries, height of Pompe and State. He dyed the fift day of Iune 1467, hauing gouerned about fortie yeares. In his time was the famous Arte of Printing first inuented; the men of *Harlem* in *Holland* do challenge the first honour thereof, but it was reduced to perfection at *Mentz*, by one *John Fawstus*, who had bene seruant to *Laurence Janfon* of *Harlem*, as they constantly affirme.

31 *Charles*, surnamed the Warlike Duke of *Bourgogne*, succeeded in all his fathers Titles and Dignities. The Inhabitants of *Gant* resisting him, he brought them vnder obedience, and defeated the *Liegeois* in battell, which enforced *Liege* to yeelde to him. He made peace with the French King, who doubted to be detained at *Peronne* by Duke *Charles*. Vpon a fresh rebellion of the *Liegeois*, the duke forced King *Lewes* to go with him to the siege of their town; which he ruined, and practised the like to the house of *Braderode*. He warred against the *Frisonis*; and carried many Princes in hope of his daughters marriage. The French King, and the Duke, sought to deceiue each other, and the Constable of *Saint Paul* (waxing hatefull to them both) they resolved his ruine, and (on a Truce taken for nine yeares, betwene the King and Duke) the Constable was beheaded at *Paris*. The Duke warred against the *Swissers*, and was defeated by them, both at *Granfon* and *Morat*, wherewith the *Swissers* were enriched. The Duke besieged *Nancie*, and was there flaine in battell, by the treason of the Earle of *Campobachio*, an Italian; where being engirt with a great troupe of Lancers, he receiued wounds, one in the head, the second in the thigh, and the third in the fundament. Hee left one onely daughter and heire.

32 *Mary*, daughter and heire to Duke *Charles*, the warlike Duke of *Bourgogne*, succeeded her father in all his Countries: being but eightene yeares old when hee was flaine before *Nancy*, wherefore she remained vnder the charge of the Duke of *Cleues*, and his brother the Lord of *Rauesmeine*. The French King seized *Piccardie* & *Arthois*: and the hapning into the *Ganthois* power, endured much trouble, by

putting her chiefeft seruants and counsellors to death. The *Flemings* were delected, and the yong Duke of *Guelphes* flaine. Afterward, a marriage was concluded betwene *Maximilian* Arch-duke of *Austria*, sonne to the Emperor *Fredericke*, and the Lady *Mary* of *Bourgogne*, albeit the would more gladly haue matched with the house of *France*.

33 *Maximilian*, Arch-duke of *Austria*, and sonne to the Emperour *Fredericke*, marrying the Princess *Mary* of *Bourgogne*, was thereby wedded to much warre and trouble. For, first the *Guldres* revolted from the house of *Bourgogne*. Next hapned the battell of *Guinegate*, wherein the Arch-duke was Conqueror: Then, *Turnay* yeilded to him; truce was taken betwene him and the French King, and the new tumults of the *Cabillaux* and *Hoeks*, were also by him pacified. *Dordrecht* was surprized by the yong lord of *Egmont*, also, many Townes in *Guldres* yeilded to the Arch-duke; and (not long after) followed the death of the Arch-duchesse *Mary*, who had (the first yeare of her marriage, a sonne named *Philip*, father to *Charles* the fift) the second yeare a daughter, called *Margaret*, betroathed in her infancie, to *Charles* the Dolphin of *France*, sonne to *Lewes* 11. and the third yeare, a sonne named *Frances*, according to the name of *Frances* Duke of *Brittaine* his godfather. *Maximilian* being chosen King of the Romans, he made *Engelbert* Earle of *Nassau*, Gouernour of the Netherlands in his absence: and afterward, vpon the bold insolency of the *Ganthois* and *Brugois* (keeping the K. of Romans prisoner) *Albert* duke of *Saxony*, was made second gouernour of the Netherlands, & General for the Emperor *Fredericke* against the *Flemings*. But *Fredericke* dying, his son *Maximilian* succeeded him in the Empire, by which means *Philip* of *Austria*, sonne to *Maximilian*, inherited his right in *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Friseland*, &c.

34 *Philip*, second of that name, being 16. yeares olde, and succeeding his father *Maximilian*, Emperour in the Netherlands, had these Titles: *Philippe* Arch-duke of *Austria*, Duke of *Bourgogne*, *Lotier*, *Brabant*, *Segria*, *Carinthia*, *Lembourge*, *Luxembourg*, and *Guldres*; Earle of *Hapsbourg*, *Flanders*, *Arthois*, *Bourgogne*, *Ferretis* and *Kiburch*; Palatine of *Hennault*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Namure* and *Zulphen*:
Q q 2 Marquessie

The Duke of
Guelphes
flaine.

1479.

New tumults
of the Cabillaux
and Hoeks.

1482.

Engelbert,
Earle of Nassau,
died 1491.

1494.

The Titles of
Philip, Arch-
Duke of Austria.

1497. Marquess of the holy Emperie, and of *Bourgoyn*; *Landgrauve of Elfsaten*, Lord of *Windimarke*, *Portmeau*, *Salynes*, & *Atacklyn*. Vpon his full possession of the Netherlands, peace was made between him, and *Charles* the eight, King of France; war hapned he wixt the Arch-duke and the Duke of *Guelldres*, great inconueniences followed thereon: but Duke *Albert* being slaine before *Groningen*, the Arch-Duke inherited the Realme of Spain by his wife, being made King of *Castile*, & *George* duke of *Sassony* (being then made Governor of the Netherlands, for the Arch-duke *Philip*) continued the Warres in *Friseland*. For, vpon the death of *Isabell*, Queene of *Castile*, lane her daughter being the onely heyre, and married to the Arch duke *Philip*; she hereby inuited him in the realms of *Spain*, *Leon*, *Granada*, &c. as absolute King. But he enjoyed that Dignitie not long: for in the year 1506, the 27. day of September, he dyed (sodainly) in the City of *Bourgoyn*, suspected to be poisoned. After the death of *Philip* King of *Castile*, the Emperour *Maximilian* took vpon him the government of the Netherlands, as Guardian vnto *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, his Grand children, being the sons of *Philip* and *Jane*, King and Queene of *Castile*.

1508. 35 *Charles* of *Austria*, second of that name, succeeded rightfully in all his fathers Lands and Seigneuries, and by the Emperours appointment, his daughter the Lady *Margaret* (Dowager of *Sauoy*, and Aunt to the Princes *Charles* and *Ferdinand*) was Regent of the Low countries. Afterward, Prince *Charles* took possession of the Netherlands, and being crowned K. of *spaine* and *Aragon*, soone after followed the death of the Emperour *Maximilian*, and in an assembly at *Frankfort*, for choyse of a new Emperour, *Charles* king of *Spain* had free election, by the name of *Charles* the 5. Then was Lady *Margaret* (widow both of *Castile* and *Sauoy*, and Aunt to the Emperour *Charles*) accepted as sole gouernesse of the Netherlands, in her Nephewes absence. Troubles hapned in *Spain*, by reason of the Kings departure thence, & not onely warre in *Friseland*, but likewise betweene the French and *Bourguignons*, as also the warres of Boores or Peazants in Germany; and the *Groningens* reiecting the Duke of *Guelldres*, did yield themselves to the Emperour: then hapned the second

bloody edit from the Emperour, against the Nederland protestants, and then was the imperial diet at *Ausbourg*, where the protestant Princes presented the confession of their faith. After followed the deuouring inundation in the Netherlands, and the death of the Lady dowager *Margaret*, whereby *Mary* of *Austria*, second daughter to King *Phillip*, and Queen *Jane* of *Castile*, succeeded in the government of the Netherlands. War hapned betweene the Emperour and the French king, but vpon the coming of queene *Elenor* of *France* to the Emperour her brother, peace was concluded betwixt them.

1536. While *Mary* of *Austria* gouerned the Netherlands, for the Emperour *Charles* her brother, great troubles hapned vnto the Protestants, by opposition of the Pope & Emperour against them. The Emperour affected the Empire for Prince *Phillip* his sonne, which bred a quarrell betwixt the Emperour, and his brother *Ferdinand* king of *Hungary*, to whom the Princes of the Empire were more enclined, then to *Phillip*; and then the Protestants denied their comming to the Councel of Trent. *Phillip* King of *Spain* married *Mary* queene of England: And not long after, the Emperour reigned the Netherlands to his sonne King *Phillip* (whereby he was reckned the 36. Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, &c.) and the Empire to his brother *Ferdinand*, King of the Romans and *Hungary*, departing out of the Netherlands, to end his dayes quietly in a Monastery, not far from *Placentia*. Reseruing an hundred thousand crowns yeerely to himselfe, employing four thousand for his dyet and maintenance, appointing the rest vnto young Maydens marriages, and the reliefe of Widowes and Orphanes, hee not liuing aboue two yeares after. When not onely happened his death, but likewise the deathes of the Queenes Dowagers of France and *Hungary*, as also of *Mary* Queen of England; after whome, succeeded her Sister *Elizabeth*. In which time, *Emanuel* *Philiberts*, Duke of *Sauoy*, and Prince of *Piemont*, was Gouernour, and Lieutenant General of the Netherlands, for King *Phillip*; till the King of *Spaines* marriage (being turned into teares, by the most vntimely death of the French King) caused *Margaret* of *Austria*, Bastarde to the Emperour *Charles* the first, and Dutchesse of

1539. of *Parma*, to succede the Duke of *Sauoy* in the Netherlands regiment. King *Phillip* returned then home into *Spain*, it being his last departure out of those countries: whereon (not long after) ensued the subtile bringing of the *Spanish* Inquisition into the Netherlands, by creation of new Bishops; and such was the power and privilege of the Inquisitors, as none were able to withstand them, in confiscation both of their body and goods at their owne pleasure.

1568. Now, albeit the tyranny of the Dutchesse government in the Low-countries, was more then the people could well endure, yet (to put a sharpe inaffe in their mouths) K. *Phillip* removed his Bastard sister *Margaret*, & sent *Don Ferdinand* *Aluarez*, Duke of *Alua*, who quickly brought the Netherlands into a most pittifull estate: making himselfe sure of *Gauant*, and Count *Horne* and count *Egmont* (abusiuely) made prisoners: he built the Castle of *Antwerp*, where he erected his own proud statue, & proceeded to apprehend the prince of *Orange* by Commission, setting down Articles by the *Spanish* Inquisition (which were confirmed by the king) to ruinate the Netherlands, vpon which soone followed the execution of the sonnes of *Batembourg* at *Brussels*, as also the Earles of *Egmont* and *Horne*. *William* of *Nassau* prince of *Orange*, was made gouernor of *Holland*, *Zeland* & *Vtrecht* for the States, & proued very fortunate in many attempts against the D. of *Alua*, which made him labour his repeale home into *Spain*, with *Don Fredericke* his sonne. *Don Lewes* de *Requesens*, the great Commander of *Castile*, was sent to spoyle the dukes place in the Netherlands, for the K. of *Spain*, to whom *Aluarez* former behaviour serued for an example in his proceeding; and notwithstanding, his besieging of *Maddebourg* (near hand to *famishment*) yet was his fleet defeated before his face, and the town yielded vp by *Collenell Mondragon*, to the Prince of *Orange*. After many dangerous turmoiles on both sides, the States sent to require succour of *Elizabeth* Q. of England, and soone after dyed *Don Lewes* de *Requesens* at *Brussels*; in whose roome succeeded *Don Iohn* of *Austria* (bastard sonneto to the Emperour *Charles* the first) as gouernor for K. *Philip* in the Netherlands, all the Prouinces whereof were vaited at the pacification of *Gand*; whereup-

on, the Castle was yielded to the States, and all the Spaniards departed out of *Antwerp* castle, which was also delivered into the States hands. *Don Iohn* being received as Gouernor, he sought occasions how to renew warre against the prince of *Orange*, and diuers discontentments, as also treacherous practises, being noted in *D. Iohn*, the States grew iealous of him, & he was proclaimed the Countries enemy. Then was the Arch-duke *Mathias* called to be Gouernour, and while the heart-burnings held betwene *Don Iohn* and the States, the Duke of *Amou*, and Duke *Casimire* also were required to succour them, but to little effect: for *Arthois* and *Hansult*, fell from the Netherlands general vniou, and then followed the death of *Don Iohn* of the plague, in the Campe neare vnto *Namure*.

1578. Then *Alexander Farnase*, Duke of *Parma* and *Placentia*, bastard Nephew to the King of *Spain*, succeeded *Don Iohn* in the Netherlands government: Whereupon, a stricter vniou (then before) was made betwene the Prouinces at *Vtrecht*. The D. of *Amou* was called to be Protector, and partly Lord of the Countries in the Vniou, which made the King of *Spain* prescribe the Prince of *Orange*, and set his life at sale, to which proscriptioun the Prince (in euery poynt) made his iust answere. Then were valiant an! worthie seruices performed by sir *Iohn Norris*, and Capitaine (afterwards) sir *Roger Williams*. In the yeare following, the generall Estates of the Prouinces, having declared *Phillip* K. of *Spain*, second of that name, to be fallen from the Seigneury of the sayd Prouinces, in regard of his extraordinary and too violent government, against their priuiledges and freedoms (solemnely sworn by himselfe) In way of right and Armes, tooke vpon them all the government of the politike Estate, & of the religion in those Prouinces, breaking the Kings Seales, abolishing the subiects of their oath to him, and causing them to take a new oath, for preferuation of their country, and obedience to the said States. Vpon a bargain made by the K. of *Spain*, to kill the prince of *Orange*, the said prince was shot by one *Iohn Luuoreguy*, a bakerup-merchants servant, who was instantly slain, but the prince escaped that attempt with life. Afterward he was traiterously murdered by *Balthazar Gerard*

1539.

The Spanish Inquisition. 1565.

1568.

1549.

1555.

1574.

Prince of Orange, and Commander of Castile.

1556.

1575.

Don Iohn of Austria.

1577.

The Arch-Duke Mathias.

1578.

The Prince of Parma.

1580.

The Duke of Amou.

1581.

The States for themselves.

1582.

The Prince of Orange, shot.

1584.

The Prince of Orange murdered.

Gerard a (high Bourguignon) at Delft in Holland: whereon, Prince Maurice (being his Sonne) succeeded his father in the gouernment. Then followed the siege of Antuerpe, in which time, the States once more, re-commended their cause to the Queene of England: eyther to giue her the full Soueraignty of the Netherlands, or else to succour and releue them with her forces, vpon good conditions offered. Her Maiesty graunted to send them assistance, but no soueraignty or protection of them, would she take vpon her: whereupon, certaine cautionarie Townes and Skonces were deliuered vp to her, for repayment of such summes of money, as should be disbursed by hir, and Articles of covenant set downe betwene them. Also, Robert Lord Dudley, Baron of Denbigh, and Earle of Leicester, was appointed by the Q. of England, to be her Gouverneur generall, ouer the English powers in the Netherlands.

1585.

The Earle of Leicester.

In the time of the earle of Leicesters gouernement for the Queene, were sundrie worthy seruices performed by the Earle of Essex, sir John Norris, the Lord Willoughby, sir Philip Sidney, sir William Russell &c. besides the subtile pretences of sir William Stanley, Rowland Torke, Patton, and others, who held faire weather with the Earle of Leicester, and had the gouernment of Zutphen skonce, and the strong towne of Deuenter (to the great dislike of the States) yet performed no such matter, as the Earles hope was perwaded of them: for, after the death of that matchles noble Gentleman sir Philip Sidney, he being shot before Zutphen, & therof dying, the Earle of Leicester (being gone for England) both Deuenter & Zutphen skonce were deliuered vp to the Spaniards, by base corruption of money. And (not long after) the Prince of Parma beleagring Seiuice, by composition it was also yielded vp, after it had endured 17000 cannon shot & more. Beside, vpon some discontentment, betwene the Earle of Leicester, and the States; the Queene called home the sayd Earle into England, and the Lord Willoughby remained there Generall of the English forces. The sundry worthy seruices, both by him, and the English performed, with the Spanish vndoubted hopes of Englands Conquest, in the dreadfull year, one thousand five hundred eightie and eight, Prince Maurice his entrance into the Netherlands re-

Sir Philip Sidney slain.

1587.

Seiuice.

The Lord Willoughby.

1588.

Prince Maurice.

giment, and the Dukes of Parmas warres in France; all these do I passe ouer, referring such as desire farther satisfaction therein, to the large Historie of the Netherlands.

The Prince of Parma dying at Arras (after his retreat from Rouen) the second of September, one thousand five hundred ninety and two: Maurice of Nassau, borne Prince of Orange, Marquesse of La Vere, and of Flushing, &c. was made great Capitaine and Admirall generall of the vnitied Prouinces in the Low-countries, by the Estates: and Ernestus, Archduke of Austria, was also made Lieutenant Gouverneur, and Capitaine generall for Philip of Spaine.

Prince Maurice prouing very successefull in his warlike attempts, a Renegade or Apostate Priest (in the habite of Souldier) was corrupted (by the Arch-duke Ernestus) to murder the Prince Maurice at Breda; and, vpon his owne confession thereof, he was executed at the Hage. Afterward, vpon Prince Maurice his valiant surprizall of Gronning, Ernestus had dealt in like maner with a Souldier, named Peter de Four (who had sometime serued in the companie of the Guard to Prince Maurice) to vndertake the murdering of him at Lillo: the which treason being confessed by the man himselfe, he was executed in the towne of Berghen-up-zoom. Here might be much said of the honorable seruices of sir Frances Vere, and others, but our purposed breuitie is the onely imbarment; and the Netherlands Historie (at large) may thereof discharge me. The Arch-duke Ernestus dyed the twenty one day of February, one thousand five hundred ninety and five; Monardrons forces defeated by Prince Maurice, and La Motte slain before Doullus: the Estates (vnder the king of Spaine) gladly fought peace with the vnitied Prouinces, and sent Articles in writing to Prince Maurice, for consideration of their motion. This was not done, but vpon good aduice in the King of Spaine, perceiuing the Netherlands, and Prince Maurice his great fortunes against him, adding euery day, (more and more) to his veter abolition thence. Hereupon, Albertus the Cardinall, brother to deceased Ernestus, and Arch duke of Austria, was sent (by the King) to gouerne there for him; many Easterlings and Netherlands

1592.

Ernestus D. of Austria.

1594.
Prince Maurice should be murdered twice.

Sir Francis Vere.

1595.

Albertus Arch Duke of Austria.

therland shippes, which had bene stayed in Spaine to meeete the Indian fleet, were suddenly released; and Phillip of Nassau (who is now Prince of Orange and Earle of Buren, that had long time bene restrained of his liberty in Spaine) for the better countenancing of his intended busines, he likewise went along with the Cardinall Albertus.

The Cardinall being made Gouverneur for the King of Spaine, tooke Callee from the French King, as his first peece of seruice: but for losse thereof, he recouered La-fere from the Spaniards. Whereupon, the Cardinall besieged Hilt in Flanders, which yielded in the end: but it was a deare purchase to the Cardinall, for this siege, (continuing some two moneths) cost him the liues of about three-score valiant Captaines, besides other Commanders, Collonels, and men of marke, and about five thousand well approoued souldiers.

Then did the King of Spaine dispense with himselfe for payment of his debts, which made many Merchants in Spaine, Italy, Antwerpe, Amsterdam, and Middlebourg, to become Bankerouts. A league was made betwene the French King, the Queene of England and the States, against the Spaniards; and then did Prince Maurice go to Tournhout, where the Earle of Varax was slain. Amiens also was surprized by the Spaniards; but soone besieged and recouered by the French King, albeit the Cardinall did offer succour, which proued in vain. Prince Maurice besieged, and tooke the Townes of Apen, Meurs, Rhinberg, Groll, Brestort, Enscheyde, Oldenzeel, Otmarfom, Goot, and Lingenzall which seruices he performed in three moneths. Then happened another treacherous plot, against the life of Prince Maurice, by perwasion of the Iesuites of Damay, and vnderaken by Peter Panne, a Cowper by trade; but being then a Broker or Bankerout Merchant, who hauing received the Sacrament to performe the deece, eyther with knife, ponyard, or pistol: the Prouinciall of the Iesuites made a long Sermon, to encourage him in the action, and assuring him of Paradise, if he performed it, vfed these words to him besides: *Goe in peace, for thou shalt goe like an Angell, in the garde of God.* But the man (being terrified in conscience) discouered

the whole treason, without any compulsion, and was therefore executed at Leyden in Holland. The King of Spaine growing weak and sickely, gaue his Daughter the Infanta, named Isabella Clara Eugenia, in marriage to the Arch duke and Cardinall Albertus, with transfaction of the Netherlands and Bourgogne: whereupon he left his Cardinales habite, and went to fetch the Infanta. Soone after dyed the King of Spaine, on the thirteenth day of September, in the year of our Lord God 1598. being seauentie one yeares olde, and four moneths.

The Arch-duke and the Infanta being come into the Netherlands, had their intallment at Brussels, Louaine, Antwerpe, &c. The Emperour sent to the States, concerning a peace, but their relolution helde to make warre in Flanders. Then happened the siege and memorable battail of Nieuport, where Prince Maurice tooke diuers Fortes from the Spaniards, and ouerthrew the Arch-dukes Armie, he being there in person: but gladly fled away, leaving his Armes, Horfile of Combate, all his Houhold, Artillery, and baggage behinde him, and lost fixe thousand men, besides eight hundred taken prisoners, among whom was Don Francisco de Mendoza, Admirall of Arragen, Marquesse of Guadaleste, and Lieutenant generall of the Arch-dukes Army, who was ledde to Ostend; Don Baptista de Villanona, led to Horne in Holland; Don Alonso Ricquell, to Delft; Don Gonzalo Hernandez de Spinola, to Vtrecht; Don Pedro de Montenegro, to the Hague; Don Pedro de Valasco, to Berghen, with Don Francisco de Tarres, and Don Antonio de Mendoza, and Don Pedro de Leusina, to Enchuisen: besides the Arch-dukes three Pages, Count Carlo Rezi, Don Diego de Guzman, and Mortier: Don Pedro de Monte-maior, his chiefe Taster; also his Philition, Barber, Harbinger, Rider, Cook, Porter, Grooms of his Chamber, most of the Archers, Halberdiers of his Guard, and (in a maner) all his houhold; with three Priests or Monks; forty Aunients, and thirty seauen Pensioners, reamed (by them) Ancients and Sergeants reformed. Hee lost also fixe peeces of Ordinance, one hundred thirty and fixe Ensignes of foote taken, and five Cornets of horfile, comprehending the Motines Standard, and the recouered lost Colours.

Moreo-

The death of king Philip.

1599.

1600.
The battail of Nieuport.

Moreover, on the Archdukes side were slain, the Earle of *Saume*, the Earle of *La Fere*, the Seneshall of *Montlimar*, the Baron of *Pimeruill*, *Chaffy Otingny*, son to the President *Richardot*; *Don Gaspar de Sapeas*, Colonell, who died at Oastend, *Don Diego de Torres*, *Don Gaspar de Loyazo*, *Don Gonzalo d'Espinala*, *Don Iohn de Pardo*, *Don Garcia de Toledo*, *Don Lopo de Capeta*, *Don Alonso Carcano*, *Don Louis Faccardo*, *Sebastian Velasco*, *Sebastian Doteiza*, *Christianall Verdagues*, *Muttheo d'Osteuille*, *Joanmettin de casa nueva*, the Paymaster *Aimes*, and many other newen known.

Prince Maurice and the States, at the first encounter in the mornings, and lastly in the battel, lost about 2000. men, among whom were *Bernard*, *Coweler*, & *Hamelton*, Captaines of horle, and some twentie Capitaines of foot, but no man of marke or speciall note. In this braue exploitte at *Nieuport*, the vertue and valor of *Sir Frances Vere* Generall, and *Sir Horatio Vere* his Brother, Colonell, will for euer bee remembered.

The occurrences in the following years as the besiedging of Oastend, the enterprize on *Flejsigne*, the practise to sacke *Antwerpe* againe, *Grane* yielded vp vnto Prince *Maurice*; also his honorable offers to the towne of *Sluice*, and it being yielded to him vpon composition, euen in the view of the Archdukes army: they require a larger field of discourse, then by this breuety can be admitted. Proceed we then to speake of the long continued sledge at Oastend, which lasting three whol yeares and eleuen weekes, was at last compounded withall, and on the twentie two day of September, 1604. yielded to the Archduke.

What numbers were slain in this long continued siege of Oast-end, can hardly be gathered, albeit, a note was found in a Commisaries Pocket (who had bin slain the seuenth of August, 1604. before Oastend) wherein were diuers good obseruations; especially concerning the Archdukes Campe, and also what number

(of each degree) dyed and were slaine therein, during this sledge, vntill the yeilding vp thereof, viz) Masters of the camp seuen; Colonels fifteene; Sergeant Majors twenty nine, Captaines 505. Lieutenants 1116. Ensigns 322. Sergeants 1911. Corporals 1166. Lanfrizadoes 600. Soldiers, 54663. Mariners 611. women and Children, 119. all amounting to 72124. persons.

To continue the memory of this long sledge, as also the winning of *Sluice*; counters (of Silver and Copper) were made in the vnited Prouinces, bearing (on the one side) the figure of Oastend, and on the other, the Towns of *Rhinberke*, *Grane*, *Sluice*, *Ardenbourg*, with the Forts of *Ipsendyke* & *Cadfant*, with this inscription round about: *Plus triennio obsessa, posttrudera Patria quatuor ex me urbes dedit. Oastend being more then three years besiedged, gaue the enemy an heape of stones, and so her Native Country foure Townes.* Another Counter, concerning *Sluice*, had these wordes on the one side, *Traxis, duxit, dedit*, Anno 1604. And with the Armes of *Zeland* on the other side, were these words: *Beatus populus cuius adiutor Deus.* For the following yeares, from 1604. to 1608. I find no especiall or memorable accidents; but an enterprize by Prince *Maurice*, on the river of *Scheld* and *Antwerp*, with the taking of the Castele of *Wouwre*, neere vnto *Berghen* & *Spaine*; *Spinalas* taking of *Linghen*, with an attempt on *Berghen* & *Groll*, taken by composition, &c. For a treaty of peace happening betweene England and Spaine, the like also chanced to be talked on concerning the Netherlands, and many other meetings were made to bring it to effect. At length it was brought to passe, by the labour and endeour of a Friar (as it was reported) who made manie errands between Spaine and the Netherlands, vntill it was accomplished. Since when, nothing hath hapned of any consequence, but the taking of the Towne of *Guliche* in Germany, where the Prince *Maurice* did behaue himselfe very honorably.

The Archdukes Jellist Oastend.

1601. 1606.
1607. 1608.
1609. 1610.

THE



The Eight Booke.

CHAP. I.

Containing, a breefe discourse of the Originall of the Venetians; the foundation of Venice, and how it hath bene governed, from the yeare of our Lord, 421. to this instant.

Historiographers who have written of the Venetians, doe not agree together in their true Originall. For some doe write, that they are descended of the Venetian Gaules, inhabiting along the Ocean sea in little Britaigne, called *Armorica*, whereof one of the principall Citties (beeing a Byshops See) was called *Vennes*. Others, and (among them) *Titus Livius*, born in Padua, assures vs, that they came forth of *Paphlagonia*, and that *Philemon* their Captaine (being slayne at *Troy* the great) they went with *Antenor* into Italy. Others write, that this Nation, hauing bene neighbours to the *Cappadocians*, and venturing fight with the *Cimmerians*, they hazarded farre further vpon the Adriaticke Sea in their Fortune. The most common opinion, is of them, who say, that the *Thinitians* or *Heneles* came with *Antenor*; and, in sometime after (by changing of a Letter) were called *Venitians*, or *Venetes*.

First of all, they expelled the *Engameans*

who inhabited this country, between the Adriaticke sea and the *Alpes*, and builded the City of *Padua*. Afterward, by successe of time, they increased in such sort, as they would not be satisfied to be Masters (only) of that which had appertained to the *Engameans* (consisting of thirty foure fayre Citties and Townes;) but intruded farther, to teize on *Bressano* and *Forli*. Some report this Country to be bounded with the Rivers of *Pau*, and that of *Adde*, as also the Lake of *Guard*, anciently called the *Benacke*, the *alpes*, and the *Adriaticke* sea.

And so the ancient Venetians in this manner, extended their Dominion, both in longitude and latitude, in the most pleasant Countrey of Italy: but the seating of the places did daily beget the elder citare of the Venetians haured. For on the one side, the ordinary robberies of the *Liburnians*, and on the other side, the frequent and frightfull courses of the Barbarians, did hinder them from any long time of continuing in quiet. For, without these impeachments, this Nation had bin most fortunate, in conquering (by the right of *Ware*) one of the most goodly & beautiful regions in all Italy.

Now ouer & beside, that on the south-side, it is enuironed with a most calme circuite of the sea, and in regard thereof, is the most capable of receiuing all strange Merchandizes: so it is likewise Watered with very delectable rivers, whereby whatsoeuer commeth from the Sea, is easilie transported to the very Nauel of the Prouince. It aboundeth in Pooles, Ponds, Forrests, and vnder-woods, & the whole Land is choicely fertile in Corne, Wine, Oyle,

People by the inner gulfie of the Adriaticke Sea, towards the Alpes.

Liburnia, the country of Croatia, betweene Illyria, and Dalmatia,

The situation of Venice, & capacity thereof.

People of Paphlagonia.

1601. 1604.

1602. 1604.

The long siege at Oast-end.

Oyle, and all kindes of fruites. It is also plentifully stored with Countrey houses, Townes, Citties, and Villages, Castles, Fortes, and such like, verie commendable for the situation & enclosure of their Walles.

Their new inhabitants, when their weeke estate beganne to grow in sayter forme: they were seldom exempted from the VVaires and incursions of strangers. For, after many bolde insolencies of the Barbarians, with continued Warres against each other, euen from their verie beginning, vntill the time of *Attila*: they were yet much more dreadfully encumbered, with the furious assault of the *Goths*, a Tempest farr exceeding in turbulency, all other former disasters happening vnto them whatsoeuer. For first, the *Hunnes*

(a people of *Scythia*, dwelling neere to the *Riparian* Mountaines) conducted by *Attila*, the Sonne of *Mandluke*, disperied themselves puer *Italy*, and making horrible spoile wheresoeuer they went, fell into the Prouince belonging to the *Venitians*. After a long siege, they tooke the City of *Aquileia*, and spoyle and burnt it wholly. In like manner did they also ruinate the two Citties of *Concordia* and *Adina*, and almost all the Venitian region.

At the fearefull newes of this Warre, the *Venitians* were more amazed then any other, and so much the rather, because they had bene formerly inured, to sustaine their cheefest mishappes amongst the Barbarians. V hereupon it is said, that (euen then) a great number of persons withdrew themselves from the firme Land, to the Isles where *Venice* at this instant is builded: hasting thither from all other parts, especially vpon the arrivall of this cruell enemy *Attila*.

Some (of the better sort of *Padua*) first beganne the retreat, and being come to the entrance or issue of the Riuer, which was then very deepe (whence the name of *Rialto* hath remaind to the same place, as deriued of the word *Rinculo*) they there laide the first foundation of the Cittie of *Venice*.

The meaner people of *Padua*, enforced by the selfe-same feare; fled thence, and beganne to people themselves in *Chioggia*, *Malamocco*, and *Albiola*. Som of them of *Aquileia* (at the same time) betooke

themselves to the Marshes or Fennes of *Grada*; and vpon the fresh returne of *Attila*, the people ran (in mighty affluence) along the Coastes to the Neighbouring Isles. They of *Aquileia* bestowed themselves in *Grada*, a place neereft vnto firme land, yet engirt with Waters. They that fledde from *Concordia*, made vse of *Coarls* and the *Atimis*, fixe little Islands neere to one another, which they gaue names vnto, according to the names of the gates of their former lost and ruined Citties: to wit, *Torcello*, *Atmorbo*, *Buriana*, *Muriano*, *Anuana*, and *Giustianica*.

These severall places, where at this present the City of *Venice* is seated, were (in elder times) very straight or narrowe Islands, and neere vnto each other: sauing onely that they were separated by the pleasing course of Riuers, which ranne into, and returned againe from the Sea, according to the changes of his fluxe and reflux. Nor in these straights were then any dwellings to bee discerned, but onely of Sea-Fowles, that flew thither from the Seas, to disport themselves vpon the Sunny banks; and Fisher-men likewise, would sometimes there put in for harbour.

The *Paduans*, that tooke vp the *Rialto*, were the first that beganne to build, and it was in the very same place, where the first foundation of the City was layde: Namely, the five and twentieth day of March, in the yeare of our Lord, 421. and second yeare of the reigne of *Pharamond*, first King of the *Gauls* or French-men, in the time also of Pope *Boniface* the first, and of the Emperour *Honorius*. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that at one and the selfe-same time, began both the kingdom of *France* and the Commonwealt of *Venice*. And that both the one and the other haue continued to this present, for twelue hundred yeares, very little, either more or lesse.

This City so newly begun, encreased dayly both in people and buildings. But feare what happened vpon a sodaine, a Greeke Carpenters house (or rather here was one of the Shipwrights, named *Emetopus*) falling on fire, consumed in a moment (with a violent & continuall embracing) 24. faire new built houses. Which when the new come inhabitants perceived, & fearing that heauen was offended with

The prime estate of the place where Venice now standeth.

The first builders of Venice, and at what time.

Their first buildings destroyed by fire.

with this their manner of beginning, forgetting God, and serving their owne appetites. They fell all to prayer, and made a solemne vow, to build a Church in the honour of God, and in memory of the Apostle *Saint James*; at which verie instant time, a mighty tempest of rain (as sodainly fell) whereby the rest of the new begun City was happily preferred.

That Church is yet at this day plainly to be discerned, with the markes and appearances of great antiquity, euen in the very midst of the *Rialto*: And it was then consecrated by foure Bishops, to wit; *Seruanus* byshop of *Padua*; *Ambrose*, Byshop of *Adina*; *Iscundus*, byshop of *Trevisa*; and *Epodius*, byshop of *Verdza*, and a Priest was there appointed, to performe diuine Service.

The first foundations of this Famous City, were men of honest repute, Noble, and rich. For the ancient *Venitians*, at the change of their abiding, brought with them thither their wiues and childre, with the very wealthieft moueables which they had, and so (at leisure) withdrew themselves, to places of a more secure dwelling. But being impeached (by incursions of the *Hunnes*) to Till the groundes vpon the sea Coasts; such as had any meanes or apt commodity: gaue themselves to fighting, and to make salt, or to transport the goods of their neighbors; esteeming the benefit thereby gotten, to be no more dishonest or vnbecomming, then to plough and husband the groundes of others.

As for the wealthier sort, they addicted themselves to traffick Merchandizes with strangers, and by their frequent aduenturing into diuers Countries, some of them being very skillfull Miners, and well experienced in the triall of severall Oares or Mettals hidden in the ground, which by industry and endeavour they found in the earth, became Finers or Tryers of those Mettals, and extracted (from the grosse substances) the purer perfektions of Gold and Silver, whereby, in their owne Language, they were termed *Orifici*, deriued of the Latine word *Aurifex*, Gold-Smithes, or Hammer men, that (of those refined Mettals) could frame Cups, Pots, Rings, Balons, Ewres, or any other needfull matter whatsoeuer, both for the seruice of God in Churches and Temples, and for the royalty of Emperors, Kings, & Prin-

ces. So that, by the consent of diuers good Authors, as *Linie*, *Florus*, *Cassiodorus*, *Trogus Pompeius*, and others, the first Gold-Smiths, workers in Gold and Silver, and framers of those excellent mettalles into such orderly meanes for vse (within the parts of *Europe*) lived in *Venice*, whereas yet (to this day) do remaine the very best ingenious, and perfect workmen for such matters (according to the iudgement of many) that are to be found in any part of the world. Concerning such as remained more ordinarily at home, for care & safety of the City; they applied their spirits, to deuise good lawes and custums for general benefit. During which time, such was their due respect of iustice, & so precise care of equity and right to all men; as among so great a number of people, there could not bee any disorderly differences noted.

Catholike religion they so singularly commended, and the dayly presence of some reuerend Prelates, who had faued themselves with their Compatriots; that it augmented (among them) a common affection to piety. And their assistance appeared verie requisite, not onely for the ministry of holie Offices; but also for retention of the inhabitants of this new City, in ancient piety and religion. Fearing least they might be infected with the poison of *Atrian* heresie, because nothing els made more spoile and hauock through all the Prouince, except the weapons of the *Goths* and *Hunnes*.

Such was the beginning of the City of *Venice*, and in such manner of liuing, and in such exercises shee spent her first infancy; till (by her vertues) shee attained vnto greater growth, and grounded her selfe in her instant state and condition. It hath constantly bene held, that this Commonwealt (euermore) retained that forme of government, which is termed *Aristocratie*, that is, that the most noble and worthiest Citizens should guide and govern. For, although it be saide, that it hath bene gouerned first by Consuls, then by Tribunes, and lastly by Dukes, and Masters of warlike power; notwithstanding, all these dignities, being but eleciue, and not hereditary, the election should (in right) appertain to the most Noble Islanders, and Gentlemen of name, by whose aduice the Commonwealt ought to be mana-

The first gold Smiths known in Europe, were in Venice.

Care of iustice and common good.

Love of religion in especial respect.

Aristocratie appointed principall.

Mountaines in the north part of Scythia, where now lieth Constantinople.

An ancient City in that part of Italy, called Forum Iulii.

The first foundation of Venice.

Little Islands in the sea, and neere aduantage.

managed, even as it hath bin, and still continueth to this day.

Consuls, to the number of three, were chosen for two yeares, and albeit that this kinde of Government lasted for about the space of threescore yeares, yet wee finde only but three consecutiu or succeeding elections of them. The first Consuls, were *Albertus Phalaris*, *Thomas Candianus*, and *Zeno Daulo*. These men first gouerned the City in her Nonage, & some are of the minde, that they were the first Authors of the *Paduans* flight, and their retirement to the *Lakish* or *Marish* Isles, as also of their first building there. The second Consuls, were *Lucianus Granlus*, *Maximus*, or *Marinus Lucius*, and *Hugo Fufcus*. The third, were *Marcus Aurelius*, *Andreas Claudius*, and *Albinus Maurus*. The names of such as were elected after these, are not to be found in anie Histories.

After, that the Isles (about the *Rialto* were filled with inhabitants: in stedd of Consuls, Tribunes were created, and for their creation, the matter was first debated priuately by few people, afterward, it was ordained and resolved in open assembly of the Islanders: that in each Isle there should be a Tribune, and hee should bee a yearly Magistrate, to render Iustice to the Cittizens, and with seuerity to punish their offences. But the remaynder which concerned the generalitie of the Common-weale: was referred to the generall assembly of the Islanders, to bee by them determined. Afterward, there was but one Tribune created for government of the Isles, which continued for some yeares. Finally, they concluded to create ten, wherunto were added two more, who should dwell in *Heraclea*; & this Tribuniary dignity held place for more then two hundred yeares. Heere is to bee noted, that the Tribunes of the Isles, abusing their authorities, did so trouble the State with ciuill diffentions, as it plainly appeared, that the maine body of the Cittie would be dissolved, without some good and immediate remedy. Which gaue occasion, that (to heare the complaints of euery one) a general assembly of the Isles was published, and their meeting to be in *Heraclea*.

In this assembly, *Christophoro* byshop of *Grada* was President, accompanied

with a great number of the Cleargie, and after diuine seruice was performed, the first proposition which he made, was, that (for good of the Common-wealth, each man might complaine of the future Tribune, which being done, and the offences no longer to be endured, for publike benefit of the state in generall, resolution was set downe, to make election of a Duke, who should represent all honor and Maiesty in the State or Seigneury, & he should haue power to assemble the general counsell, when questions were to be made, of any important matter concerning the Commonwealth. He should haue power also, to elect yearly Tribunes or Magistrates in euery Isle, and their appellations to bee brought before him. Moreover, if any should obtaine any dignity, Prelacie, or Benefice, by suffrages of the Clergy or people: that he should not enjoy it, or be possessed therof, without the good liking and consent of the Duke, whose power also ended with his life.

This being thus concluded, in the year 697. *Paulucio* was created the first Duke; and so hath that Ducall dignity continued euer since. Saue only that in the year 737. after the death of the third Duke *Orso*, it was determined, that no duke should be elected, for six yeares, but that a Master of the armed troopes or Souldiours should be established, and his Authoritie to be annual, which lasted no longer then five yeares. For in the year, 742. they proceeded againe to a Dukes election; and since that time, the Common-wealth of *Venice* hath euermore had Dukes & Princes of the Seigneury; by whose wisdom (and his counsell assisting) it hath bin preserved in an euer flourishing estate, euen to this instant year, 1619.

CHAP. II.

A short Summary, of the lines of the Dukes and Princes of Venice: And a breuiate also of the most remarkable actions, in the times of their Government.

Paulucio Anapesto, was first Duke of the people, chosen in *Heraclea*. He took his

his Oath before *Christophoro*, Patriarke of *Grada*, to gouerne according to the lawes, & to regard nothing more then the weale publike. He pacified the difference which *Luiprand*, king of the Lombards had with *K. Aribert*, and made friendship with them both: as well by his authority, as by arms. He brought the rebellious *Aquileians* vnder obedience, encreased the Citties customs and reuenues, and dyed, hauing bene Duke twenty yeares, sixe moneths, and eight dayes.

2 *Marcello Tegaliano*, of the same place of *Heraclea*, was elected his successeur, by common voyce of the people. He was deuoute, modest and affable; but much lesse diligent in gouerning, then his predecessor. The Patriarchat of *Grada* was transferred into *Aquileia* in his time, by *Luiprand*, and there hee had great warres, about the diffentions of the Bishops, wherinto he would not interpose himselfe; but dyed, hauing bene Duke nine yeares, and twenty one dayes.

3 *Orso Hipato*, a nobleman of *Heraclea*, wonne himselfe great reputation by his famous deedes. *Paulo* the *Exarcho* had recourse to him, the *Gracian* Arme being broken, and siegelayd to *Rauenna* by *Luiprand*. He re-gained *Rauenna*, made the Kings nephew his prisoner, slew the duke of *Picenza*, and released the *Exarcho* in his due rights. Hee bridlede the *Aquileians*, who troubled the publike peace, and put courage into the soules of the yonger sort. He was slaine, by reason of the diffentions of *Iesolo*, the eleauenth year, and sixt moneth of his Principality.

4 *Theodato Hipato*, sonne of *Orso*, was proclaimed Duke 5. yeares after the death of his father: during which time, the people were gouled by a Marshall or Master of the Souldiers: and forsaking *Heraclea*, he brought the State to *Malamocco*. There he was the first created, and limited his Confinnes with *Astolpho* King of the Lombards. He was also slayne by *Galla* a Cittizen of *Malamocco*, in the thirteenth year of his Principality.

5 *Galla de Malamocco*, a wicked and seditious man, yet shewing himselfe as Protector of publike peace, was established in the place of *Theodato*. But his wickednesse being knowne, and that (being but a subiect) he would needs make himselfe absolute Lord, hauing before

slayne his chiefe Maister *Theodato*: the people plucked out his eyes, and tooke from him the Dignitie, which hee had a yeare vsturped.

6 *Dominico Monegario*, of *Malamocco*, was seated in the steade of *Galla*. Somewhat to bridle this Dukes authoritie, the people ioyned two yearly Tribunes with him. But he, being a man audacious and arrogant, fought to tyrannize ouer the people: wherat they growing into furiè, pluckt out his eyes, the eight yeare of his Principality.

7 *Mauritio Galbaio*, a noble *Heracleian*, for his iustice, wisdom, and wealth, was chosen to this dignity. He made his sonne Duke with him, and they gouerned together. In his time, the Church of *Grada* being molested, he sent an Ambassadour to Pope *Stephen*, to accord the difference. The Bishopricks of *Saint Peter de Castello Olino*, was then erected. And hee died, hauing gouerned twenty three yeares.

8 *Giovanni Galbaio*, hauing bene Duke nine yeares with his father, gouerned the Commonwealth yet nine yeares more, and after the sayd time, hee made *Mauritio* his sonne, companion with him in the Principality. But they being both of vnsufferable and wicked life, hauing murdered *Iohn* Patriarchat of *Grada*, throwing him downe heading from an high tower: *Fortunatus*, successeur in the Patriarchate, made a conspiracie against them, and another was elected Duke. Wherat, being not a little confounded, the father fled into *Franunce*, and the sonne to *Mantua*, the sixteenth yeare of their rule.

9 *Obelerio*, being elected Prince by them that had intelligence with *Fortunatus*, tooke his brother *Beato* as his affociate, and *Valentine* beside (being their third brother) was admitted with them in the same dignitie. And it is worth the noting, that of these three brethren, *Beato* is onelie placed in the ranke of Dukes in the Counsell chamber of *Venice*; whereas *Obelerio* incited *Pepin* King of *Italy*, to make warre on the *Venicians*: and *Beato* maintaind the Common-wealth, raigning five yeares.

10 *Angelo Participatio*, after he had wel borne himselfe in the warre against *Pepin*, was elected Duke, the people being summoned to the *Rialto*. He founded the Dukes palace, in the same place where that now built, standeth. The diuision of the Empire

R r r
was

The gouernment of Consuls, and who were the first in Venice.

The creation of Tribunes, and what they were.

Who was the first Duke of Venice.

was made in his time, and the Venetians left in their owne liberty. The Citie was diuided into wards, streets, and precincts. The *Pregadi*, and the *Quaranta*, who (for criminall offences) was then instituted among them. He gouerned 18. years.

11 *Giustiano Participatio*, hauing bene an associate in the dignity with his father, was (after his death) confirmed by the people. Hee repealed home his brother *Iohn*, who was then at *Constantinople*, & accepted him as his fellow ruler: hee made the peoples authority greater then before, & gaue ayde to *Michael* the Emperor against the Sarazins. The body of Saint *Marke* was in his time brought from *Alexandria*, accepting it into his protection, and the Church remaining at this day, was consecrated in his memory. He died the second year of his dignity.

13 *Gionanni Participatio*, remained in the royalty, and enlarged the Church of *S. Marke*, placing therein a great number of Priests and Canons, & appointing a *Primicerio* to gouerne them. Hee caused the head of *Obelerio* to be cut off, whome hee had besiedged in the Isle of *Curia*. He made war vpon the *Nauratines*, and ouercame them. In the end, a conspiracy was deuised against him, and beeing confined to *Grada*, in the eight year of his Principality, hee shaued his head and beard, and made himselfe a Monke, in which estate he dyed.

12 *Pietro Trademico* of *Pola*, hauing carried himselfe to the peoples contentment in the warres against *Pepin*, was elected Duke. He ioynd *Iohn* his son in rule with him, and gaue succour to the Emperor of *Constantinople*, who made request thereof by *Theodosius Patricius*. He was made *Protospatary* of the Empire: in help whereof, he sent 60. Gallies. *Lewes 2.* granted him many priuiledges, and in the end, hee was slaine by a sedition, in his 27. year.

14 *Orso Participatio* hauing appeased the sedition, was made Du. The Turks hauing spoiled *Dalmatia*, euen so far as *Grada*, were vanquished by him, and *Gionanni Participatio* his son, whom he made associat with him in his gouernment. *Basilus* the Emperor, highly honoured him for that good service, and made him *Promptuary* of the Empire. He gouerned 17. years.

15 *Gionanni Participatio*, being confirmed in his dignity, tooke and burned *Coma-*

chia, wasted the Countie of *Rauenna*, to reuenge himself on the Count of *Comachio*, who had imprisoned and wounded vnto death his Brother *Bradorio*. He growing much ouercome with sicknesse, caused the Church of Saint *Cornelius*, and *S. Cyprian* to be built at *Malamecco*, and hauing gouerned fve yeares, and fixe moneths, renounced the Dignity.

16 *Pietro Candiano*, was elected after the voluntary dismission of his Predecessour. He was a valiant man, and verie expert in Armes; and yet notwithstanding, greatly addicted to deuotion. He went (in person) with ten Gallies against the *Nauratines*, who (as Theeues) robbed and purloyned from the Venitians. Fighting valiantly against them, hee dyed at the second time, with the Weapons in his handes. He gouerned no longer then fve moneths.

Dominico Tribuno, is set (by some) in ranke with the Dukes: but others, lesse curious in search of the History, haue omitted him; because he was duke but three moneths, and thirteene dayes, and nothing is remarkable in his time, but a certaine priuiledge, granted by him to *Chioggia*.

17 *Pietro Tribuno*, sonne of *Dominico*, was elected Duke. He obtained of *Guydo*, Emperor and King of Italy, a confirmation of all ancient Priuiledges. The Barbarian *Hunnes* came againe into Italy, and burned *Heracles*, *Capo de Argier*, and *Chioggia*. This Prince ouercame them, with very much honour: and this was the third time, that those Strangers fought to vsurp on that State. He gouerned twenty foure yeares.

18 *Orso Badoaro*, called himselfe *Participatio*, and was the first that chaunged his name. He sent for his sonne *Pietro* to *Constantinople*, and hee was made *Protospatarie*. In the yeare nine hundred and twentie, hee obtained of *Rodulphus*, Emperor and King of Italy, the confirmation of the Venitians ancient authoritie, to stampe Moneyes. Hee addicted himselfe wholly to piety, and in his 20. year, he renounced the Dignitie, to make himselfe a Monke, and liue priuately.

19 *Pietro Candiano* the second, was a worthy man, and made Warre on *Lauetrio*, Marquesse of *Iliria*, who hindred the Trafficke of the Venitians. He ouercame him

him, and re-conquered the people of *Capo d'Iliria*. He vanquished *Albertus*, sonne to the Emperor *Berengarius*, who impatronizing himselfe of *Rauenna*, impeached the passage of the Venitians shippes. In his time, Maidens were stollen by the *Testaines*, to ioyne in marriage with them; but they were soone recovered. He gouerned seuen yeares.

20 *Pietro Badoaro*, the sonne of *Orso*, was redeemed by him from the *Sclauonians*. He gouerned but two yeares and seuen moneths, alwayes in peace, which he much affected. *Berengarius* the Emperor did him many fauours, for his great deserts.

11 *Pietro Candiano* the third, sonne to the second *Candiano*, associated himselfe in his dignity with his sonne *Pietro*: and at two seuerall times armed three & thirty Shippes against the *Narentines*; but at the second time, he made peace with the. His sonne being reproofed by him for his bad behauiour; revolted from him, and againt the Common-wealth. The people would haue slaine him, but hee was sent thence into exile: wher ioyning with *Guydo*, sonne of *Berengarius*, hee endangered the Commonwealth: wher at his Father greewing, died in his fiftieth year of gouernment.

22 *Pietro Candiano* the fourth, being repealed from exile (albeit the people had sworne neuer to receiue him) was made Prince with very great applause. He dealt in such sort with Pope *Iohn* the twelfth, that the Church of *Grada* was made Patriarchall, and Metropolitane of all the Venitians State, and of *Iliria*. *Otho* the Emperor, granted him many honourable priuiledges. He ruined *Vderzo*, and was slaine with his Sonne in a sedition of the people, hauing gouerned about twentie yeares.

23 *Pietro Orscolo*, was a man altogether deuout, and was elected by the people against his will. He would very often walk in an vnknowne habit, to visit the houses of poore people and Hospitals. Hee appeased the diffentions between the Venitians, and them of *Capo d'Iliria*, who yielding themselves tributary; hee went with *Beato Romualdo* of *Rauenna*, to liue Religiously. He gouerned two yeares and two months, doing many worthy and charitable deeds.

24 *Pietro Candiano*, Sonne of *Pietro* the third, made the confederacy with the Emperor *Otho*. He fell sicke so soone as hee entred vpon his charge: wherefore hee became a Monke, hauing gouerned about a yeare.

25 *Tribuno Memo*, was very rich, but no man of State. In his time happened great diffentions, betwene the families of *Morefina* and *Calleprina*; by reason whereof, many notorious murders were committed. Hee took part with the *Morisini*, which caused the faction to withdraw themselves to *Verona*, to the Emperor *Otho*. Hee gaue the Isle of *S. Giorgio Maggiore* to the Abbot of *Morefina*: and renounced the Principality in his twelfth yeare, entering into Religion.

26 *Pietro Orscolo* the second, being a very discrete man, ordered the matter so well with the Emperours *Basilus* and *Alexius*: that the Venitians were exempted from Tolles and Taxations. *Otho* the Emperor lying at *Perona*, did highly fauour him; and, among other graces, to holde one of his sonnes at Baptisme. Hee was the first that extended their Confines on the Sea, winning many places in *Iliria* and *Dalmatia*. Hauing caused the Church and Pallace to be finished in his time, hee dyed in the eighteenth year of his Principality.

27 *Ottone Orscolo*, hauing Gouerned some space with his father *Pietro*, was confirmed in the dignity, at the age of eighteene yeares. Hee vnned such reputation, that *Geta* King of *Hungaria*, gaue him one of his Sisters in marriage. In person hee conquered them of *Iliria*, who were become Rebelles; and went into *Dalmatia*, in the enterprize agaynst *Cresimura*. At length, the malicious enuiers of his glories, deuised a Conspiracie agaynst him, vpon the which, he was confined into Greece, in the seuenteenth yeare of his rule.

28 *Pietro Centranico*, or *Barbolano*, succeeded next to *Otho*. But hauing not well qualified all diffentions, as well concerning the Cittizens remouing, as the other Neighbours; he was compelled to forsake the dignity, and make himselfe a Monke. *Orso*, Brother of *Otho*, returned from *Constantinople*, being Patriarche of *Grada*, and he was constituted in expectation of *Othos* coming. He continued

about a yeare in the Palace, and forsooke the Principality, newes being brought of *Othos* death. *Dominico Orseolo* would then perforce usurp the dignity; but he was expelled by the people the next morning, & died at *Rauenna*.

29 *Dominico Flabanico*, was elected during his exile, by the faction of them that had excluded *Dominico Orseolo*. In his time and in the year 1040. the national Council was held, for government of the Ecclesiastickes. He made the family of *Orseolo* suspicious to the State, by his owne meanes, and laboured for their vtter supplantation. He gouerned ten yeares, foure months, and twelue dayes.

30 *Dominico Contarini* was verie pleasing to the people. He brought *Dalmatia* to peace, beeing heauily burthened with the rebellion of *Zara*. He fauoured the Normans against *Robert* King of *Apulia*. And the discord which hapned betweene the Common-wealth, and *Pepo*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, was by him qualified. Hee builded the Monasterie on the *Lido*, and dyed in the eight and twenty yeare of his Principality.

31 *Dominico Silino*, won himselfe such reputation, that *Nicephorus*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, gaue him his sister in marriage; by whose perswasion, he made war vpon the forenamed King *Robert* of *Apulia*, and (at the first attempt) returned with a very honourable victory, possessing himselfe of *Duraz*. But at his second aduerture, hee fought with small aduantage; whereby ensued the diminution of his credit. He pergetted the Church of *Saint Marke* with Marble, first and before any other, causing it also to be beautified with an artificall Checker-werke. He died in the thirteenth yeare of his gouernement.

32 *Vitale Faliero* being made Duke, he immediately obtained of *Alexius*, then Emperour, to haue the foueraigntie of *Dalmatia* and *Croatia*. *Henry*, successour in the Empire, did him many great fauours: and comming in deuotion to Venice, hee helde one of his daughters at Baptisme. The Office of proprieties was constituted in his time, and the workmanship of *S. Markes* Church continued. He died in his sixteenth yeare.

33 *Vitale Michele*, by his worthy aduerturing on the sea, did very farre extend

the Commonwealths limites. Hee made the Easterne warre (by the perswasion of Pope *Vrbane* the second) for Conquest of the Holy Land, with the Princes of Christendome. The Isle of *Smyrna*, *Suria*, and *Ierusalem* were then recouered from the Infidels. He died in his sixty yeare.

34 *Ordelfo Faliero*, sonne of *Vitale*, assisted King *Baldwine* against the Infidels in conquest of the holy Land: and made such progression, as they deuided the Empire betweene them, thoroughout all the kingdom of *Iudea*. In the 8. yeare of his Principality, *Malenoco* was almost alburied and submerged; by reason whereof, the Episcopall See was transferred to *Chioggia*. He went in person to the Warre against *Zara*, which was becom rebellious, and winning the victory: he would needs returne thither againe a second time, and on the like occasion; where hee died in *Armes*, in the fifteenth yeare of his Principality.

35 *Dominico Michele*, being made Duke for his high repute and merite, went to giue aide to the Christians in the Holie Land. With 200. well appointed shippes and Gallies, he made the Infidels to raise their sledge from before *Ioppa*. Hee tooke *Tyre*, which he gaue to *Faunand* Patriarch of *Ierusalem*. *Emanuel* the Emperour made war against him, fro whom he won *Chio*, *Rhodes*, *Samos*, *Mitylline*, and *Miser*. He renounced his principality, in the 13. yeare of his rule.

36 *Pietro Polani*, kinsman to *Michele*, was a very wise man, inso much as he was made Arbitrator of the difference between *Comrade* and *Emanuel* the Emperour. Hee made war against them of *Pisa* & *Padua*, whom he conquered. He armed himselfe against the Duke of *Apulia*, in behalfe of the same *Emanuel*, to whose Empire hee added many worthy possessions. Some say, it was his sonne that won all the battalies, and that himselfe being false sickle, returned thence, and dyed in his 18. yeare of rule.

37 *Dominico Moresini*, hee swept the Gulfe of certaine Pyrats of *Ancona*, the cheefe whereof beeing called *Gaiscardo*, was taken and hanged. Hee layed sledge vnto *Pola*, which he tooke, with *Parenzo*; which Citties were become rebellious in *Ithria*. He held confederacy with *William* King of *Sicily*, of whom hee obtaeynd many

many exemptions for the Trafficke of his Merchants. *Zara* made the Metropolitan Citie (at his instance) and hee so preuayled, that *Dominico* his Sonne was made an Earle. Hee beautified the Buildinges of the Citie of *Venice*, and began the Tower of *Saint Marke*. He dyed seauen monthes after the eight yeare of his Election.

38 *Vitale Michele* the second, subdued the *Tarentines*, which now had rebelled the third time. He imprisoned *Vitrich*, Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and twelue Chanons. In an hundred dayes, he put forth an hundred Gallies, and twentie Shippes on the Sea, against the Emperour *Emanuel*. The great Family of the *Iustiniani*, were, in his time brought to one onely man, and hee was become Religious; whom hee tooke forth of his Monastery (by the Popes consent) and gaue him his owne daughter in marriage, because hee would not haue fo worthy a house to be extinct. There hapned a great Pestilence in his time, the occasion whereof, the people (in their weak iudgment) laid vpon him. He was wounded, and dyed, hauing gouerned seuentene yeares, and xxvii. daies.

39 *Sebastiano Ziani*, was the first that euer was elected by the cleauen Electors. In his time there was a great Schisme in the Church, by meanes of the Emperour *Fredericke Barbarossa*, who caused *Alexander* the third to forsake the See, *Ottavian* hauing bene made Anti-pope, *Alexander* made his retirement to Venice, where hauing a long time ferued in the Monastery of *La Charita*; he was in the end known, and taken thence by the Prince and Seigneury. Heereupon, *Barbarossa* made warre against the Venetians: but his sonne *Ottavian* being taken, he mediated reconciliation betweene them. He died in the fifth yeare of his gouernment.

40 *Orio Malipiero*, or *Mastrapetra*, was the first Duke elected by the forty; and for that purpose was created by the death of *Ziani*. Hee had fixe Councillors allowed him to authorize his deliberations. Hee conquered *Zara*, that had now the fourth time rebelled. Hee sent supply vnto the Christians against the Moores, who began to vsurpe in the holy Land 88. yeares after that *Baldwine* had deliuered it. *Ptolomus* was recouered, and *Andronicus*, successor to *Emanuel* the Emperour deliuered

many Venitian Marchants. Hee renounced the Principality in his 14. yeare, and entred into Religion.

41 *Henrico Dandolo* was likewise elected by the forty. They of *Zara* were once againe vanquished, and *Pola* conquered. In his time was the surprizall of *Constantinople*, & the acquisition of the East Empire, wherein hee assisted the Princes and French Barons. He died in his thirteenth yeare, being Generall of all the Christian Army.

42 *Pietro Ziani*, sonne of *Sebastiano*, was made Duke within a while after the death of *Dandolo*, the Correctors beeing then first instituted. In his time came Ambassadors from *Athens* and *Achaia*, to submit themselves in obedience to the Common wealth. *Candia* was then peopled with a Colony of noble Venitians. He married *Constance*, daughter to *Tancred* K. of *Sicily*. In the end, he renounced the Principality, hauing gouerned 24. yeares.

43 *Giacomo Tiepolo*, was made Duke by chance, in concurrency of *Renieri Candolo*, who had as many voices as he. *Candie* rebelled, and the seditious were fiercely chastised. *Zara*, that had long borne the yoke, was now reduced vnder obedience. He had Warre against them of *Ferrara*, and against *Ezzelino*, who would haue inuested himselfe with *Padua*. In conclusion, he gaue ouer the Principality in his 20. yeare, and died soone after.

44 *Marino Moresini*, was made Duke by the one and fortish; by reason of the precedent concurrence. In his time was another Courtly Noble-man sent into *Candie*, who builded the *Canea*. He made Warre against *Ezzelino*, who besiedged *Mantua*, and who (in a furious rage) caused 1200. *Paduans* to be hewne in peeces, which he had with him then in his armie. He died in the 4. yeare of his Principality.

45 *Renieri Zeno* *Podeſta* at *Bermog* was elected Duke, and sent to be fetch thence with foure Gallies. Vnder him, the Commonwealth wonne a famous victorie, against them of *Genes*: but the contentment therewith was very breefe, because *Michaell Paleologus*, expelled both the French-men and Venitians out of *Constantinople*, being ayded by the Geneway forces, which was eight and fifty yeares after the surprizing of the sayde Citie: yet once more (after that) the selfesame

people were againe reconquered: and hauing gouerned this dignity 16. yeares, he dyed.

46 *Lorenzo Tiepolo* was made Duke, in memory of the victory hee had against them of *Genes* at *Tyre*. Hee allyed two of his sonnes (verie Nobly) with two strange Ladies: by reason whereof, a Lawe was then made, that the like might not be afterward done. He brought *Seruis* in obedience to the Common-wealth, and the *Bolognians* were vanquished by him: hee gouerned seven yeares, and five and twenty dayes.

47 *Giouanni Contarini*, being aged eighty yeares, and Attorney of *S. Marke*, was made Duke. The law against illegitimates was then enacted, and they excluded from all publike Offices. There were some rebellions moued in *Itiria*, and by them of *Genes*; but they were quickly appeased. At length, thorough vnwellicnesse of age, and by aduice of the Senat, hee gaue ouer the dignity, hauing gouerned in this authority, foure yeares, and six moneths.

48 *Giouanni Dandolo* was elected, being then absent. The City was (in his time) much afflicted by water, & an earthquake. He made warre in *Itiria*, agaynst the Patriarch of *Aquileia*, and the Count of *Gorizia*. At the instance of Pope *Nicholas*, he assisted the Archbysop of *Tripoli* with 25. Gallies. He died seven moneths after his eight yeare of rule.

49 *Pietro Gradenigo*, a man of great courage, deliuered the Common-wealth from two important dangers. One, was a high disgrace, which happened in a battell against them of *Genes*. The other was the conspiracie of *Isiamonte*, which was boldly checked with weapon in hand, vpon the place of *S. Marke*. It was then ordayned, that Noblemen onely should gouerne, and the counsil of ten was then instituted. Hauing ruled 22. yeares, and nine moneths, he dyed.

50 *Marino Giorgia*, was a man of such life, that they termed him a Saint. *Venice* was continually excommunicated in his time, by reason of the taking of *Ferrara*. *Zara* rebelled againe the sixt time, & much labour it cost, to reduce it vnder obedience againe. After hee builded the Monastery of *Saint Dominicke*, and died (at the age of eighty and one yeares) in his first

yeare, hauing gouerned ten months, and ten dayes.

52 *Giouanni Soranzo*, had the honor of recouering *Zara*, and many other places, which had reuolted in his predecessours time. *Negropont*, was re-obtained, & warre afresh commenced against them of *Genes*. The excommunication was quitted from *Venice*, by the interposition of *Francisco Dandolo*, kneeling before the Pope, with a Chaîne of iron about his necke. The number of Atturneyes of *S. Marke*, was increased to fixe. Hee gouerned fixteene yeares, and six months.

52 *Francisco Dandolo*, who had so lowly humbled himselfe for his Countreyes good, was therefore exalted to her highest dignity. They of *Pola*, and of *Valesia*, submitted themselves to the Common-wealth, which gaue way vnto the warre against the Patriarch of *Aquileia*. *Padua* was taken on *Albert Scaliger*, and *Treuisa*, and the County remained to the Common-wealth. This man was of the league with the Christian Princes, against the Turke, and in his time were fixtie severall Ambassadors at *Venice*. He gouerned ten yeares, and ten months.

55 *Bartolomeo Gradenigo*, Attorney of *S. Marke*, was made Duke at twenty six yeares of age, by the intercession of *Andreas Dandolo*, and his cessation. In his time was *Venice* miraculously deliuered from a mighty imminent inundation. *Candie* rebelled, and the rebelles were feuerely punished. There hapned a great dearth in the City, which droue the people to discontentment: he dyed in his fourth yeare.

54 *Andreas Dandolo*, who had before resigned his place vnto *Bartolomeo Gradenigo*, caused the death for to cease; by sending for great store of Corne out of *Sicily*. Hee obtained of the King of *Babylon*, free Navigation into *Egypt*. *Zara* rebelled the seauenth time; and was repressed.

The Warre betweene them of *Genes* and the City, was troubled by two great accidents happening; the one, was an Earth-quake very dreadfull; and the other, was a greuous Pestilence. Hee gouerned twelue yeares, wanting some fewe months.

55 *Marino Faliero*, was elected Duke, being then Ambassador at *Rome*. Hauing recei-

received an iniurie by some particulars, which was not reuenged according vnto his owne desire: hee determined in the eighty yeare of his age, to make himselfe absolutely Lord, without any controule. The conspiracy being discouered by *Nicholas Lion*; he had his head smitten off with in the Pallace. And it was ordayned, that his Picture should not be placed amongst the other dukes, but the place being left voyde, had only this Writing: *This is the place of Marino Faliero, who, for his grievous offence, had his head cut off: hee was duke but ten moneths.*

56 *Giouanni Gradenigo* had an excellent spirit, but a much mis-shapen countenance. The warre was renewed against the *Genes*, which tearmained with a mutual peace. He had warre against the King of *Hungarie* for *Dalmatia*. *Treuisa* was besieged in his time, and thither he went in person. Hee gouerned one yeare, three moneths and foureteene dayes.

56 *Giouanni Delfino*, was elected Duke when hee was in *Treuisa*, defending it against the King of *Hungary*. The Senate sent to demand free passage for him; which being denied, he came forth with two hundred horse to beard the enemy, and so attained to *Marghera*, where the Senate in person receiued him. In short time he gaue end to this warre, and recouered *Conciliano*, *Sernalla*, and *Afola*. He made peace for the souerainty of *Dalmatia*; and dyed aged forty and five yeares, hauing gouerned foure yeares, two moneths, and eleuen dayes.

58 *Lorenzo Celfo*, vpon a false bruite, of a victorie against them of reuolted *Genes*; was made Duke in concurrence of *Pietro Gradenigo*, *Leonardo Dandolo*, and *Marco Cornaro*. *Candie* rebelled againe, and it was regained with a very great difficulty. On this occasion, a lust and feast was publicly made in the place of *Saint Marke*: he dyed two daies after the fourth yeare of his Principallitie.

59 *Marco Cornaro*, a man very wise and leauend, was sent into *Candie*, which was rebellious, and there he made a cruel bloody warre: the Pope granting plenary Indulgence to all such as went thither. The Rebels being feuerely punished, the common-wealth sent to Pope *Vrbane* the fixt, a certain number of their Gallies. He gouerned two yeares, five months, and foure

and twentie dayes.

60 *Andreas Contarini*, fled to the *Paduans* fearing to be elected Duke, and as prefiging the ruine which (in his time) would betide the Common-wealth. First of all, he made warre with them of *Treviso*, then soone after, with *Carrara* for the confines of *Padua*: and such was the fortune, that *Chioggia* being taken, the City of *Venice* found it selfe to bee in extreame danger. But in the end, he went and opposed himselfe (in person) against the enemies, vanquished them, and regained *Chioggia*: he dyed, hauing gouerned fifteen yeares, foure moneths, and fifteen daies.

61 *Michele Morisini*, was a man well furnished with Learning and Wisedome. Some say, that in his time the life of *Themistos* was taken, and not in the time of his predecessour *Contarini*. There were diuers Lawes then made (and amongst others) it was ordayned, that Homicides, who had formerly beene hanged, should afterwards haue their heads smitten off. He liued but foure months, and five daies in his dignitie, and dyed in the threescore and foureteene yeare of his age.

62 *Antonio Veniero*, was a rigorous obseruer of Iustice. He confined one of his owne Sonnes in exile, because he had (ouer-lightly) offended the familie of a noble *Venitian*. Hee made league with *Galeazzo* the Vicount, against *Carrara*, where vpon he tooke *Padua*. He assisted the Emperour *Emmanuel* against the Turke; and gaue aid also vnto *Sigismund*, King of *Hungaria*, who afterwarde came to the Empire. The place of *Saint Marke*, and that of the *Rialto*, were greatly beautified in his time. Hee dyed two moneths, and three dayes, after the eighteenth yeare of his rule.

63 *Michele Steno*, had the dignitie of Attourney of *Saint Marke*, with that of Duke. Hee wonne an important battell against the *Genewais*. *Carrara* was now the last time vanquished, and *Padua* and *Verona* surprised. They of *Vicenza*, to free themselves from his tyrannie, yielded themselves to the Common-wealth. *Ladislaw* King of *Hungaria*, did likewise forsake *Zara*: Hee dyed, hauing gouerned thirteene yeares, and three dayes.

64 *Thomaso Mocenigo*, was first General of the Goulfe. He embraced peace, to the end, that the Cittizens might traffike.

Vdina became obedient to the Commonwealth, with the Countrey of *Friuli*; by means of the Lords of *Sauorgani*, who were made noble-men of *Venice*. The *Florentines* were also succoured against the Duke of *Milaine*. In his tenth yere he died.

65 *Francesco Foscar* stoutly repressed the Duke of *Milaine*, who proceeded too farre on the liberties of *Italy*. *Brescia*, *Bergame*, and other Citties of *Lombardy* were then wonne: amongst which were *Loda* and *Parma*, and *Rauenna* in *Romania*. Hee made also a large progresse on the Seas, euen into *Morca*. The Senate assisted *Palaeologus* the Emperour, against the Turks, who vlrped *Constantinople*, in the yere 1453. Hee was made Arbitrator by the Duke of *Milaine*, in certaine differences of neighbour-hood. The King of *Dacia* was made a noble *Venitian*: And afterward, the Duke (in regarde of his age and infirmities) was dismissed, having gouerned thirty foure yeares, and fixe moneths.

66 *Paschale Malapiero*, was appoynted in the place of *Foscar*, being Attourney of *Saint Marke*, who dyed two dayes after his dismissal. He made a Lawe, That in following times, the Duke should not be depofed. In his dayes, the famous Arte of Printing was brought into *Venice*. The *Artenall* was greatly encreased: And hee maintayned the people in peace, during foure yeares, fixe moneths, and fixe daies that he gouerned.

67 *Cristophoro Moro*, a Procurator of *Saint Marke*, was made Duke. He liued for some time in peace, till the second yere of his gouernement; and then the Turke (proud of his surprizall of *Constantinople*) declared warre against the *Venitians*. He made peace with Pope *Pius* the first, and the Duke of *Burgundy*: But the Pope dying, they remayned alone, and maintayned warre which lasted twentie yeares. And yet he dyed, having reigned nine yeares, and fixe moneths.

68 *Nicholo Trono* had such good hap, that (in his time) the Common wealths affaires went well against the Turke. *Pietro Mocenigo*, Generall in the Archipelagus, vnted his power with the Popes. The King of *Naples*, and they of *Rhodes* sent eightie five gallies together, and tooke *Satulia*, a City of *Pamphilia*. He made league likewise with the King of *Perfia*, against the Turke. *James* King of *Cyprus* comming to

Venice, espoused *Catharina Cornara*, adoptiue daughter of *Saint Marke*. He gouerned one yere, eight moneths, and fixe dayes.

69 *Nicholo Marcello*, Attourney of *Saint Marke*, after some laws made by the Correctors, was elected Duke. In his time there was a conspiracie in *Cyprus*, to haue the Kingdome fall into the power of *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*. *Pietro Morosini* went thither with a great Armie, where he appealed all troubles, and seuerely chaffited the Rebels. *Scutari*, a Cittie in *Liburnia*, was besieged by the Turke, and valiantly defended by *Antonio Loredano*. This duke gouerned one yere, foure moneths, and seenteene dayes.

70 *Pietro Mocenigo* was elected Duke, in defect of all his worthy decedes. *Lepanto* was besieged in his time by the Turke, and virtuously maintayned by *Antonio Loredano*. They brought their power likewise before the Isle of *Stalimena*, but the same *Loredano* (by his valour) defended it. The daughter to King *Ferdinand* came to *Venice*, with the Cardinall her brother, where they were roially entertained. This Prince caused a Money to bee stamped, which hee lurnamed by his owne name: And gouerned but two yeares, and nine moneths.

71 *Andrea Vendramino* had such ill hap in his gouernement, that the *Venitian* Army was two seuerall times put to flight by the Turkes: Once, neare to *Croja* in *Albania*, and the other in the countrey of *Friuli*. He was a goodly man of person, and had a most beautifull Lady to his wife, by whom he had as goodly children, whom he allied in marriage with the chiefeft Families: he gouerned one yere, and eight moneths.

72 *Giovanni Mocenigo*, brother to *Pietro Mocenigo*, hauing continued the warre against the Turke; in the end made peace with him: ordering the matter so, that he left *Scutari* and *Stipula* in liberty of Commerce, and power to keepe a Deputie at *Constantinople*. Hee made warre against *Ferdinand* King of *Naples*, at the instance of Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, which occasioned the long warre called *Sociale*. In the end, peace was made, the Commonwealth hauing gotten *Rouigo* & *Polefano*. The Cittie became much dilgraced by fire, and a pestilent sicknesse: The prince dyed,

dyed, hauing raigned seauen yeares, and fixe moneths.

73 *Marco Barbarigo*, the plague being ceased, caused all to be new builded, which the fire had defaced in the Pallace. Hee was greatly differing from all other Princes, to wit, in pardoning, and forgetting particular iniuries doone vnto him: but such as were comitted against the State, he would haue reuenged with strictest feueritie. The grand Signeur or Turke sent a particular Ambassadour vnto him, to congratulate his election. He gouerned but nine moneths.

74 *Agostino Barbarigo*, withstood the progresse of *Charles* the eighth King of *France*, when hee made warre against them of *Arragon*, for the Kingdome of *Naples*, which he conquered. The Turke vlrped on the Common-weales of *Leonto*, *Modona*, and *Corona*. The Kingdome of *Cyprus* was brought vnder the tutelage of the Senate, and *Qu. Catharina* brought thence to *Venice*. The office of *la Sante* was created, by occasion of the pestilence: This Duke gouerned fifteen yeares, and twenty one dayes.

75 *Leonardo Laureadano* sustained a very rigorous war, against the chiefeft Princes of the world: there beeing a League made betweene the Emperour *Maximilian*; the King of *France*; them of *Naples*; and the Dukes of *Sauoy*, *Ferrara*, and *Mantua*, incited thereto by Pope *Iulius* the second. All the whole estate of firme land was surprized, except *Treuisa*; but in the end it was recovered. He liued in the Principality nineteene yeares, eight moneths, and twenty dayes.

76 *Antonio Grimani*, being Generall, had a most infamous dis-rout or foile, by which occasion, hee was dismissed of the charge of Procurator of *Saint Marke*, and confined to *Cherso*. He brake his limitation, and withdrew himselfe to *Rometo* to the Cardinall his sonne: where he had so many worthy Offices imposed vpon him, as, not onely he was re-established in his Attorneys place againe; but he was likewise made Duke, at the age of foure score and two yeares, and gouerned but one yere, ten moneths, and two dayes.

77 *Andrea Gruti*, gaining the best part of the glorie, for the reprizall of *Padua*, was in very great esteeme. Hee dealt so with the King of *France*, (to whom he

was prisoner) that his Maiestie allied himselfe with the Commonwealth, and *Brescia* and *Verona* were reconquered. He knew very well, how to make his carriage pleasing to the Senate, during the warres betweene *Charles* the fifth, Emperour, and King *France* the first, as also against *Solyman*. He gouerned fifteen yeares, seauen moneths, and eight dayes.

78 *Pietro Lando* continued the defence of the Commonwealth against the Turke: with whom (at last) he made a peace, knowing how to make vse thereof, and maintaine his owne charge, whilest the warre continued betweene *Charles* the fifth, and King *France* the first. He gouerned fixe yeares, and eight moneths.

79 *Francesco Donato*, making benefite also of this peace, beautified the Cittie with many goodly buildings, besides that of the Pallace. He sent succor to the Emperour, against certaine Rebels in *Germanie*. The Princes of *Guse*, coming to *Venice* in his time, were entertained as fitted their degree. He gouerned seauen yeares, and fixe moneths.

80 *Marco Antonio Trevisano*, a man altogether deuout, laboured that the Commonwealth might abound in goodnesse and ciuill manners; preuenting (by his owne worthy example) that vices should not be wincked at, as, in too many countries they are. He gouerned a yere, wanting three dayes.

81 *Francesco Veniero*, could so well skill of gouerning the Commonwealth, that albeit the Turke (in his time) made warre in *Apulia*, and the King of *France* in *Tuscanie*: yet all was well at *Venice*, and the Queene of *Poland* roially welcommed thither. He gouerned two yeares, one moneth and twenty dayes.

82 *Lorenzo Priuli*, was sollicit (by the Pope) to make warre against the Emperour. But he being a friend to the Commonwealth; by no means would offend him, but mediated a pacification of those affaires. In his time peace was made betweene *France* and *Spaine*, and *Charles* the fifth dyed. This Prince gouerned three yeares, eleauen moneths, and eight dayes.

83 *Girolamo Priuli*, brother to the preceeder prince, enioyed those great honors, which Pope *Pius* the fourth gaue vnto the common-wealth: And all his delight was to heare ambassadors in the hall of Kings,

In his time the Council of *Trent* was concluded, whither he sent (as Ambassadors) *Nicholo de Ponte*, and *Matteo Dandolo*.

The Common-wealth helde (at Baptisme) the sonne to the Duke of *Savoy*, by a Deputie borne of *Margueret of France*. He dyed, hauing gouerned eight yeares, two moneths, and foure dayes.

84. *Pietro Loredano*, by the concurrence of two others, was elected Duke, contrarie to the hope of all, or his owne expectation. The *Arsenal* was burned in his time, and there then also happened a very great dearth of all things. *Selim*, successour of *Solyman*, tooke occasion to breake peace with the Common-wealth, demanding of them the kingdome of *Cyprus*, and moued warre vpon this Subiect. He gouerned foure yeares, fve moneths, and eight dayes.

85. *Luigi Mocenigo*, warre being kindled against the Turke, lost the kingdome of *Cyprus*, *Nicosia* being taken, and *Famagosta* surrendered. The Common-wealth made league with Pope *Pius* the fifth, and *Phillip* King of *Spain*, so that their armies (being ioyned together in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand fve hundred seuenty one) they obtayned a worthy victorie against the Turkes. Soone after, *Henry* the third, king of *France*, came to *Venice*, where he was magnificently entertayned. This Prince dyed in his seauenth yeare.

86. *Sebastiano Veniero*, was elected by common voyce, and with such applause, that diuers Turkes ranne to him and kissed his feete. He created fve Correctours of the Lawes, for ruling the affaires of the Pallace. The Citty was deliuered of a dangerous plague, and the Pallace was againe very greatly defaced by fire. This prince gouerned not aboue a whole yeare.

87. *Nicholo de Ponte*, was created Duke, a man very learned in all the Sciences, and whereof hee had made publike profession in *Venice*. He passed thorow all the honors of the Common-wealth, wherewith the Citizens could possibly gratifie him. The Seminary of Saint *Marke* was instituted by him. Certaine princes of *Iapponia* arriving then at *Venice*, were by him most honourably entertained. He builded the bridge of *Canareggio*: and gouerned seuen yeares, nine moneths, and thirteene dayes.

88. *Paschale Cicogna*, Procuratour of *S. Marke*, was elected when he was at diuine

seruice in the Church. In his time there was great warres, betweene *France* and *Spain*, about *Piedmont*, and betweene the Emperour and the Turke, for some parts in *Hungaria*. He caused the towne of *Palma* to be builded, in the confines of the Countrey of *Friuli*, and a new castile or fortresse, in the Isle of *Cephalonia*. He had the honor of the wonderfull bridge of the *Rialto*, which he builded: And gouerned ten yeares, or thereabout.

89. *Marino Grimini*, Procuratour of Saint *Marke*, was so highly in grace and fauour of the people, that on the day of his Election; they declared extraordinary signes of ioy, and continued them for many following dayes. The second yeare of his Principality, he caused the dutchesse his wife to be crowned in great triumph. At which time, Pope *Clement* the eight sent her the Rose of gold. In his time was much ioy and triumph made, for the peace concluded betweene the Kings of *France* and *Spain*. Vpon occasion of the Popes coming to *Ferrara*, obtained by the Ecclesiasticall Estate, the Cardinall *Aldobrandino* passed thence to *Venice*, where he was most honourably wel-comed, with diuers other Cardinalls. There was such an extraordinary ouer-flow of waters, in the fift yeare of his Principality, that the Barkes, Boates, and Gundoloes floated on the place of Saint *Mark*, euen as if they had bene in a full maine riuer. He dyed, and was much bemoaned of the people, hauing gouerned ten yeares, and eight moneths.

90. *Leonardo Dandolo*, hauing by his worthy deseruings, singuler wisdom and dexterity, managied passed affaires, and gone thorow all honors of the Common-wealth, giuing euident testimonie of his care and faithfullnesse; was aduanced in the place of *Grimini*, the tenth day of Ianuary, 1606. He had bene sent Ambasadour to *Constantinople* to *Mohamet* (hee being newly come to the Empire of the East) in the Common-wealths name, to salute him with accustomed complements. He hath such a practick braine, & so happy a memory, seated in a soule so religiously zealous for common benefite; that the Senate hath referred more vnto him, then to any other of his Predecessours.

The Ctie hath (in his time) bene communicated, by *Paulus Quintus*, now Pope,

Pope, about some pretentions appertaining to his See: But it may well be sayd of this Prince, that, against such Thunder-clappes and Lightning flashes, hee hath shewne himselfe an immouable rocke, in defence of that estate in generall. In like maner, two principall Pillers of Christendome, threatned great disaster and ruine: but that most Christian *Henry* the fourth, King of *France*, embracing those two Collomnes, vpheld both the one and other, and redressed all discontentment, by the entermise of his Ambassadors, and hath erected a triumphall Arche, to the immortalitie of his glorie. This Prince now liuing happily in peace, doth daily acknowledge to *France*, his particular affection for such fauour, & may (in time) much better declare it. God long preferue him, and all other good Princes.

CHAP. III.

¶ Of Wounds made by Gun-shot, and other ferie Engines.



In the yeare of our Lord, 1536. the victorious king *Frances* sent a great Armie vnto *Piedmont*, to victualle *Thurin*, and to recover those townes and castles, which had bene taken by the Marquesse *Du Guesle*, Lieutenant generall of the Emperour, where Monsieur the Constable, then great Master, was Lieutenant generall of the Army, and Mounseigneur de *Monte-jan* Capitaine generall of the Footmen (of whom I was then Chirurgian). A great part of the Armie arrived at the *Pas* of *Suze*, where we found the enemy keeping the passage, and had made vnto themselves certayne forts and trenches; in such sort, that before they could be raised from thence, wee entered into battell: in which conflict there was many hurt and slaine, as well on the one side as on the other. But they were enforced to quit that passage, and to recover the castle; which they held not long, but were compelled to giue it vp; marching away in their shirts onely, hauing each of them a white W and in their

hands: of whom, the most part went to the Castle de *Villane*, where there was about some two hundred Spaniards. To this castle my Lord the Constable drew his forces, because hee would make his way cleare before him. It is situate vpon a little Mountaine, which giueth great assistance to those within, that there can bee no Ordinance planted against it, to batter it downe. They were summoned to restore it vp, or else were threatned to haue it battered in peeces; which they flatly refused: answering thall, that they were as good and faithfull seruants to the Emperour, as Mounseigneur the Constable was to the King his master. Their answer being vnderstood, the same night there was mounted two great Canons, by the force of armes with ropes and cordes, by the *Switzers*, where, (as misfortune would) those cannons being planted, a Gunner by indiscretion fired a barrel of Gun-powder, wherewith he himselfe was extreemely burned, together with tenne or twelue soldiers. Moreover, the flame of the powder was the cause of the discouerie of the Ordinance, whereby those of the Castle, the night following, discharged their Ordinance at that place where they discouered our Cannons; inso much, that we had many of our men hurt and slaine.

The morrow after, very early wee beganne the battery, and in few houres after the breach was made; which those of the Castle perceiuing, desired a parley, but it was too late; for in the meane time some of our foot-men, perceiuing them to be astonished, mounted the breach, and entered the Castle, putting euery man to the sword, except onely a certaine beautifull *Piedmontese*, which a great Lord entertained into his seruice. The Capitaine and Ancient were taken aliue, but were presently after hanged vpon the Gate of the Towne, to terrifie the rest of the Emperours souldiers, not to be so foole-hardie, to hold such places against so great an armie. Now, the souldiers of the Castle seeing our men rushing in vpon them in such great furie, made all the resistance they could to defend themselves, in killing and wounding a great number of our Souldiers with their pikes and muskets; where the Chirurgians had a great deale of work cut out to their hands.

I was (at that time) but a yong Chirurgian,

The Castle de Villane besieged and taken.

The Author
entrench into
the matter.

gian, and but little experienced in the Art, because I neuer (as yet) had seene the curation of anie Wounds made by Gun-shot. True it is, that I had read *Iohn de Vigo*, his first booke of Wounds in generall, chap. 8. where he saith, That those wounds made by fiery Engines, do participate of venenosity, because of the Powder; and for their curation, he commands to cauterize them with the Oile of Elders mixed with a little Treacle: yet neuertheless, because I would not be deceived, before I would make vse of the said boyling oile, as hot as possibly they could suffer it, extreme paine to the Patient, I obserued the methode of other Chirurgians in the first dressing of such wounds; which was by the application & infusion of the foresaid Oile, as hot as possibly they could suffer it, with Tents and Setons: wherefore I became emboldned to do as they did. But in the end my oile failed mee, so that I was constrained to vse in stead thereof, a digestive made of the yolke of an egge, Oile of Roses and Terebith. The night following, I could hardly sleep at mine ease, fearing lest that for wate of cauterizing, I should find my Patients, on whom I had not vsed of the foresaid Oyle, dead and empyofned; which made mee to rise early in the morning to visit them: where, beyond my expectation, I found those on whom I had vsed the digestive medicine, to feele but little paine, and their wounds without inflammation or tumor, hauing rested well all that night. The rest, on whom the foresaid Oile was applied, I found them inclining to Feauers, with great paine, tumor, and inflammation about their Wounds: then I resolued with my selfe, neuer to burne so cruelly the wounded Patients by Gun-shot any more.

When we entered *Thurin*, I was tolde of a Chirurgian, who was exceeding famous, especially for his curing wounds made by Gun-shot, with whom I found the means to acquaint my selfe: yet it was neare two yeares and a halfe, before hee would acquaint mee with his Medicine which hee called his Balme. In the meane time, Mounseieur the Marshall of *Monte-jan*, who was Lieutenant generall of the King in *Piedmont*, dyed: then I tolde this Chirurgian, that I had a desire to returne to *Paris*, withall, requesting him, that he would performe his promise, which was,

to giue me the receit of his Balme, which he willingly did, seeing that I was to leaue that country. He sent me to fetch him two yong whelps, one pound of earth-worms, two pounds of the oyle of Lillies, six ounces of the Terebith of *Venice*, and one ounce of *Aqua-vitæ*: and in my presence, he boyled the whelps aloue in the said oile, vntill the flesh departed from the bones. Afterward, he tooke the wormes (hauing before killed and purified them in white Wine, to purge themselves of the earth which they haue alwayes in their bodies:) being so prepared, he boyled them also in the said oile, till they became dry; this he strained thorow a napkin, without anie great expression; that doone, hee added thereto the Terebith: and lastly, the *Aqua-vitæ*, and called God to witness, that this was his Balme which hee vsed in all wounds made by Gun-shot, and in others which required suppuration, withall, praying me not to divulge his secret.

From thence I returned to *Paris*, where shortly after, Mounseieur *Siluius*, Lecturer of the King in Physicke, a man greatly esteemed among learned men, requested me one day to dine with him, which I did willingly; where hee asked me many Questions, and among the rest, of the essence of wounds made by Gunne-shot, and of the combustions made by Gunne-powder. Whereupon, I presently prououed vnto him, that the powder was not any thing venomous at all; because that no Simple that enters therein is any way venomous, much lesse the composition. Also, I haue seene by experience, that some Souldiers being hurt, will take of the said powder in wine, saying, That powder so taken, doth preferue the body from the ensuing accidents, the which I approue not. Also, others hauing vlcers on their bodies, doe commonly vse of the said powder drie, and heale them without any danger at all. And as for the Bullets, they can not containe any such heat, that they should haue the facultie of burning: for a bullet being shot against a stone-wall, it may presently be helde in the naked hand, although the collision made against the Stones, should (in reason) heate it the more: And as for combustions or burnings made by Gun-powder, I neuer found any particular accident in it, whereby the cure ought to be diuersified from the cure of other combustions.

Gunpowder
not venomous

wounds made
by gunshots
are without
combustion.

History.

* Was Sir, by
the Faith of
God.

History.

How the Pa-
tient ought to
be situated in
the extraction
of Bullets.

buftions. Whereupon, I related this History. A certaine boy of the Kitchen, of Mounseieur the Marshall of *Monte-jan*, fell into a Caldron full of oyle, almost boyling hot; to dresse whom being sent for, I went presently to an Apothecarie, demanding of him such cooling medicines, which are commonly applied vnto burnings. An auncient Countrey-woman being by, hearing mee speake of this burning, counselled me to apply for the first dressing (to prevent the rising of pustules or bladders) of rawe onions, bruised with a little salt. I demanded of this woman, Whether she had euer made experience of that Medicine before: Shee presently sware vnto me in her language, *Si meste, à la fe de dé*; which did incite me to make experience heereof, on this scullion of the Kitchen, where truly I found the morrow after, that in those parts, where the Onions had touched, to bee altogether free from vesicles or blisters, and the other parts, where the Onions were not applied, to be much blistered.

Nor long after, a certaine Dutch-man, one of the guard of the said Lord of *Monte-jan*, hauing drunke hard, by indiscretion; set his Flask as fire, which caused a great disaster, both to his hands and face; and being called to dresse him, I applied of the said Onions on the one halfe of his face; and on the other side, of other common remedies. At the second dressing, I found that part where I had applied the Onions, to be altogether without blisters; or any excoriation, and the other altogether blistered: then I first purposed to write of the effect of the said Onions.

Moreover, I tolde vnto the sayd *Siluius*, that for the better extraction of bullets which are hidden in any part of the body; it is requisite, the Patient should be placed in the same situation, that he was in at that time when he was wounded. Many other things I discovered vnto him, which are contayned in this Booke following. My Discourse ended; he prayed me very earnestly, that I would publish it by writings: to the end, that that false opinion of *Vigo* might be altogether abolished; the which I willingly consented vnto, and caused many instruments to be cut, such as had not bene diuulged for the extraction of Bullets, and other vnaturall things out of the body.

And it was first Imprinted in the year, 1545. and well receiued, which caused me to renew it agayne, and publish it the second time, in the year 1550. and lastly, in the year, 1564. where I haue enriched it with many other things, because I haue since followed the warres, haue bene in many battells, and besieged Townes, as in *Metz* and *Hedin*. Also, I haue bene entertained into the seruice of siue Kings, where I haue alwayes discourfed with the most excellent Physitians and Chirurgians of those times, to learne and discouer, if there were any other methode or way, to cure those wounds made by gun-shot; whereof the most part (specially those that haue followed the warres, and are guided by reason and experience) are of my opinion, which is, to vse Suppuratiues in the beginning, and not boyling oyles. And I did protest moreover to the sayd *Siluius*, that I haue found those wounds as easie to cure (being in fleshy partes) as all other great contused wounds are. But, where the Bullet meeteth with the bones and nervous parts; it teareth, dilacerateth, breaketh, and shinereth in peeces, not onely where it toucheth, but also the circumiacent parts, without any mercy; causing great accidents, which happen specially in the iointures or ioynets, and in bodies of euill constitution, and in time subiect to corruption, that is to say, where the Ayre is hote and moyst, then is the cure most difficult, and oftentimes impossible; not onely of wounds made by gun-shot, but also of those which are made by other instruments; yea, though they were but in fleshy partes.

Therefore, the foresaid accidents do not procede from the venenosity which is in the powder, or by the combustion or burning of the Bullet. For proofe of which, I will alleadge this obseruation, which I haue experimented (not long since) on the person of the Earle of *Chandos*, Lord of *Atchmond*, a Scottish-man, whom I cured by the contraindement of the Queene-mother, who was hurt with the shot of a Pistoll cleane through both the thighs, without fracture of the bones; he standing so neare the mouth of the Pistoll, that the fire tooke holde of his breeches; neuertheless, hee was perfectly cured in two and thirtie daies, without a Feauer or anie other euill accident. I

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The cause
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to be cured.

History.

dress him at *S. Iohn de Latran*, in the house of the Archthoppe of *Glisco*, then Ambassadour for *Scotland*, who came every day to see him dress. Moreouer, for testimony, I could produce Mounſieur *Brigard*, Doctor Regent in the facultie of Philosophie, who was an assistant with me; together with *James Guillemes*, Chirurgical to the King, and sworne at *Paris*, who was with me vntill his perfect curation. The same likewise Mounſieur *Hautin*, Doctour Regent in the faculty of Physicke can testify, who sometimes came to see him. Also *Giles Buzet*, Scotchman and Chirurgical, euery of them maruailing how hee became so soone cured, without the application of hot and sharp medicines. Now, the reason wherefore I haue made this little Discourse, is to demonstrate, that it is about 30. yeares agoe, since I first found out this manner of curing wounds made by gunshot, without the vse of boiling oiles, or any other sharp or burning medicines, vnlesse I was contrained to vse them, for such accidents which hapned in *Cacochymed* bodies, or through the euil disposition and malignancy of the ayre, as I will shew more amply in this Discourse following, which I made vnto the deceased King, after the taking of *Roan*.

CHAP. IIIL

An Answer vnto a certayne demaund, propounded by the victorious Prince Charles the ninth, as touching the qualitie and Efficacy of wounds made by Gunne-shotte, as his Maiesties returne from the siege, and taking of the Towne of Roan.



On one day pleased your Maiestie, together with the Queene-Mother, my L. the prince of *La Roche-sur-Ton*, and many other Princes and great Lords, to demad of me how it came to passe, that in these last warres, the most part of such Gentlemen & Soldiers, who were wounded by Gun-shot, & other instruments of war, died, or were very hardly recovered from their diseases, although the wounds they receiued were but of small apparace, and the Chirurgicals which were employed for their cures, did performe their du-

ties according to Art; I haue bin the bold-der to publish this discourse, to satisfie (in some measure) the duty of my Art, & that my Profession might not be sported with the least dishonor; and that your Maiestie might vnderstand the reasons, which might haue bin the cause of the death of so many valiant me; the most part of whom I haue scene (to my great grieue) to finish their dayes pitifully, without any possibilitie in mee, or anie other more experienced then my selfe to giue them remedy.

I know that this following Discourse will astonish some, who reposing themselves vpon their owne particular opinions, and not examining the matter deeply, will finde the first front of my disputation very strange; because that the contrary hath beene so long imprinted in their fantasies. For I doe hold, that the cause of the malignancy of wounds by Gun-shot, not to proceed from any poyson or venomous quality in the powder (as they imagine) or from the Bullet it selfe, being rubbed or infused in any venomous mixture. Neuerthelesse, if their meekenesse and patience will extend so farre, as first to weigh the motives, which first moued me to vndertake this subiect, which was a zeale of the publique good; towards the which the Lawe of Nature bindeth me, to shew the vtermost of my power in such things which the singular prouidence of Almighty God hath reuealed vnto me. And secondly, that they will examine with iudgement, the reasons which I shall vse in this present Treatise: then I shall see certayne, they will both accept my labour thankfully, and free it from all future calumnie. Otherwise they will shew themselves to be so ill affectioned toward me, as if I should present my selfe before them, enriched with all the treasures of the auncient Philosophers, and they should place mee in the number of the poorest and ignorantest men in the world. To prevent therefore all the Arguments of venome and poisoning, which the Aduersaries heere about mentioned may alleadge, I will make it plaine vnto your Maiestie, that such as are wounded by gunne-shot; I say the malignancy of such wounds, not to proceed from the venome of the Powder, beeing of it selfe simply considered: and much lesse from the coobustion or cauterization which the

Insinuation into the good acceptance of those who are of the contrary opinion.

The Author propooseth two points, which he would refute, viz. the poyson of the powder, and the first of the Bullet.

Chap. 4.

other fiery Engines.

Bullet so heated by the fire of the powder can make in those parts, which it rendeth & dilacerateth thorow the violence thereof: although neuerthelesse some do strue to maintayne; alledging for all reasons, That a certayne Tower full of powder hath heeretofore beene seene ruined in an instant, onely by the means of a Cannon shot. Also of a thatched house set on fire with a Musket shotte. Moreouer, because that such wounds which are made by Gunne-shotte, we commonly behold their Orifices and other circum-iacent parts so blacke, as if an actual Cauter had passed thereon. As also the fall of a certayne selfe, as they say. All which Arguments are so ill framed, that they deserue no authoritie, beeing builded on so slender a foundation: much lesse, that the resolution of your demaund should be taken from them, as I trust to giue you plainly to vnderstand in the Disputation following. Which (after I had scene a great number of those wounds, and diligently obserued them, handling them according to the methode) I haue collected from the auncient Philosophers, Physitians, and Chirurgicals to present vnto your Maiestie, and to withdraw your minde from the admiration of the lamentable death of so many braue Gentlemen and Souldiers.

Now, to enter into the matter propounded, and to answer the Arguments before alledged, we are first to examine, whether there be any poyson inclosed in the powder, or no: And if there bee, whether it may infect by means of the pretended poyson thereof. Which, that it may appeare plainly, we must search into the composition of the sayd powder, considering that it is not of substance simple, but compound: and so by examining the nature of such Simples, which enter into the composition thereof; I meane their qualities, effects, and operations, we shall the sooner attaine to the scope and intention pretended.

As for the Simples it is a most assured thing, that there are but three in all, which make the composition thereof, that is to say, coales of willow or birch, sulphure, and salt-peter, and sometimes *Aqua-vitæ*: which ingredients feuerally considered, are altogether exempt and free from poyson, or any venomous quality. And first

for the coales, there is not any thing considerable in them, vnlesse it bee a drying quality, of subtilie substance, by means whereof it is apt to take fire, euen as a linnen cloth burned into Tinder doth the sparkes that fall from a Flint stone. Sulphure is hore and drie, neuerthelesse, not excessive, and of a more oile and viscous substance, yet not so easie to inflame as coales, although it doth retain the fire more forcibly when it is once inflamed, and is very hardly extinguished. As for the salt-peter, it is such, that many make vse thereof instead of salt. Now let vs examine, whether there be any venosity in the nature of these simples; namely, in that of sulphure, which is the most suspected. *Dioscorides* in his fifth booke, chap. 37. prescribeth it to be taken in an Egge, in the asthmaicke passion, coughes, and to stich which spit matter, and those that haue the jaundise. And *Galen* in his ninth booke of his Simples, cha. 36. ordaineth it as a topicall remedy, vnto such who are bitten by venomous beasts; and in all malignant praictises or ichtings; as for the *Aqua-vitæ*, it is a thing subtilie, that it will evaporate if it be set in the ayre; besides, it is vied by most Chirurgicals inwardly in drinckes, and outwardly in embrocations as a most singular medicine. These things considered, make mee to affirme, that the whole composition of powder is altogether free from venome or poyson, seeing that the ingredients are altogether cleare from the least touch in that kind.

Moreouer, I haue obserued it to bee the praictise of the *Hollanders*; being wounded by Gunne-shotte, to dissolve two charges of powder in Wine, and to drinke it off, hoping, by that meanes to be freed from all future accidents which might happen to their wounds (although I doe not approve thereof, because it is a most insufficient remedy.) Also, such vicers which are made through the combustion of powder, are of no other nature then those that are made by fire, or scalding water. But, wherefore should I alledge any forraine example? Do we not see amongst our owne souldiers, I do not know on what occasion, but only to shew themselves braue fellows, to empty their charges of powder into their cuppes, and drinke it without anie inconvenience at all; and others in like manner, being

Stf 2

Salt-peter is Salt of flowers.

The present disputation is taken from Philosophers, Physitians & Chirurgicals.

The composition of the powder.

Occasion of this discourse.

Refutation of
those that af-
firm the Bul-
let to be im-
poisoned.

hurt on any part of their bodies, will apply of the same vpon their vicers to drie them, and finde much profit by it. As for those which do affirme that it is not in the powder, but the Bullet, which being subtilly pierced in many places, or filled vp with venome, or stieped, rubbed, or mixed with any poysen, causeth the aforesayd daungerous accidents: To such do I answer without further trouble, that the fire set to the powder, is sufficient to purifie the poysen of the Bullet, if any there were; the which can not be done by impoisoned Swords, Pikes, Arrows, and such like, because they passe not thorow the action of the fire. Briefly, to confirme my opinion to be true, there is not anie one of those that were in your Maiesties Campe at *Roan*, that doth not assuredly know, that those Bullets which were shotte against those of the Towne, to be altogether free from poysen. Neuerthelesse, the besieged Towne-men affirmed, that all those Bullets were poysened. Also, the Souldiers of your Maiesties Camp had the same opinion, of such Bullets which were shot at them out of the town, that they were all impoisoned by them; rather beleeuing and iudging of the qualitie of the wounds by their euill successe, then by the Causes whereby they were made.

True it is, that as in Physicke, according to the Sentence of *Hippocrates* in the *Epidemies*; as *Galen* noteth on the twenty sentence, and the twenty one of the third Section of the third booke, all diseases are called Pestilentiall and venomous, being from common and general causes of what kinde soeuer they be, and such kill many persons: so in the like maner, we may call such wounds as are made by Gunne-shot venomous, which are more difficult to heale then others; not because they doe participate of any venomosity, but from some general cause depending, either frō the *Cacochemie* of the body, putrification of the aire, or the corruption of the victualls, whereby those vicers are brought to be more malignant *Cacoethes*, and rebellious to all medicines.

Refutation of
those that af-
firm that the
Bullet causeth
combustion.

To affirme, that it is onely the combustion of the bullet, which causeth the aforesaid danger; I cannot conceiue their reasons, seeing that the Bullet is (for the most part) made but of lead, and therefore vna-

ble to indure any great heate, without being altogether dissolved, which we neuerthelesse do see to passe thorow a coat Armour, and to penetrate the body through and through, and yet to remaine whole.

Moreouer, we do obserue, that if a Bullet be shot against a stone, or against anie solid matter, it may in the same instant be handled of vs in our hands, without feeling any notable heate, although the violent striking and collision made against the stone, should in reason encrease the heate, if anie there were. And which is more, if a Bullet bee shot against a bagge full of powder, the fire will not endanger it. This I dare be bolde to say and affirme moreouer, That if a quantitie of powder should take fire, being kept in a Tower, or any other place, by the meanes of a Bullet shot; it was not the heate of the Bullet, but rather the violent striking of the Bullet against the stones of the said Tower, which might cause sparkes of fire to fall amongst the powder; even as the smiting of a Steele against a flint stone. The like wee may iudge of such thatched houles, which haue bene set on fire by a musket shot, to haue rather proceeded from some wad, either of Towne or Paper, rammed in with the powder, and so fired with it. But that which doth most confirme mee in the assurance of mine opinion, is, that if a ball of Waxe be shot out of a Musket, it feelth no force of fire at all, for then would it melt; neuerthelesse, it will pierce an inch boord. An argument of sufficient weight to prooue, that the Bullets cannot be so extremely heated by the force of the powder, that they should cauterize and burne, as many haue esteemed.

And as for that blackenesse, which is ordinarily found to be about the Orifices of such wounds, and other adiacent parts: I affirme, that this accident doth not proceed from any qualitie of fire accompanying the Bullet, but because of the great conuulsion that it maketh. For it cannot enter into the body otherwise then by an extreme and incredible force, because it is of a round figure.

Vpon this point, if the wounded persons themselves be demanded; I beleue they will testifie the truth of my saying, because they are no sooner strooke with the Bullet, but they doe feele in the same instant, as if a club or some other heauie

An example
of a Bullet
Waxe.

Whence it
proceedeth
that wounds
made by gun-
shot, are ordi-
narily blacke.

but then were false on the offended part, in the which they feele a heauy paine, with a benumbed stupification of the part; which dissipath and sometimes extinguisheth the naturall heate, together with the spirites containd therein; from whence there foloweth oftentimes a gangrene and mortification of the part, yea sometimes of the whole body. And as for the Elcarre which they affirme there to be, and fall away as they say, they doe abuse themselves: for it is onely some certaine portion of the membranes and contused flesh, dilacerated by the Bullet, which becometh corrupted, and so seperateth it selfe from the found parts which are greatly contused.

Reasons of
those of con-
trary opinion.

Although that these reasons doe make it manifest enough, that there is no venomous qualitie in the powder, nor action of fire carryed with the Bullet; neuerthelesse, many, building their opinions vpon naturall Philosophie, doe maintayne the contrarie, affirming that Cannon shot is like vnto the clappes of Thunder, which burst forth of the Clouds in the middle Region of the ayre, and so fall violently on the earth. From the which similitude they would inferre and conclude, that there is both fire, and a venomous qualitie in the Bullet, as it proceedeth out of the mouth of the Cannon. I know (I thanke God) that Thunder being ingendered from a grosse and viscusous exhalation, by means of vapour conioyned with it, doth neuer breake forth of the Clouds to penetrate heere below; but it draweth and bringeth immediately with it a certaine fire, sometimes more subtile, sometimes more grosse, according to the diuersitie of the matter, whereof the exhalation is composed. For *Seneca* writeth in the second Booke of his *Naturall Questions*, chapter 49. that there are three kindes of Thunders, all differing the one from the other, according to the quantitie and manner of their inflammation. The first, by reason of the matter thereof, it being most thin and subtile, it doth pierce & penetrate suddenly the objects which it toucheth. The second kind, by reason of the violence thereof, breaketh and dissipath the same things, because the matter thereof is more violent, and compact as a tempest. The third sort being composed of a more earthie matter,

Seneca. Three
kindes of
Thunders.

burneth with manifest tokens of the heate thereof. I also know, that the Thunder is of nature pestilentiall and fastidie, because of the grosse & stinky matter thereof; which being burnd, leaueth behind it such a stinking sauer, that all animals do so much auoid it, that if it do happen to fall into their dennes, other places of haunt, they will verily abandon and forsake such places; so much do they hate the infectious stinke of that poision. The same is noted by *Plinius Magnus*, in his *Septentrional History*, that in certayne places where Thunder hath fallne, presently after the fall thereof, the fields haue bene found afterwards to be covered & strewd ouer with sulphure, neuerthelesse vnprofitable, and almost extinguished. For all these reasons, I must not confesse, that the blows of Gun-shot are accompanied with poysen and fire, as the clappes of Thunder are. For although they doe agree the one with the other, in some similitude, it is not therefore in their substance and matter, but rather in the manner which they haue to batter, teare, and dissipate the objects which they doe meete with, that is to say, the clappes of Thunder through the force of fire; and of the bolte or stone sometimes engendered therein: and the blowes of Gunne-shot by the meanes of the Ayre forced away by impetuosity, and so conducting the Bullet, causeth the like disaster. What if I should be conuicted by stronger Arguments, so that I were enforced to auouch, that Thunder and the Cannon to be of the like substance; yet I should neuer bee forced to say, that the shotte of the Cannons and Muskets doe participate of a fierie qualitie. *Plinie* saith in the second Booke of his *History*, and the 1. chapter, that among Thunder, one kinde is composed of a maruellous drie matter, dissipating all such things it meete withall; neuerthelesse, without anie signe of burning; others, of a more humid nature, which in like manner burneth not, but blacketh and discoloreth much, more then the first. Others are composed of a very cleare and subtile matter: the nature whereof is most marvellous, forsomuch that it is not to be doubted (as *Seneca* hath well said) that there is therein a certayne diuine vertue: and it is in melting Golde or Siluer in a mans purse, the purse it selfe not being so much as touched therewith.

Answer to
the contrary
Reasons.

A marvellous
effect of thun-
ders.

Also in melting a sword, the scabbard thereof remaining whole. Also, in dissolving into droppes the yron head of a Pike, without burning, or so much as heating the wood. In shedding the wine out of a vessell, without burning or breaking of the caske. According to the aforesayd testimony, I can assure you, and that without any prejudice, that those Thunders, which onelie breake and dissipate without any burning; and such which do leaue effects full of great admiration, not to be much vnlike in substance to the Canon shot, and not those which carrie immediately with them the action of fire.

Example.

To prouue my saying true, this one example shall suffice. A certaine Souldier receyued a wound in his Thigh with a Musket shot, from whence I extracted a bullet, the which being wrapped in the Taffatie of his breeches, made a very deepe wound. Neuerthelesse, I drew it forth of the wound with the same Taffatie, it being without any signe of burning.

And which is more, I haue seene many men, who not being shot, nor anie thing touched therewith, vnlesse it were in their apparrell only; haue receiued such an astonishment by a Cannon shot, that onely passed nere them: that their members thereby haue become blacke and liquid; and shortly after, haue fallen into a gangrene and mortification, whereof in the end they haue dyed.

These effects are like vnto those of the thunder before spoken of. Neuerthelesse, there is not in them any fire or poyson: which maketh mee conclude, that there is no poyson in the common and ordinarie powder. Seeing therefore, that this disaster was common to all those which were hurt in these last warres, and yet neither by fire or poyson that so many valiant men dyed. To what cause may wee impute this euill? I am so confident of the true cause (my Liege) that I hope presently to make your Maiestie vnderstand the same, to the end that your demand may be fully satisfied.

Those which haue consumed their age and study in the secrets of naturall Philosophie, haue left vs this amongst other things, for authentick and appoued of all times. Which is, that the Elements doe symbolize in such sort the one with

the other, that they doe sometimes transforme and change themselves, the one into the other, in such sort, that not onelie their first qualities, which are heate, coldnes, driness and moisture: but also their substances are changed, by rarification or condensation of themselves; so the fire doth conuert it selfe ordinarily into ayre, the ayre into water, the water into earth; and contrariwise the earth into water, the water into ayre, and the ayre into fire. The which wee may dayly behold, and prouue it by those bellows of Copper which the Dutchman brings vs, being composed in the forme of a Boll, which being filled with water, and hauing but one hole in the middelt of the Spherical forme thereof: receiuethe the transmutation of the water within it into ayre, thorough the action of the fire, neare vnto the which the Boll must bee placed; and so thrusteth the ayre forth of it with violence, making a continuall noyse or sound, vntill all the ayre bee gone forth of it. The like may be knowne by Egges or Chellenuts; for eyther of them being put into the fire before they are crackt, or the Rhinds broken, presently the watery humidity contained in them, doth conuert it selfe into ayre, through the action of the fire: and the ayre in making his passage, bursteth the shell, because it occupieth more place being in the forme of ayre, into the which it was changed by rarification caused by the fire, then it did vnder the forme of water; and not finding passage, is constrained to make one by violence, according vnto the proposition helde for most certayne and true amongst all Physitians; that is to say, of that one part of earth is made tenne of water: and of one part of water is made tenne of ayre, as of one part of ayre ten of fire. I do say and affirme so much of the matters containyd in the said Gun-powder, which by meanes of the fire is conuerted into a great quantity of ayre; the which because it cannot be contained in the place, where the matter was before the transmutation thereof, is compelled to issue forth with an incredible violence: by meanes whereof, the bullet breaketh, shiuereth and rendeth all that euer it meets with, yet doth not the fire accompany it. Euen as wee see a Bow, or a Sling shoot forth an Arrow or Stone, without any aire at all.

But

The effect of Artillery like to the thunder

But the bullet driueth before it such a subtle winde, and so swiftly agitated, that sometimes the very winde it selfe, without the action of the Bullet, causeth strange and wonderfull effects. For sometimes, I haue knowne it make a fracture in the bones, without any diuision of the flesh. And herein it may be compared (as wee said before) vnto the effect of Thunder: euen so wee see, that if the saide powder bee inclosed in Mines and Vaults of the earth, and being conuerted into aire thorough the action of the fire set vnto it, howe it doeth ruinate and reuerse huge masses of earth almost as bigge as Mountaines. Also in this year, in your Maiesties Towne of Paris, a certaine quantity of powder, but newly made in the Arcenall, by taking fire, caused such a great tempest, that the whole Towne shooke at it: for with an horrible fury, it leuelled with the Earth all the houses nere vnto that place, and discovered and battered down the windowes of all those that stood within the fury of it. And to be briefe (euen as a clap of thunder) it did reuerse heere and there many men halfe slaine; taking away from some their eyes, from others their hearing, and left others no lesse torne and mangled in their members, then if foure horses had drawne them in pieces: and all this by the onely agitation of the ayre, into which substance, the powder was conuerted. The which, according to the quantity and quality of the matter thereof, and according to his motion, either more or lesse violent, hath caused so many wonderfull accidents in our Prouinces; altogether like vnto those which are caused through the inclosing of windes in the bowels and caviities of the earth, not being perspirable. The which, struing to haue vent, blotteth with such a strong and violent agitation, that they make the earth to tremble & quake thereat: thereby debolishing Cities, and ruinating buildings, and transporting them from one place to another. As the Townes of Megara and Egina, anciently much celebrated in the Country of Greece, perishing by Earth-quakes can witness vnto vs.

I omit to discouer (as but little seruing to our purpose) how the winde enclosed in the Entrailes of the earth, maketh a noyse of diuers sounds, and very strange, according to the diuers formes of the

conduits and passages, through the which it issueth by, euen after the manner of musical Instruments; the which being large, do giue a great and bafe sound, & being narrow, do make high and sharpe notes, and being crooked or replied, make diuers sounds; as wee see by experience in the Huntsmans horne, and in Trumpets, the which also, being moistned with water, do make a hollow gurgling sound.

In like manner, these noises, murmuring, and clamors, are sundry wayes diuified, according to the places whence they proceed; in such sort, that sometimes hath bene heard a clamorous cry, representing (as it seemed) the assault of a City; the cries and lowings of Bulls, or the neighing of Horses, roaring of Lyons, sound of Trumpets, reports of Artillery, and many other dreadful things; yea sometimes humane voyces. As it is reported by one, who had heard a voyce (as it were) of a woman beatings, which made (as he imagined) such a wofull and greeuous lamentation; where-with he became so greatly affrighted, that he had scarcely breath sufficient to make this report. But when he had well vnderstood the cause of this plaintiue voyce, he was presently deliuered from that feare, which otherwise might haue killed him.

But some perhaps will say, that these things haue alwayes bene, and no lesse ordinary in the times past, then they are at this present: and therefore it is a great folly in me to alledge them, for efficient causes of the death of so many men. The which imputation, I should freely confesse, if I should present them for such: but seeing, that by them I would onely parallel and compare the impetuosity of Artillery, with that of thunder, and the motions of the earth; which being so, it will appeare, that it maketh nothing against my first intention, as I hope to demonstrate clearly, that I am slandered without a cause, if you please to giue eare to the deduction following. In the which, I will plainly and briefly describe the true causes of the late mortality, which happened among your Highnesse Soldiers.

Amongst the things necessary for our liues, there is nothing that can more alter our bodies, then the ayre; the which, continually (willing or vnwilling) we inspire by those conduites which Nature hath appointed

Diuers founds issuing out of the veins of the earth.

The true explication of the question.

Hypin the
Præcocius
Prognost.

Hypin the be
gining of his
booke de Aere
loca & aquis.

pointed for that end; as the mouth, the nose, and generally through all the pores of the skinn and Arteries therein infixed, whether wee eate, drinke, watch, or sleepe, or doe any other action, whether Natural, Vitall, or Animall. From thence it commeth, that the aire inspired into the Lungs, the Heart, and the Braine, and vniuersally in all the parts of the bodie, to refresh, and in some measure to nourish the same, is the cause that a man cannot liue one minute without inspiration; according to the which wonderfull benefit, the excellent Physitian *Hippocrates* hath pronounced, and that truly, that the aire hath a kinde of Diuinity in it; because, that in breathing and blowing ouer all parts of the world vniuersally, it doth circumsuue all things therein contained: nourishing them miraculously, strengthening them firmly, and maintaining them in an amiable Vnion; also together symbolizing with the Starres and Planets, into the which the diuine providence is infused, which changeth the aire at his pleasure, and giueth it power not only ouer the mutation of times and seasons, but also of the alteration of naturall bodies. And therefore the Philosophers and Physicians haue expressly commanded, that we should haue a principall regarde vnto the situation and motions of the heavenly bodies, and constitutions of the Ayre, when the preservation of health, or the curation of diseases are in question: but especially the course and mutation of the aire is of great power, as wee may easily iudge by the foure seasons of the yeare. For the Aire being hot and dry in Sommer, our bodies in like manner doth thereby become heated and dried: and in winter the humidity and coldnesse of the ayre doth likewise fill our bodies with the very same qualities: in such order neuertheless, and in so good a disposition of nature, that although our temperatures seeme to bee changed, according to the foure seasons of the yeare; we neuertheless receive no harme thereby, if those times doe keepe their seasons and qualities free from excessse. But to the contrary, if the seasons bee peruerted, that the Sommer is colde, and the Winter hotte, and the other seasons in the like distemperature; this discord bringeth with it a great perturbacion, both in our bodies and in our spirits,

constrained neuertheless to receive the danger, by reason that the causes are extreme, and on every side encompass vs; so that we are constrained to lodge in it vs by those Organes and Conduites appointed by Nature to that end, as partly, to expell the superfluous excrements of our nourishment, and partly to receiue the said externall causes, which is the ayre or winde, producing in vs diuers effects, according to those parts of the world from whence they do proceed.

For, it being so, that the Southerly Windes are hot and moyst, that of the North cold and dry; the Easterly Winds for the most part are cleare and pure, and the Westerly cloudy and subiect to rain; yet it is a most assured thing, that the ayre which we do inspire continually, holdeth in all, and through all, the qualitie that is most predominant. And therefore, wee should of necessity consider in all diseases, and the inconueniences which happen therein, the quality of the winds, and the power which they haue ouer the bodies; as *Hippocrates* hath learnedly left vs by writing in the third Booke of his Aphorisms, Chap. 11. and 17. saying, That our bodies do receiue a great alteration through the vicissitude of the times and seasons of the yeare. As by the South-winde our bodies are subiect to all diseases, because that moysture is their primitive cause: it also weakeneth our naturall heate, the which in the opposite case is much fortified thorough a cold and dry winde, which also maketh our spirits more quick and subtile. The verity of which sentence, the inhabitants of the Territory of *Narbonne* doe too much experient to their dammage. For being themselves betwene the lustiest and healthifullest people of all *France*; yet neuertheless they themselves are very sickly for the most part, their bodies leane, their countenances sad and heavy; their faces tawny, or of an Oliue colour, do manifestly shew the same. Also among other diseases, they are almost all subiect to the white Leprosie; and the last Vicers which they haue, which we make no account of at *Poitiers* or *Paris*, do ordinarily continue with them a whole yeare together. Not for any other cause, as they themselves confesse, and as all strangers know that haue liued in their country, but onely because they are for the most part,

The alteration
of seasons
cause of diseases.

blasted

blasted and breathed vpon with a Southerly Winde, which in their language they call *Altan*, & maketh the aire to be grosse and cloudy; causing in their bodies all the effects which are attributed by *Hippocrates* to the Southerly winds, in his third booke and fifth Aphorisme, that is to say, when it reigneth, it dulleth the hearing, dimmeth the sight, swellth and aggrauateth the head, weakeneth and abateth all the forces of the body.

Lib. 13. Aphor.
15.

Also, when *Hippocrates* compareth the temperatures of the one qualitie with the other, he resolueth vpon this point, That the dry seasons are farre more healthfull then the humid, that haue continued for a long succession of time, because excessive humidity is the true matter of putrefaction, as experience telleth vs. For wee see, that in those places where the Marine or Sea-winds haue long blowne, all kinds of flesh (though neuer so new and fresh) will corrupt in lesse then an houre. These things being considered, that it is most necessary for the conservation of our bodies in health, that the seasons should follow their naturall temperatures, without any excessse or contrariety, there is no doubt to be made, but that our bodies will fall into many vnaturall diseases, when the naturall qualities of the seasons are peruerted thorough the euill disposition of the aire and winde, that predominateth therein. It being so, that for these 3. yeares space here in *France*, the seasons of euery yeare haue not kept their ordinary qualities. In the Sommer wee haue but little heate, in the Winter a little or no cold at all. Also the other haue bene continually distempered with raine and moysture, together with much southerly winds whose nature we haue declared before, & this throughout all *France*.

I know no man so little seene in natural Philosophy, or in Astrologie, which will not finde the aire to be the efficient cause of so many euils, which for these 3. yeares space haue happened in the Kingdome of *France*. For from whence should proceed those contagious Pestilences, which happened indifferently to old and young, to rich and poore, and in so many places, but from the corruption of the Ayre? From whence should proceede so many kinds of Feauers, Pleuritis, Apostumes, Catars, defluitions of small Poxe and Meazels?

So many kinds of venomous Beastes, as Froegges, Toads, Grahoppers, Caterpillers, Spiders, Flies, Waspes, Snailes, Serpents, Vipers, Snakes, Lizards, Scorpions, and Aspicks, but onely from a putrefaction resulting from the humiditie of the aire, accompanied with a languishing heate. This is it (I say) that hath engendered in vs, and in all the Country of *France*, so many strange and vknownne accidents. Behold therefore how our naturall heate hath bene weakened, how our blood and humors haue bene corrupted through the malignity of the ayre, which these Southerly winds haue caused, thorough the hote and moyst quality thereof.

Thus much I haue obserued, that where there hath bene need of Phlebotomizing, there hath bene but little blood drawne from any, whether they wer yong or old, wounded, or not of so good or euill temperature, but it hath bene corrupted, and appeared of white or greenish Colours. This I haue alwayes obserued in these last Vvarres, and in other places where I haue bene called to cure the wounded: such as haue bene phlebotomized by the prescription of the Physitian, either for the prevention of accidents, or the furtherance of the cure. In all which, I say indifferently, I haue found the bloode putrified and corrupted.

This being so, it must needs follow, that the fleshy parts of our bodies cannot be otherwise then euilly disposed: and all our bodies Cacoehymate; seeing that their nourishment which is the blood, is purtified, and the ayre altogether corrupted. From whence it followeth, that those bodies which were wounded in the fleshy parts, were difficult to cure, considering that there was in them a perdition of substance; the which hauing neede of the regeneration of the flesh, could not bee accomplished, neither by Medicines, nor any Art of the Chirurgian; such & so great was the Cacoehimy or euill constitution of their bodies. Euen as in an Hydropticke person, there can no flesh be regenerated, because the blood is too colde and watery: and in the Elephantick or leprous disease, the flesh and other parts do abide in putrefaction, because of the corrupted blood whereby they are nourished. In like manner, in wounds of Cacoehymed bodies,

A similitude.

dies, there can be no regeneration made of any good substance, because that to restore a lawdable flesh in the wounded part it is required, that the blood should not offend neither in quantity nor quality, & that the offended part bee in it naturall temperature. All these things were wanting in the times of these last Varres: and therefore it is not to be wondered at, if the woundes which were then received (although they were but small and of little consequence in the noble or ignoble parts) haue brought with them so many tedious accidents, and in the end death; because that the aire which doeth encompass vs, maketh the woundes to be corrupt and putrified, by reason of the inspiration and transpiration thereof, especially when it selfe is corrupt and putrified, by altering & corrupting the humors.

Intollerable stinke proceeding from the wounded parts of men.

Of this point I haue had the experience in many Wounds, which I haue bin called to dresse, that haue rendred a most insupportable stinking fauour, as a certain witness of corruption and infection, in so much, that the assistants could hardly endure to be present at their dressings. It need not to be here alledged, that this was for want of being cleanly kept, or often dressing, or for not administering to them things necessary: for this corruption was as common to Princes and great Lords, as vnto poore soldiers; whose woundes (if by chance one day escaped wherein they were not drest, so great was the number of the hurt soldiers) you should finde in them the morrow after, a great quantitie of wormes, with a marvellous stinking fauour. And moreover, there hapned vnto them many Apostumes in diuers parts of their bodies opposite to their hurts. For if they were shotte in the right shoulder, they shold haue an Apostume on the left knee; and if the wound were in the right leg, the Apostume would arise in the left arme. As it hapned to the late K. of Navarra, to Monsieur de Neuers, and to Monsieur de Renda, and almost to all others. So it seemeth, that Nature being so much oppressed with corrupted humors, could not be sufficiently purged and discharged of them by woundes onely, but sent some part of the corruption to some other part either hidden or apparent. For, if the Apostumes appeared not outwardly, they should be found in the inward part; as in

Venomous woundes.

the Liuer, Lungs, or Spleen. Fro those putrifications were stirred vp certain vapors, which through their combination with the heart, causeth continual Feauers; with the Liuer, a let and hinderance of the generation of good blood; & with the brain swoonings, faintings, convulsions, and consequently death.

Now because of those aforesayde accidents, it is vnpossible for any Chirurgicalian (were he neuer so expert) to correct the malignity of the aforesaid woundes: neuertheless those that are employed therein, ought not to be reprehended; because it is impossible for them to warre against God, nor against the aire, wherein oftentimes are hidden the rods of his diuine iustice. If therefore, according to the sentence of ancient Hippocrates, who saith; That all contused woundes ought to be brought to suppuration, thereby to be perfectly cured; which method wee are sometimes constrained to change, because of the putrifications Gangrenas and mortifications which doe accompanie such woundes, thorough the corruption of the aire; and can any blame or accuse vs, because we are constrained through necessity to change and alter that manner of curation, and insit of suppurative medicines to vse other remedies, to resist such accidents which not onely happen in woundes made by Gun-shot, but also by swords or stauies: which remedies shall be described in this present Discourse. Besides humane causes, that man is ill instructed in the knowledge of Celestial things, which doth not beleue for certaine, that the wrath of God hangeth ouer vs, to punish the faults which ordinarily we comit against his Maicesty. His scourges are prepared ready, his rods and weapons haue they ministers alwaies at hand, to execute the commandment of his diuine iustice, into whose secrets I dare enter no further, but will conclude with the opinion of the best aduised Practitioners, that the principall occasion of the aforesaide mortallitie, did proceede from the pure and determinate will of God, who by the temperature that he hath giuen to the ayre and windes (as the Heraldes of his diuine iustice) hath made vs apt to receyue the aforesaide inconueniences, which we haue incurred by our iniquities.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

¶ Of the Excellencie of the Arte of Physicke, going farre beyond all other humane Arts and Sciences whatsoeuer.



What humane Arts are true to bee.

All Arts inuenced for the vse of man.

Diuinity expected from all humane Arts.

The nature or qualitie of knowledge in humane lawes.

The place allotted to Physicke in the second degree.

WE vnderstand humane Artes (as well Liberall as Mechanicall) to bee all those, that Man (inspired by God) hath inuenced for his necessitie, commoditie, or recreation. Amongst which also is Physicke, the practise of naturall Philosophie vpon the bodies of men, for whom all mechanical Arts were deuised; as Artes liberall for exercise of the minde. We except onely from all ordinary professions of Man, the sacred Science of Diuinity; which we vnderstand, not to come within compass of this comparison, when we extoll Physicke to be aboue all humane Arts: because it is neither Art or humane Science; but a matter merely and purely diuine, not inuented by men, but infused by God; concerning soules, and not bodies; eternal, infallible, immutable, hauing (for obiect) God Almighty, Creator of the World, who made it of nothing, and for the seruice of man. In whom we are to consider a reasonable soule, the body, and benefits which are giuen vnto him for the support and maintaining of his life.

Diuinity hath her especial care of the soule, and next to her, Moral Philosophie. Skill and knowledge, restrained vnto humane Lawes, do discourse on goods and proprieties appertaining to men, rendering to euery one that which is his owne. Betweene them both is Physicke, conferring the body in health, expelling Diseases, and sauing from death, so farre as it pleaseth God to permit. If then the excellency of professions, is to be esteemed in and by their subiects, according as they ought to bee: Physicke will then assume the second place. For, the soule is more then the body, and the bodie more then garments.

I will not heere contest with my Grand Masters the Magistrates, who haue power ouer mens bodies, as well in case of

life, as death: for their authority is nothing else but a meere declaration; either of pardoning, or punishing with death, according to the quality of delict. As for the power of absolution or pardon, if it be in grace, as the sole Prince or Soueraigne Magistrate may do it: it proceedeth from the priuiledge giuen him by God, and not from any knowledge of the Lawes. Like to the other, that declareth the innocence and preuention of the accused: the which is properly to saue, or giue life, because the party standing so accused, hath not therefore deferred death.

And as for power of putting to death, therein is no praise; at least, it ought not to be compared with the power of sauing life. For, so much doth the Physitian (the grace of God assisting) to man, being artainted with deadly diseases, and doubtles should dye, except they were succoured in such manner. Now, whether it is effectable, or no, and that (by the Art of Physicke) life may be prolonged: that we shal more amply relate in the following chapter. Onely our intent heere, is, to shewe the excellency of man; to confirme the excellency of that Art, which is dedicated onely to his conseruation.

The principall dignity of Man, is in this, that God hath vouchsafed to bestow on him his owne Image and resemblance, giuing him an immortall soule, capable of the Diuinity: in regard that all things were submitted to him, for his necessitie, commoditie, and recreation; hauing made (for his seruice) Heauen, Earth, the Sea, and all that is in them. For God hath no neede of any thing, made by himselfe: All is for our vse, and therefore it is easie to vnderstand and know, that Man is more worthy and excellent then all the world. So, to speake truly, Heauen and Earth, which haue had a beginning, were ordained for an ending, and to waxe olde like a Garment. Onely Man shall neuer end, but change his condition, and of being mortall, he shall become immortall; in a short while after the soule shal receiue her diuorce from the body, taking it vp again, in much more glorious manner then before, and in such a perfect temper, as neuer can be subiect to corruption.

Seeing then, that Man is the worthiest thing in all the world, beside all other whatsoever: the Science ordained for his person,

The power of Magistrate in cases of life or death, holding their authority from God.

What diuinity is betweene the two powers, of sauing life, and putting to death.

Wherein the chiefest dignity of Man doth consist.

Man was created neuer to haue ending, but to change his present condition.

Man the only worthy thing in all the world.

son, must needs bee the most excellent above all other, next vnto that which properly concerneth his Creator. For, Man is the most worthy creature of all, and (by consequence) the Art or Science which maintaineth him in life and health, is the onely excellent of all humane Arts. This is a strong argument, for the preeminence and dignity of Physicke, according to the singularity of the subiect whereon it discourseth.

I could giue a glance at some other matters, which make (in like manner) for his commendation: As his Antiquity, Necessity, and Vtility, together with the Authority of them, that haue the more reuerenced and esteemed him, for the same reasons. As concerning his Antiquity, no man doubteth, but it is as olde as the transgression of *Adam*, and that so soone as he had sinned, he (thereby) became subiect to sicknesse. He must needs be Physitian to himselfe, to whom God had giuen knowledge, concerning the vertue of all things whatsoever, and causing him to giue them feuerall names, answerable and according to their feuerall proprieties.

Prophane Histories, doe attribute the invention of Physick to god *Apollo*, which is the Sonne: signifying thereby, that from the Sun proceedeth the vertue of Plants, and other medicaments, which the earth produceth. Hereupon they conclude, that *Ascalapius* (the first that made profession of this Art) was his sonne; and he the Father of *Machaon* & *Podalirius*, vulnerarie Physitians (otherwise called Chirurgions) who were in the warre of *Troy*, the History whereof, is the very ancientest in the world.

Now, concerning Antiquity, it is one of those conditions, that commendeth something; provided, that it hath beene continued. For, if it be neither vse-able, nor beneficiall, it will soon haue ending. But we see (even to this instant) that Physicke hath beene well maintained, euermore in augmentation, beauty, and liberall bounty. And that, by industrie of the chiefeest persons that haue bin, not onely Philosophers by profession, but likewise by Kings, Princes, and other men of greatest esteeme, it hath beene highly honoured, according as ancient Histories, and their learned labors left vs of Physicke,

do plainly testifie.

True it is, that the *Romaines* did let it passe by them, for about fixe hundred yeares, as holding it in detestation; for the cruelty of some Chirurgions which came forth of *Greece*, a Nation to them very suspicious. But since those times, Physitians were honoured, much respected, & maintained in *Rome*; holding ranke with the chiefeest Noblemen and Knights.

Now, touching the Necessity thereof, it is so manifest, as nothing more. But it seemeth, that this may diminish the excellency of the Art; because it is not expetible or desirable of it selfe, but onely for neede. Like as in Moral Philosophy, this is most esteemed, which is desirable of it selfe (As to haue children, then acceptable, for some other respect, as to haue goods for those children;) Euen so, Physicke, being not desirable of it selfe (like to Musick) but for necessity; it appeareth to be the lesse commendable, euen as Mechanicall Arts, which cannot passe without vse. Yet notwithstanding, this is contrary; for, the more necessary Physick is, so much the more it is to be desired: and the excellency of her effects, maketh her to be the more excellent.

And heere, Vtility or commodity ioyne with it, commending it in the highest degree. For, as there is nothing in the world more welcome then Health, nor more desirable then long life: Physicke, providing both for the one and other, is the more beneficiall to the contentment of men, then any other humane Science can be. For (by the contrary) as whoeuer that hath not health, is vnprofitable to the world: euen so he that hath lyued but a litle while, brought therto the lesse benefit with him. For, as the Father of Eloquence sayd; *We are not borne for our selues only, but our Parents, Kindred, & Friends, our Countrey, yea the whole world; all these do vrges from vs some emolument, and commodity.*

It remaineth now, to confirme all these reasons by great and good Authority, of such as haue much esteemed and extolled Physicke, and the professors thereof, commending it infinitely by their Writings. In the performance whereof, I shall content my selfe, with the exhortation made in *Ecclesiasticus*, and the remonstrance of our graue father *Hippocrates*. Nor is he to be

Philosophia 9. 1

Physicke neglected in Rome for some time.

Of the necessity of Physicke.

Physicke not desirable of it selfe.

Mechanicall Arts cannot passe without vse.

Of the vtilitie of Physicke.

Sicke men are vnprofitable to the world.

Cicero in lib. 1. de Senectute

Authority for the honour of Physicke.

be suspected in the matter, because he was a Physitian: for, he was neuer mercenary, nor at the seruice of any man; but free and most liberrall of his profession. And he it was, that first diuided Physicke from Philoſophie. Because (in elder daies) Physitians were not distinguished by themselves, but Philoſophers did contemplate vpon diseases, and their remedies among naturall things: for their vse principally (as *Celsus* witnesseth) who had most need about other, in regarde of their bodies weaknesse, being overcome with continuall depressions of Age.

Hippocrates then was the first, that deuoted this Art from Philoſophy, and made profession thereof publickely; as (afterward) did *Diocles*, *Praxagoras*, *Chrysippus*, *Herophilus*, and *Erasistratus*, all his successors. And they (at length) diuided Physicke into three parts, for better accommodation thereof to sick persons: referring mechanickall people to manuell operation, called Chirurgery, and the preparation of Medicines, which are teatmed *Pharmacie* or Apothecaries skill, according as (in these our dayes) it is exercised among vs. But it is by mercenary people (for the most part) whose testimony in the Art of physick, can carry here no credit; no, not that of *Galen* himselfe, although he was one of the first subiected seruants thereto.

Wherefore that shall satisfie me, which is recorded by so great a Father, after I haue made recitall of the words of *Ecclesiasticus*, the wisdom of *Iesus* the sonne of *Sirach*, writing thus in his 38. Chapter, verse 1. *Honor the Physitian with that honor which is due vnto him, because of the necessity thou hast of him; for the Lord hath created him.* 2. *Healing commeth of the most High, and the Physitian shall bee honoured euen of Kings.* 3. *The knowledge of the Physitian exalteth his head, and in the sight of Princes he shall bee had in admiration.* 4. *The Lord hath created Medicines of the Earth, and he that is wise will not abhorre them.* 5. *Was not the water made sweete with woad, that men should know the vertue thereof?* 6. *So he hath giuen knowledge vnto men, that he might be glorified in his mercenall works.* 7. *With such doth hee heale men, and taketh away their paines.*

8. *The Apothecarie maketh his commixtions, and yet hee cannot finish his owne work: for, it is from God, that health commeth vnto*

all the earth.

9. *My sonne, faile not in thy sicknesse, but pray vnto God, and he will make thee whole.*

10. *Leaue off from sinne, and order thine hands aright, and cleanse thine heart from all wickednesse.*

11. *Offer sweete Incense, and fine Flour for a remembrance; make the Offering faste, for thou art not the first giuer.*

12. *Then giue place to the Physitian; for the Lord hath created him, let him not goe from thee, for thou hast need of him.*

13. *The houre may come, that their enterprizes may haue good successe.*

14. *For they shall also pray vnto the Lord, that hee would prosper that which is giuen for cause, and their Physicke for prolonging life.*

These diuine words do conclude (& verie sufficient) our purpose, for the dignity, excellency, necessity, vtility, and prerogative of Physitians: condemning all such, as hold them in vile esteeme, and (in them) do despise the great goodnesse of Almighty God, who hath bestowed vpon men such meanes of healing. Let vs now heare what was spoken by the learned *Hippocrates*. The good olde man, in the Booke of the Lawe, complained so long since, that (euen in his time) Physick was but slenderly esteemed, in regarde of abuse; much more then must it needes be now at this day.

The Art of Physicke (saith hee) is the most apparant of all other: but by the ignorance of some that vse it, and such as indge of the Professours, it is too farre ouer-gone by all other Artes. The faulte (methinks) proceedeth principally from this: That in Cities, there is no punishment appointed to the Art of Physicke, as to other. Except dishonours done it, which are not instructions sufficient for such as sayle therein.

They may well be compared vnto the Actors in a Tragedie, who haue the habite, visage, and outward behaviour, of those personages which they represent and counterfeite. In like manner, there are many Physitians in name and repute; but verie few that are the men in deede. For, in him that would truly haue the knowledge of Physicke, fixe feuerall qualities or conditions, are necessarily required, which followe thus. 1. The Nature. 2. Discipline. 3. Good Manners. 4. Learning from his Childe-hood.

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5. Loue

The Antiquity, necessity, and vtilitie of Man.

Adam was Physitian to himselfe.

What attribution is made vnto Physick by profane histories.

Chirurgions termed vulnerarie Physitians.

Philosophers, Kings, and Princes, haue bin Physitians.

Sufficient prooofe for the authority of Physicke.

Hippocrates in lib. de Leg. cap. 14.

A familiar comparison for the bold abusers of so singular a Science.

Six things re-
quired in a
true Physick,
and (without
which) he is
no body.

Plin. l. 19. c. 10

Pliny his re-
prehension of
preting Physi-
cians.

No punish-
ment for ca-
pital ignorance

Ignorant Physi-
cians are
never murder-
ers of men.

The reason
why Physicke
is contemned
by many.

5. Lone to the toyle and labour; 6. And ob-
seruation of apt times and seasons. With, and
by these he shall become a good Physician, not
only in name, but in deed also. But ignorance
is a wicked treasure, & a Jewell of vile price,
to such as haue it, and liue but as in a dreame
or opinion.

Plinie pursuing this matter, and to the
same purpose, taxing the vulgare, that
know not how to distinguish betwene
the good and badde Physician, listning
only to such as are full of talke, making
great vaunts and bragges of themselves,
hath these words: They get (saith hee) a
little taste of the Arte only, and their rash
iudgement sodainly conceiteth, that present-
ly they are skilfull Physicians; albeit (in anie
kinde of lying) there is no greater danger,
yet it is not easily discovered, for pleasing is the
sweetnesse to a man, in perswasion, and com-
mending himselfe.

Moreover, there is not any Lawe, for the
punishing of capital ignorance, where it im-
porteth the liues of men, neither is there anie
example of vengeance: for, they undertake
matters of difficulty and danger, and make
their proofes by killing men, and yet passe un-
punished for thus murdering men. Nay, and
that which is farre worse, when themselves
do iustly deserue the reproch: they excuse it,
by the sickes patients intemperance, and im-
pudently doe lay their owne sinne vpon the
dead.

I thought it expedient to set downe
these words, to the end it may be known,
that (euen in these dayes of ours) there are
many, that wearing the mask and ap-
pearance of Physicians, cause Physicke (tho-
rough their abuses) to bee greatly despi-
sed. Euen as many other things (good of
themselves, or newtall) are made worse
then they be indeede, in regard that they
are very easily abused. But because I haue
formerly promised, to declare in another
Chapter, whether life may be prolonged
by Physicke, or no, which is an action
singular and excellent: I will next set
downe in ample manner, what mine opi-
nion is concerning that point.

CHAP. VI.

Whether it bee possible, or no, to prolong the
life of man, or woman, by Physicke.



His Question hath alwayes
appeared to bee verie diffi-
cult, and hath much afflic-
ted the verie greatest spirits:
as lying hid and concealed
in the darkest and deepest secretie of Na-
ture; and therefore it hath bene the more
painfull, to such as haue curiously sought
after it. The reasons of them that haue
debated it, are so strong and powerfull on
either side; that hardly can any resolution
bee yeilded, or what best may be faide in
the case. For there are very many Argu-
ments, absolutely concluding; that the
life of man cannot be prolonged, by any
remedies or meanes of Physicke. On the
contrary, Physicians haue and doe main-
taine, that it is possible. Therefore, for
the better disciding of this doubt, I will
first of all defend each of the seuerall
sides, and in the end (like to an honest
and indifferent Arbitrator) deliuer
therein, mine owne opinion and iudge-
ment.

That there is a tearme or limitation,
appointed vnto the life of man, and that
hee cannot goe beyond it by any meanes
whatsoever; wee haue (in the first place)
that which the patient man Job said, chap.
14. verses 1. 5. inspired by the Spirit of
God. *The dayes of Man are short; the num-
ber of his Moneths are with the Lord; He
hath ordained the boundes and limits of his
life, which he cannot passe.*

Aristotle affirmeth the same, in his se-
cond booke of generation and corruption;
*The time and life (saith he) of euery thing,
hath his infinite count and determination:
For, in all things there is an order, and all
life and time is measured by a period. Also,
in his fourth booke of the Generation of
Creatures, hee sayeth; It is but reasona-
ble, that there should be periods and seasons,
as well for Groweth, as for Generation
and Life: which are accounted by dayes,
monethes, yeares, or other times that are*
decree-

A question of
no mean diffi-
culty to be de-
cided.

Arguments
on either side
verie contra-
dictory to each
other.

Accertained
of time pre-
fixd to the life
of Man.

Arist. 2. de Lib. 4.
de Generatione.
Lap. 10.

Arist. 2. de Lib. 4.
de Generatione.
Lap. 10.

Of remedies
and good go-
uernment for
maintaining
health.

All Natures
works consist
on a certainty
of order.

Galen in Lib.
Morf.

Auicenna in Lib. 1.
Temper. 1. c. 467.
347-3.

Arist. 2. de Lib. 1.
c. 17.

Exod. 10. 12.

Of remedies
and good go-
uernment for
maintaining
health.

decree for them here. And Auicenna ex-
plicating the same faith, *All things that are,
haue (necessarily) life determined vnto
them.*

Seeing then, that all the works of Na-
ture do (necessarily) consist on a certai-
nty of order, so that they neither can be o-
therwise, or auoide it: And seeing also,
that Art is heerein much inferiour to Na-
ture: it may easily bee concluded (as Ga-
len disputeth in the Booke called *Maraf-
mus*) that life is no way to bee prolonged
by any cunning. Whereunto Auicenna con-
senteth, where hee maketh an expresse
search, for the causes of our ineuitable
death, saying: *This naturall death is vni-
uersall to euery man, differing one from an-
other, according to their prime complexion,
vntill the time they haue in their power, for
conserving their naturall humidity. For, e-
uery one hath his tearme prefixed, which is
diuers in their indiuision, by diuersity of their
temper: who haue naturall tearmes, which
in other are shortened, and yet all according to
the will of God, &c.*

If then the tearmes of life are prefix-
ed and assigned to euery person, by the
will of God, and his ordinance (Nature
being but a seruant to God, to wir, esta-
blishing things (by order in this World)
from their beginning;) it is not to bee ex-
ceeded or out-stept, by any meanes in
Man, but only by the grace & goodnesse
of Almighty God. As to King Ezechias,
to whom the Prophet *Isaiah* had signified
his death. Yet vpon his Repentance, life
was prolonged to him for fifteene yeares,
only by the mercy of God. Who also
promiseth in his sacred Law long life vnto
children, *That Honor their Father and Mo-
ther*, and are no way ingratefull to them.

Thus wee see, if (contrary to these al-
legations so certaine) wee can extend and
prolong the naturall termes of life, by any
ordinances or remedies in our Arte. Be-
cause there are some store of reasons,
which perswade, that not only the order
of Nature, but also our industry, doth pro-
mise long life. First of all, Astrologers do
maintaine it, where they discourse on e-
lections, figures, and Images. And this
hath bene confirmed by experience, in the
care and diligence of Physicians to manie
persons, who being assisted by remedies
and good government: haue maintained
themselves in health. And being crazy &

sickly, haue held out for long time: where-
as otherwise, they had dyed yong, and ne-
uer seene so many yeares.

Plato & Aristotle (great and graue Au-
thors) without all exception, doe testifie
(to this purpose) that a learned man, na-
med *Herodiscus*, the most subiect to sick-
nesse of any in his time: did yet neuer the-
lesse liue an hundred yeares, by great skill,
and exquisite manner of Government.
Galen also (in diuers places) confesseth his
owne naturall infirmity; but he faith with-
out all, that he had so wel corrected it, as hard-
ly was he (at any time) sicke; at least after
he gaue himselfe wholly to exercise Phys-
ick. Except, when he was once or twice
affected with the Ephemerie (which is of
a daies continuance) only being painfull
to him, in traouling to visit his Friends.
And, if wee may credite some that haue
written, he liued aboute seuen score yeares,
which may be counted a goodly time.

We shall not need to cite the authority
of *Plutarch*, who speaketh of manie verie
weak (yet delicate) bodies, that liued long
time by the meanes of this Art: because
we see the same now daily experienced
as so many. Nor shall we likewise neede
to oppose against them, diuers intempe-
rate and dissolute persons, that daily haue
despised all good government; and yet
notwithstanding, haue attained to great
yeares, yea, to decrepite age. For, it is ve-
rie certaine, that if such persons as are wel
borne, and of good temper, would liue
and be assisted by Physicall means in their
necessities: they should be slower to Age,
and haue the benefit (doubtlesse) of long
life. Which is easie to proue, because wee
oftentimes see, that some, who are vnhealth-
full by nature, or else by accident: do yet
liue longer time, then others that are more
strong and lustie. Because strong bodies,
trusting onlie in their strength, do liue dis-
orderly without any lawe or government
at all. Others, being sober and continent,
abstaining from hurtfull things, and ob-
seruing a certaine manner of liuing, by
direction of a skilfull Physician indeede;
haue hadde their life time longer, and
much more healthfull. Wherevpon
grew the old Prouerbe, *A crackt Pitcher
(sometime) lasteth longer, then one that is
new.*

Heere vpon Galen saide well: *It is verie
credible, that such men liue lesse time, then*
T t 2

Sickly He-
rodiscus that li-
ued an hun-
dred yeares.

Galens expe-
rience appo-
ued on him-
selfe.

Intemperate
bodies haue
liued long,
without any
helpe of Phy-
sicke.

Of personnes
well borne, and
of good tem-
per.

is ordained them by Nature: who (being ignorant) do despise the healthfull manner of living. For, the Science of Physicke, providing for the health and life of Man, hath such vertue, as if any one shall rashly contemne the ordinances thereof, he not onely liueth in misery, and all irkesome of diseases, but also cutteth off his length of life, and abridgeth the tearme which Nature had prefixed for him, anticipating his death, and (as we may well say) thereby cutteth his owne throte. As much to say, when (by vsing euill gouernment) he consumeth his radicall humour, sooner then it was ordained for him, or suffocate, or quencheth his naturall heate: on both which, do consist the continuance of life.

Now, if such be the law and nature of contraries, that they are said to be in one and the same subiect; as, if the one hold, the other also must do the like: it followeth then necessarily, that if the one can shorten life, the other like wile can prolong it. And seeing it is most euident, that if the life of Man may be abridged, by diuers fautes and blemishes of excess: it may also as sufficiently be concluded, that life may be prolonged by good gouernment and discrete order. For, although the discommodities, which depend vpon the principles of our generation, are not (by any means) to be auoyded or prevented (as the effluxion and continuall dissipation of our whole substance, which is done by naturall heate, being the reason of Ages sooner ensuing, in regard of excessive and ineuitable exsiccation:) yet notwithstanding, it may be tardied by Physicke, and so hindered, that the last day shall not come so soone, nor so hastily.

Hath it not bene (almost) in generall obseruation, that diuers haue been gasping yea, even ready to giue vp the ghost; who (nevertheless) haue bin continued in life for longer time, by taking a small quantity of Malmesie, *Aquavite*, *Aqua Imperialis*, the Confection of *Acherues*, or some other cordiall thing? The period and last limit of life being then so neere; hath it not bene deferred (by those means) vntill another houre? It is reported of laughing *Democritus*, that being entertained by his Household seruants (seeing his health very crazie) that hee would banish

all griefe and sorrow from his house, during the *Troisusporian* Feasts, which were then neere at hand, by prolonging his life till then: that he did it by the sinell of Honey, though some others say, that it was by the sauour of hot bread. Thus you see what our Physitions haue deliuered, wherein there is a verie great apparence of truth.

We haue heard the two parties plead and debate, by contrariety of sentences and reasons on either side: it behooueth now, to qualifie the contention, and to resolve on that which hath the best hold. And to the end, that it may be done with the greater cunning; it is necessarie also, to distinguish the termes of life; that some are super-naturall, others naturall, and others accidentarie, which wee call shortened or abridged.

We call those super-naturall, which GOD Almighty ordained and prefixed to some, out of his owne meere will, such as are not to be instituted by anie Atteor Councell. As the date of verie long life, which God appointed in the first Age of the Worlde, and before the Flood, for the multiplication of mankind; and especially to *Noah*, for the restauration thereof.

Those which we terme Naturall, are they that be bestowed vpon every man, according both to the diuersity of temper and building, as they are in the principles and foundations, cyther strong or weak. In regard whereof, some may live long, others lesse while, according vnto the order of Nature. And they that doe attaine vnto these termes (the grace of God assisting) except they fall into disorder, or some inconvenience happeneth to them; which are (already to be called) the limit or termes of the third kind, and which we haue named accidentarie, or accidentall, that may happen in, or to any age, by callall and inopinate causes; as Wounds, Poysons, Burnings, falls, ruines, shipwrackes, plagues, and other populare harmes. Such inconveniences are (most often) ineuitable, and it lieth not in the Science of Physicke, to vie any precaution against them; but onely to heale the harme already happened, if it be possible. So leauing these termes of life to the arbitration of fortune (which is nothing else, to speake more piously) then the

After the fourth Paradox of the first Decade.

Naturall heat and the Radicall humor do prolong life.

An admirable power giuen vs by Nature.

The reason of our loon coming to wrinkled Age.

Auicenne his words concerning the Art of Physick, affirming it two waies helpful to mans life.

then the pure will of God, without order of Nature, as elsewhere we haue instituted: let vs speake only concerning the tearme of naturall life, and explicate the manner thereof more amply.

All the Philosophers and Physitions do agree together, that we ought to measure and bound the continuance or duration of our life, on that which may lengthen naturall heate, and the radicall humor. Now, to the end that these things may last the longer in vs, our good Mother Nature (as *Galen* speaketh) hath placed in vs a meruailous power, which by continuall application of Nourishment, defendeth the ordinary dissipation of our substance and Radicall humor, maintaining our naturall heate, as well by this means, as by respiration, and the pulse of Arteries.

But such a kinde of power as we terme Nutritiue, being limited, and not infinit; cannot alwayes defend and conserue the sayde humour in suggesting another. Wherby it commeth so to passe, that the body waxing dry, by little and little; procureth thence, that that power (afterward) is not well exercised in it selfe: but weakeneth daily more and more, so that in the end, the bodies power ceaseth, from being nourished sufficiently. In this manner, those parts becomming saplesse and withered, the body waxeth meager & diminishing; and so passing on further thus, it dryeth; and then this condition is called wrinkled Age. This is the principall naturall necessity of corruption and death, to all bodies begotten: for death ensueth then, when the humor primitiue, sustayning or radicall, fayleth, and naturall heat becommeth quenched; and this is the end of life, which we terme naturall ending.

As concerning the Art of Physicke: It is an Art (saith *Auicenne*) that exempteth not from death, nor can conduce every one so farre as to the latest tearme of humane life. But it assureth and exempteth from two things; the one is from putrefaction, that it can no way seize vpon the body, except it bee by some externall occasion, as the Pestilence, or poyson; the other is in defending the naturall humiditie, to the end, that it may last the longer, and bee the slower in consuming.

These two things are in the power of Physicke, whereby it may prolong life, for

so long time as it is due, according to the temper of euery man, and that by three means. The first whereof, is, to preoccupate strange heats; to hinder opilation; and to eject the excrements, from whence ensueth the generation of putrifying; or when they are engendered, to qualifie and quench them. The second is, the due administration of drinking & eating; in substance, quality, quantity, time, and order. The third is, to abstaine from things, which, in consuming and exhausting the Radicall humor, in a very short while doeth resolve, or dissipate together the naturall heate; as excessive traualle or labour; vse of sharpe or piercing things, watchings, cares, and diuers passions of the minde. But about all other, immoderate carnall Copulation, and at incommensurable houres; with some other such like things, which a man may, and ought to shunne, by following the good and wholesome ordinances and rules of Physicke.

But (say you) no man neede doubt of these things, for euery one will gladly agree, to moue the foresaide Reasons; that such cannot but liue long, as keepe within the compass of temperance, and haue an especial care of their health. This is not the matter, of attaining vnto the end and tearme ordained by Nature, without abridging or shortning it, although this is a case verie rare. But I demand principally, whether the end and naturall period of life, may be aduanced and prolonged by the Art of Physicke, or no? The Answer heereunto, is, That life is not onely conserued by Physicke, but likewise prolonged. For, it standeth with good reason, that the thing must needs be the more confirmed and auanced, the principles, foundation, and produced causes whereof, may be continued and extended, yea, & (especially) made the stronger. Nowe, the principles of life (that is, naturall heate, and the primitiue humor) if they cannot be re-integrated, yet (at least) they may be repaired, & made more vigorous by this Art. According as the curing of Heusticke or continuall Feauers doth shew vs, and the recovering or amending of euery complexion; whereby the naturall heate is ordered and tempered.

If then, by way of liuing humectiue, or

Three federal means for the prolonging of life.

Testimonies of some particular things hurtfull vnto health.

Ayeelling to the former allegations, with a further objection.

An Answer to the principall point in question, concerning the power of Physick.

For such as despise the art of Physicke.

The radicall humor and naturall heate

If disorder do shorten life, good gouernment may prolong it.

The reason of the loone staying of age vpon vs.

Life kept and rayned in great extremity by drinks and Cordials.

*A Philosopher that laughed at the follet of the worlde.

The federall termes of life distinguished by themselves.

Of super-naturall life as before the flood.

Naturall life giuen to euery one, though not alike.

Accidentall life happening in any age whatsoever.

Inconueniences no way to be auoyded.

The way and means for preferring the radical humor and natural heat.

Concerning moistening of the solide and spermatike parts.

A further enforcing, for better information in the maine Argument.

How Physicke enstrueth to alter temperatures.

or moistly, as by Bathes of pure fresh waters, and other such like remedies, the radicall humour may be the longer conferred, which otherwise would be ouer soon consumed; and naturall heat kept temperate; so that it may consume her feeding the more sparingly, by defect whereof, death naturally ensueth) wher is the man who wil not confesse, that life may be prolonged by Physicke, which else would haue bin much shorter, and according to Nature? I know well, and I confesse it, that the solide and spermatike parts, cannot be moistned substantially, & of themselves: neuertheless, you will grant, that they may be moistned through the void spaces and pores, by which the feeding humour infiltrateth it selfe, and whereby also the waiting of the radicall humour is the more tardied. And it is almost in the same manner, as when we put water with oyle into a Lampe, to the end, that the Oyle may the more strongly resist the flames deuouring.

But yet (say you) although the termes of life may be lengthened, yet it is not strongly enough proued by this argumēt. Let me then reply, that of the Complexions or tempers of the body, that of the most and cheefest life, is moisture, or that which is in like manner (or together with it) hot and moist, which vulgarly wee vse to terme Sanguine: the contrary, which we call Melancholy, is of far shorter life. So that, whensoever both of them shall vse one gouernement together, and like maintaining; yet notwithstanding, the first will be of longest lasting, because it hath the terme of it owne life furthest off, from the principles of it owne generation. Now, the Art of Physicke enstrueth, & the vertue thereof is so great, that it can change (by little and little) the naturall temperature of cold and dry, into their contrary: as Galen teacheth how to do it, in his two last bookes of the preferation of health. Doth it not follow then hereby immediately, that the terme of life may likewise be prolonged by the Art of Physicke? Yea, and that some one, vnfortunatly borne, and (euen bound as it were) to shortnesse of life; hath yet chaunged the condition, and become thereby farre more liuely and cheerful. Onely by this meanes (in mine opinion) that euerie one easily vnderstandeth, how to learn of an-

other; which is nothing else, but how to lengthen the limits of all Ages, whereby ensueth, that the course of euery life may be prolonged.

And first of all, that the vigor and flour of youth may long time be preferred by the Art of Physicke; Galen declareth it in this manner: *There are two principall ends in the conseruation of health, which are in our power: namely, to restore the substance dissipated by meats and drinks conuenient, & to resist the excrements proceeding from them.* If no defaultance bee made in any of these: the body (so long) shall inioy health, and will bee very long time conferred in the strength of his owne vigour. In like manner, and by the selfesame reason, Age (altogether vnauidable, of such as ought to dye by naturall death) is to bee prolonged by the helpe of Physicke: so that swoonings, trances, and the pale asthie countenances of extreme olde Age, shall come very slowly.

Heereby finally we may conclude, that as in all ages (for we may in like manner, and much more easily, vnderstande the termes of childhood, infancy, & youth) and euery estate of life: the termes may be prolonged by Physicke, for further time then they are ordained by Nature. And these are the limits, which God (the principall Authour of Physicke) would haue subiected to this Art: which are in our power, so long as God permitte, and cutteth not our thred of life, vntill it pleaseth him. Euen as in like manner hee rector, and beyond all the order of Nature by him appointed: he sustained and prolonged life myraculously, without anie Physicall helpe, yea, euen without eating and drinking.

CHAP. VII.

unit such as hold opinion, that Physicians do delay, and prolong hurts & defects, and are meere abusers of the world.

There is not any other Art, so much subiect to slander and calumnie, as the Art Military, and that of Physicke: which

Euery one is couetous to dilate how to lengthen his life, in all degrees.

Galien lib. 2. d. 8. g. m. s. 2. cap. 9.

The stealing one of Age to be holpen by Physicke.

Life in all degrees of Age, may be prolonged by Physicke.

The Art of Warre & the Art of Physicke compared together in hardnes of fortune.

Example of a General in his besiedging a town or City, and what rash importunous (vnderstandedly) may be said vpon him.

They that see by imagination, are wretched blind.

The former discourse aludged vnto the Physitions labour.

The best Art man may be deemed in his owne skill.

which agree likewise (very wonderfully) together in many other things, as may more at large be discerned, by diuers discourses following. For, to explicate (familiarily) the deeds of Physicke, I shall often borrow similitudes from warre-like actions, and namely at this instant (mee-thinks) I may serue my turne with one, which aptly offers it selfe for my purpose, thus. If a General besiedge a Towne, & take it not within some promised time, or else so soon as they hope, who are far off, without knowing how it might be taken; although the Capitaine performed his vtmost diligence: he shall be suspected and accused in diuers kindes, as of negligence, slothfulness, intelligence, corruption, treason, ignorance, precipitation, or tardinesse in his enterprizes, badde conduction, pusillanimity, or some other defect in his charge, & yet all these viterly false. But they which iudged thus peremptorily, knew not what resistance the besiedged made, what good prouision they had, what strength of men, and all thinges requisite to defend themselves, beyond the expectation of the besiedged; who might be abused by his fowtes and spies, and diuers, making report of the estate of the place, and of some other exterior semblances, whence might be imagined, what was within the Towne.

So farreth it with the Physition, who besiedgedh any disease, treacherously entred into the bodye of Man, to enforce him forsake the place. Oftentimes, hee is abused by exterior signes, and very goodly outward resemblances: whereby, thinking that he is at the end of the Cure, he is compelled to beginne againe. For, hee meeteth with more corruption and ill humours, then hee knew how to fore see, the Disease making farre greater resistance, then the Physition thought on: reinforcing, and repaying it selfe dayly more and more, against the best succour and remedies applied. So that the sicknesse will last longer, then himselfe that hath it expected, and cannot be cured so soone, as (perhappes) the Physition promised, or others imagined, that had intelligence thereof. Whereuppon, hee groweth suspected presently, eyther of ignorance, or of negligence, of couetousnesse, malice, or some other vice, which induceth him to lengthen out the disease,

longer then it ought to be.

As touching ignorance, I suppose it could not bee so, but that the Physition was held to bee skillfull, expert, and an honest man. If he prouoe not such a one, it was ill dole to call him, and to commit the patients life into his handes: so that the Patient may well say, as Iesus Christ replied vnto Pilate, Iohn 19, verse 11. *He that deliuered me to thee, hath the greater blame.*

As for negligence, I grant that there are Physitions learned, expert, and men of good esteeme, who may passe (somewhat ouer-lightly) their visitation and curing of sicke persones: but I can neuer thinke, that it should bee to any such end, as to prolong the paine; but rather that it is a negligence of inaduertence, as may happen in diuers of their other affaires. For which, there is very good remedy, by earnest solicitations, inciting them (as they ought) to doe their duties, and wishing them to be more frequent in attendance; or else, by giuing them a coadiutor or assistant, to make them the more diligent in their care.

The most that is to bee doubted (in mine opinion) is greedie Auarice: For the vulgar sort thinke, that Physitions (commonly) lengthen out Diseases, and draw the into some time of continuance, to deriue the greater profite from them. Wherefore, I would gladly stand somewhat the longer vpon this point, to refute this false opinion, which is the most erroneous of all.

First, I am of the minde, that the Physition should bee an honest man, in regarde, that hee ought to loue his owne Honour and Reputation. I desire also, that hee should profite in his profession; as euerie one should gette Goodes honestly by his Vocation. If hee bee an honest and Worthie man; hee hath bowelles of Christian Compassion, and neuer will suffer any man, (by or with his will) to languish out in sicknesse or disease: but if hee bee no such man, hee ought not to bee employed, as I haue formerly saide. But if hee be badly enclined; he may make his aime and intent, to graspe vp Wealth; getting a name for no other end, but to become rich. Yet let me tell yee, if hee prolong Diseases, which he may and can shorten: hee

Couering ignorance in the Physition.

Iohn 19, 11.

For Negligence in their attendance on sick & weak patients.

Auareice and couetousnesse to prolonge patient in paine.

The Authors answere concerning this couetous point, in behalfe of good and honest Physitions.

It is a matter
of no great
consequence
to be famous
and to have
great respect
of Patients.

he is no able man, but goeth quite contrary to his intention. For, if he can cure in lesser time than other men do; he shall be in the greater request: hee shall have such crowdes of patients resort vnto him, as hee can hardly come neare them himselfe, and rather they will giue him a french Crowne, then a Teller to any other. For, what is hee, that would not rather pay double, treble, yea foure-fold more than ordinarie, to be so soone recovered? If, to some other Physitian, who commeth ouer-late to the cure, ten Crownes be giuen: there needeth no complaint, if fiftie Crownes be distributed to him, that shall abridge the time of a mans agony, in halfe the third or fourth part of suffrance.

Physitions
are not able
to cure or re-
couer at their
own pleasure.

But, to speake vprightly, it is not in the Physitians power, to doe any such acte at his owne pleasure. He would gladly will it so, that he had such a vertue, as to heale by touching, feeling, or the very first receipt giuen, or onely by good gouernement, or any other such light direction. He should haue the lesser paines, betwene times the more esteemed; and gaine infinitely to his owne aduantage. Oh good God! how soone might hee be rich, that could be so prosperous and successfull. It is not then to be imagined, that Physitians (prouoked by couetousnesse) should delight in prolonging diseases: seeing they may gaine so much with good-will, reputation, yea, and extraordinarie recompence, if they had power to cure with such expedition. But I pray you tell me one thing, Is there a Physitian, that hauing parents, kintred & familiar friends, of who he will take nothing for his paines? Can hee cure them (for his credite sake) in lesser time: the disease being alike, and the subiect answerable? Hee winneth nothing by the length of such sicknesses; it is enough if he loose not the good opinion conceived of him, and diuers kind offices doe vnto him. Let mee say moreouer, when himselfe, his wife, or children lie sicke; they depend vpon his owne expence, and neede not to haue any delay in their recouerie: but can hee sooner cure them, then any other being in the same distresse? Questionlesse, it is a great follie, to thinke, that Physitions should be so forgetfull of themselves, as, to prolong diseases willingly, and with their know-

ledge; in regard of iust affection to their owne honour and profite.

It may fall out with them, as it often doeth to hardie Souldiours, in besieging some appoynted or determined place, who thinke to effect the businesse in three dayes compass, and yet continue there a month before it, without dissembling or sparing any paines. They were perswaded, that a wall could not resist tenne shotte of the Cannon; and yet it out-flooded more than an hundred. They held opinion, that the besieged were not stored with victuals and munition, for about eight dayes, and finde them furnished for more then two months. Whatsoeuer is thought or conceived in this kinde, be they neuer so many, they are but coniectures, idiomes of some resemblance, examples and obseruations, which faile as often as they speed. And yet (for all this) the valiant Capitaine assaiant, ought not to be accused, for ill doing his duty, when hee performed all that Arte and Industrie could require.

In all respects, this is the Physitians case, who is most excusable altogether, when hee sayleth in the quantity and efficacy of his remedies. For this is the principall matter (as Galen auoucheth in many places) that makes the Arte of Physicke coniectural, *Defining coniecture to be a means or condition, between perfect knowledge, and pure ignorance.* Therefore it ought to be interpreted to the best, and taken in good part, what successe the remedies sort vnto, which a learned, expert, diligent and honest Physitian applyeth fittest for the purpose, and the most iustly as is possible for him; euermore referring the euent and issue to Almighty God, who giueth and taketh, augmenteth and diminisheth the power of those remedies, according as it best pleaseth him, whether the disease shall be soone or slowly ended; one while indifferently amending, another while agayne as doubtfully depending.

Mallice or spleene now remayneth; which may be suspected in the Physitian. If there be the very least occasion of rancour, hatred and ill will betwene the Physitian and his patient: there was no good aduice or discretion, in calling such a man to the businesse. For (on the contrary) it is very expedient, that the sicke per-

Another fa-
miliar allu-
sion of Martiall
discipline to
Physicke.

son should loue his Physitian, and he him agayne in like manner, although they haue no knowledge of each other, eyther by name or action. In this case, a strict concordance of amity, ought to be contracted betwene their hearts: For otherwise, the patient will neuer kindly receiue his Physitions best succour, nor the other care for administering, where hee findeth his paynes not to be affected. As for deliberate and purposed mallice, with an intent to doe hurt secretly; if there be any Physitian to be taxed with such a sin: hee ought rather to be ranked with impostors, and not any way to be employed.

But, I vnderstand by the vulgar sort, that they take this word Mallice in another kinde offence, to wit, that Physitians (with their intent and knowledge) doe cast downe their patients bodies ouerlowe, by abstinence and euacuations, euen endangering the very latest passage. And that this is done, but in ostentation of their Arte, and to winne the worrier reputation, when they can come off with any credit: or else they salue and shield it, with some prognosticke opinion, conceyued at the beginning and vndertaking the businesse, that the patient was (euen then) in daunger of death; but this doth proceede from such, as haue formerly fallen into the same perill. Thus doe I comprehend the doubtful coniecture of the common people, and (many times) they spare not to speake it.

In very truth, it were most maliciously, traitorously and wickedly doone, if anie Physitian should play such pranks with a poore sicke bodie: yea, as vildly done, as if a man should throw such a one into a riuer, as knew not how to swimme, hoping quickly to cast a cord after him, thereby to get him on shoare agayne. For, it may so fall out, that the party thus fowled and submerged in the water, knowes not how to catch the cord, or cannot hold it strongly enough, or hath not power sufficient to be drawne forth, and so is drowned in this distresse. But surely, it is not credible or likely, that any Physitians should be so badly minded, as to bring sicke bodies so lowely by their applications: which (if they are not) ought to be well instituted, and accordingly as best appertayneth to the case. It is the disease it selfe, which con-

tinually vndermineth the forces of nature, encreasing till his owne power to a certayne poynt, which is the vigour and foueraigne condition of the sicknesse. After which, if the disease be curable, enueth the declination and diminution of the maladie; and thorow all these accidents, the patient proceedeth on to health, as wee shall haue fitter occasion to speake of hereafter.

There are people somewhat more modest, who say not, that Physitians do take downe their patients bodies so lowe, and bring them into daunger: but that they stretch forth the sicknesse in length, eyther by their indulgence (that is, by ouermuch pleasing the sicke persons humour) or to binde him in the larger aduantage to them, by recouering him out of a long lingering maladie. As touching indulgence, or tender-heartednesse, it is verie true, that many sicke men affect rather, to be slowe in recouering, then speedily, onely by being the gentlier handled: which is an excuse sufficient for the Physitian, provided, that hee makes protestation thereof, for safetie of his owne honour and reputation.

As for such as prolong sicknesse, thereby to deriue the greater benefite: that were a smoothe-faced kind of treason, and (indeede) meer villany. And surely, it cannot be credible (if the Physitian do vnderstand himselfe well) that he should (at any time) offer to delay a disease. For, he is not able to measure, or comprehend the times length; and, by giuing way to such protraction, the interior euill may grow the worse; wherein is greater perill, then delaying simply, or the cure waxing long. It is another manner of thing, then vlcers dealt withall by the Chirurgian: for they may well bee maintayned, without any prejudice to the person, because the inner parts of the body may be safe enough, purging themselves by the vicer, and that there be no other harme, then the vicerated parts.

For prooue whereof, wee oftentimes appoynt, that Fistulaes should be entertained with delay, and make issues and fontanelles in many places of the body, which wee must haue kept open for verie long time. But inward maladies are of another consideration, and neuer ought to be dallyed withall: but if they can be cured,

Of such as
are more mo-
dest in com-
plaining on
Physitions, for
lengthning
their diseases.

Of prolong-
ing the disease
for the larger
benefit.

Vlcers and
sicknesse of
the body are
not equal in
curing.

Inward sick-
nesse is to be
speedily cured
and no way
delayed.

Of purposed
mallice to do
harme priuily

How mallice
in the Physiti-
on is vnder-
stood by the
common peo-
ple, in their
vulgar inter-
pretation.

No excuse
can salue or
couer such
treacherous
dealing in a
Physitian

How sicknesse
vndermineth
the strength
of Nature, so
gaine the vpper
hand thereof.

Of mallice or
hatred in the
physitian to-
wards his Pa-
tient.

red, to procure it with all possible speede, or so soone as may be.

Another point of calumny, is, that Physitians doe abuse the world, that men may well be cured without them; nay, much better and sooner: and they doe nothing else but deale confusedly. Wee haue already sufficiently confuted this follie, by the sacred authority of *Ecclesiasticus*. Notwithstanding, I will borrow one similitude more from that famous (and as much wronged) Militarie profession, our Arte holding therein equal comparifon. Some places doe gladly yeeld themselves to the besieger, in regarde hee hath cutte off all their victuals and prouision. Others, at the very first view of the Cannon: Other at the first assault: And contrariwise, some there are that remain impregnable. Now, if we should argument in this manner, we daily see places, that yeelde themselves without enforcing: what neede is there then of besieging, assaulting, fighting, ruining the walles or any other hostile acte? What neede we to make warre on Towne or Cittie; when (many times) wee see them voluntarily submitte themselves? It is then but an abuse, and a foolish idle expence to the country (how feiditions sorow it be) to haue Souldiers, Artillerie, and any other furniture for warre: where such employment is counted a meere inuention, and cheating of the people, who liue free from such molestiation, and all goes well with them.

Another allusion to Militarie seruice.

The Country that is free from warre, hath no need of weapons.

Sicknesses incident to the body with their apt comparatiues.

To our purpose then. If all places be feeble, and no resistance is made, by men well munited, and provided with courage, and other things requisite for their defence; those places may easily yeelde themselves. As the like doe light diseases, against which needeth no force of notable remedies; but many times doe weare away of themselves: yea, and sometimes the very strongest, as burning feauers, when there is no great munition within the body to entertaine them, but that the naturall forces make worthy resistance, against the infolencie of the euill. Otherwise, there is neede of succour, to employ batterie, and all kindes of the best remedies: albeit often it cometh so to passe, that all these doe advantage nothing, the disease remayning still incurable.

What benefite is it to sorrow then, or say, that the partie might haue bene bet-

ter holpen without all this, or that the patient is meely abused? Rather account that truly for an abuse, if a man promise cure of a disease, which is held to be incurable; hee not knowing any remedie, that hath power sufficient to overcome it. Euen as he shall be abused, that attempteth to compell a Towne to yeelde, by blowes of his fists, or to beate downe the walles with a harquebuzze shot: where the Cannon is rather too little, and no answerable engin or instrument is to be had. Such are the notable abuses, & true cheateries, which Mounte-banke Emperickes impose vpon the people, promising the curing of all diseases, and more then all many times. We may it be said, that they abuse the world, and not naturall Physitians, being learned, expert, and approued honest men.

Where the Physition is refused, no meuaile if the cure grow desperate.

Such are those beggerly wretches about the countries.

CHAP. VIII.

That it is neither sinne, or any acte ill done, to call for the Physition, and to use his remedies, when men are diseased.

Here is an other kinde of error grounded on the foolish superstition of some Ideots, who thinke it an offence to God; if they call for the Physitian, to cure their harms & sickness; saying, *It is to contradict, and oppose our selves against the will of God, who hath visited them with such an affliction, and onely for their good: because, by chastising the bodie, the soule is purged from sinne.* Adding further, as maister *Gwydo Chauliac* declareth in his singular chapter. *God hath sent me, as he pleased, and he will take it from mee, when he pleaseth, the name of God be blessed, Amen.* Referring their health and recovery (wholly) to the intercession of the Saints and the Saints of *Paradyse*, making Vows, Almes, Prayers, and Pilgrimages, &c.

This opinion most erroneous, is easily refuted, by that which wee haue already alleaged, out of the Booke of *Ecclesiasticus*, where he piously exhorteth the sicke (and with great wisdom) *To reconcile himselfe first to God, whome hee hath offended: and after, to giue way to the Physition, whom God hath created, & giuen him knowledge,*

Curious Cosmographers that well vnderstand not what they say but rather offend God themselves by their nice curiosity.

The aduice of the Wise man to euery sicke person.

ledge, to be glorified in his wonderfull works. It is most true, that God sendeth afflictions for our chastisement, and hath made vs subiect vnto them, because wee should acknowledge our owne infirmities. From him also proceeds health and recovery, by those means which he hath ordered in nature: giuing vertue to plants and other creatures, to overcome and expell diseases: ordaining the Science of Physicke, & the Apothecaries skill to that effect, euen as well as Tillage and husbandrie, ordained for the sustentation of men, and support of this fraile and mortall life.

We may wee say then, that these are the means which ought not to be despised; for, a wife man will no way disdain them. Otherwise it is to tempt God, as if (vainely) wee would haue him to worke myracles, according to our appetite. For, he that saith, *If God will that I shall be healed of this sickness, I shall be healed, without using the Physition: And if I must die, the Physition can not save mee.* This is euen as if hee should say; *If I must yet liue a yeare longer, and that it be so appointed by God: I shall safely liue without eating or drinking, and then such expences may well be spared.* For if I must liue so long, it is impossible that I should die before, although I neither eate nor drinke.

An extraordinary follie and rashnesse, for a man to promise to himself, that God will worke a miracle vpon him: euen to tempt him by such an essay, hauing foode fit for him, and appointed by God for the nourishment of his body. Is not this meely tempting of God, to trie whether hee will worke against the order of nature, or no? He may suffer him to die in this follie by meere extremitie of hunger, and the poore Idiot shall then finde by effect, that he vainely collected this fantastick brutallie in his munde, that God should maintaine him in life, without receiving sustentation. If God will, he can doe so, but we know the ordination of his owne will, for all men to make vse of his blessings in their food; whereto we are to keep vs, and not to seek after other extraordinary means, which are vnknewne to vs, and not to be employed, according to our presuming appetites.

So it standeth the case of Physicke, appointed by God, for the health of the sicke, and conseruation of them in sound condi-

tion. For, whoeuer will be cured otherwise, and hath gotten an opinion, that if he must haue health, he may haue it without helpe of the Physition, who hath the only meanes to doe it: he tempteth God, and expects, that hee should performe a miracle, foolishly concerning the naturall course, which God ordained against diseases. Euen as if his house were on fire, and hee will suffer none to quench it with water, saying: *If God will that it shall be saved, the fire will be quenched by other means.*

Physicke ordained by God, for benefite of the sicke, and healthfull, and that no man should despise it.

CHAP. IX.

Concerning the ingratitude and unkindnes in sicke and diseased persons, towards Physitions.

Ingratitude is most odious both to God & men, and hath iustly bin reputed for so notorious a vice: as he that speaketh of Ingratitude, speaks of all the euills in the world. And this sin is so common amongst men, especially in the case of Physitions; as I am amazed many times, that any generous heart will be a Physition: his profession being euery where subiect to calumny, and coline germane to Ingratitude.

But there are some friends, men of reason, honest and acknowledging, who can yet cleaneely couer this offence: seeming willing in any goodnes towards the profession, and not altogether so vnthankfull as others are. For there are some so compleate in courtesie, as they haue protected publicly, & very often: that (next vnder God) they hold their liues of such & such Physitions. And, hauing acknowledged (according to their faculty) the labor and industry of the Physition; will also confesse freely, that they are vnable to recompense him with all their goodnes, as therein they speak no more then truth. For, if they owe their liues to the Physitions succour, and life is of greatest valew about all their goods: it is not in their power to discharge that debt, though they gaue him all their substance.

But the chiefeft poynt of recompence, is, their thankful protestations to the Physition, saying; they stand obliged to him, and

An ingratefull man is the only foule name in the world.

Outward professors of loue to physitione, all in ceremony, but little in acte.

Life is more worth then all the wealth in the world.

Wherein the
cheefest point
of recompence
consisteth in
gratifying
Physicians.

The common
words of many
ingratefull
men in their
wretched
times.

How the
words of far-
ring life, and
re-eruing
from death,
are harsh to
many nice
hearts.

Cures per-
formed by
physicke in ex-
tremity of dan-
gers.

The words of
Herophilus,
concerning
Physicians.

and are indebted to him for their life. This is even as much, as if a man should snatch a sword out of anothers hand, that stood ready to kill him therewith, or a strangling cord, by which he meant to end his daies. Were it your case, stood you not beholding to that man for your life? And could (all you had) make him sufficient recompence? Some will say, I have well payed my Physitian, yea, over-payd him; I have given him so much every day, I owe him nothing. If he have made me well, I have as well requited him. Alas poore man, that which is given to the Physitian, is a small acknowledgement, for so great a good as thou hast received: for thou payest or recompencest him with the fruit of his own labour: If hee preferred thee from death, (as happily he did, the grace of God assisting) there is no equal recompence in thy power, except thou expose thy life for him, as he made no spare of his for thee. In this manner thou remainest (for ever) indebted, and thus thou confessest truly thy obligation, when (with an intire and vpright heart) thou makest such an acknowledgement to him.

I know there are some, who will thinke these words to be hard, and harsh; when I say, he saved thy life, and preferred thee from death; notwithstanding, it is discerned evidently. But the case, that a man being wounded, loseth his blood in extreme abundance, and doubtlesse dyeth instantly, except the blood be staied: he that puts his finger into the wound, & thereby ceaseth bleeding; is not he worthily said, that hee saveth life? As much, and farre more doth he, that restraynes it by medcins, and so consolidates the wound, as (otherwise) it could not be healed. As much also doth he, that restrayneth a fluxe in the belly, an extreme vomiting, or some other pernicious and deadly vacuities: Or (conveniently) healeth a Pleurisie: Or him, whom the Squinzie hath stuffed and halfe strangled. As much also (questionlesse) doth he, that catcheth a child out of the fire, where he had beene burnt to death, but for such present succour.

No lesse account ought to be made of Physitians, who make prouision against inward euilles, and succour nature secretly by diuers means, the power whereof appeareth by worthy effects; because they are (as Herophilus saith) *The hands of God*.

For he releueth and draweth from deadly dangers, by the means of apt remedies, which the Physitian vseth in needefull time. Is it not then a worke more diuine then humane, and can no way be sufficiently recompenced? whereof Ecclesiasticus spake very well. *The Science of Physicke, and knowledge in the Physitian, shall exalt his head, and make him admirable among Princes: the Physitian shall be honoured of Kings.* These are the principall acknowledgements due vnto him, honour and gratitude, as a certaine obligation: and not perswasion, that money can returne him sufficient, or equall recompence.

But there are some, that doe deale farre worse, who, after they haue beene healed, by the means of good and loyall succour: can not endure to betolde, that they are beholding to the Physitian, but growe hatefull against him, that saved their liues. Oh extreme ingratitude! but yet not only in these our dayes: For Hippocrates, in his Epistle to Damagetes, maketh Democritus to speake in this manner. *I thinke (saith he) O Hippocrates, that in our Science, many things are subject to obloquie and ingratitude. For sicke persons (if they escape) referre their recovery to the Gods, or else to Fortune, or else to their owne good complexion, robbing the Physitian of all honour: Whome (oftentimes) they hate afterwards, being angry and offended, that woe should thinke them beholding, or indebted to him.*

Moreover, they will not attesse or confesse their obligation: but rather are well pleased, that ignorantes in the Arte (who neuertheless liue by the Profession) should be of the same temper, kicking enuiously against him &c.

This suiteth (best of all other) with these our dayes. For, the most part of sicke people now referre theyr recovery wholly, to some he-Saint or the-Saint of Paradise, to whome they vowe and deuote themselves.

And although (many times) they do not performe their vowes; yet can they follow that which the Italian sayd: *Passato lo malo gabato lo Santo*: The disease being past, the Saint is cheated. Euen (for all the world) as men make great promises to the Physitian; so long as the extremitie of anguish lasteth, professing to giue him mountaines and maruailes; yea, to pay all in Golde and precious Stones, or else, a good pension all his life time.

Ecclesiasticus 3. 34.

Ingratitude is the very highest degree of hate him that preferred their liues.

Hippocrates Epistle to Damagetes.

Our times leaue ingratitude of former Ages, but not a trace of thankfulness.

In

Mountaines
promised, and
not more his
performed.

All means de-
voted, so rob
the Physitian
of his due ho-
nour.

For per-
forming of pro-
mises to phy-
sicians.

There are too
many such in
these ingrate
full times.

Two are com-
monly a-
greeing with
the physicians
fortune.

In briebe, mne's goodnesse is pretended to be doone him; but when the patient cometh to health, then hee is of a quite contrary minde: Eyther, that the Physitian performed not the cure, but that it might haue beene doone without him. Or else, from the solleme vowe he made, came the cause of his recovery, with the good attendance of his Keepers, and diuers comfortable broaths. Or else, from the Apothecarie, to whome hee rather will attribute all the successe, rather then to the Physitian; although the other did nothing but by his direction. Else, hee will attribute it vnto the goodnesse of his owne complexion: or to some casual chauce, by some disorder in him committed and doone: some of these must haue the reference of his healing: So that the Physitian shall surely haue the smallest part, or rather none at all, of the honour, gratitude, kindnesse and recompence.

And as concerning promises, the man being recovered, then he considereth, what charges the sicknesse hath cost him; how long hee hath depended vpon the cure, and what an hinderance it hath bin vnto him. Thus his debt to the Physitian is forgotten, and to him hee imputeth a part of his expences, reputing all superfluous, and keeping his bodie ouer long, hoping hee should haue beene restored much sooner, and with a great deale lesse charges. So that (in his account) the Physitian should be indebted to him: and if hee could finde Iudges answerable to his minde, hauing iudiciall authority; he would haue him condemned in the greatest part of his expences. Here is good acknowledgement of a benefite received; was there euer the like ingratitude?

Surely, I can compare it with none other, then as if a man should strangle himselfe by despayre; or otherwise, and some one coming to succour him, did cut the cord: when the other (maliciously) afterwards, should make him pay for cutting the halter. Or an other man, ready to be drowned in the water; any man endeavouring to saue him, put his own life in perill: (by chance) to be a lapper of his garment; and the drowned man (after) to enforce repayment for his toine garment. So, they which should be payers, doe

become demanders; confessing neyther gree nor grace, for all the good seruice performed vnto them: but rather affected, that an ignorant varlet, or some charrre-chamber woman, procured their healthfull recovery, when the care and industrie of the painefull Physitian. And I guesse this to ensue from one of these two reasons; eyther that they are so dull and sottish, as they haue not the capacite of comprehension. Or else, knowing it well enough; they are ashamed and confounded, for not hauing the will to acknowledge and confesse it. Well may I then conclude, as I beganne this Chapter: Ingratitude is most contemptible to God and men.

CHAP. VI.

¶ That the vulgar sort doe account it nothing, if they be not cured or healed contrary to their owne opinion. That the latest applied remedies haue all the honour: And happy is the Physitian that cometh to the declination of the disease.

OVr next ensuing error, is strongly in conjunction with the former, and (oftentimes) is the cause of the sayde Ingratitude. For, if a sicke person be not healed against his owne opinion, or of such as come to visite him; there is nothing at all doone, and therefore they know not how to conceiue of the Physitian.

Now, to heale or recover a man against opinion, consisteth of two partes: One is, to heale in least time, and (as it were) a vnawares. As, if the disease last commonly with so much access, or so many dayes; so cure it in much lesser space. For otherwise, say they: Well fir, the malady hath made his full course, and yet the Physitian hath done little or no seruice at all; as well might it haue beene done within the same time. Poore iudgements, doe yee not beholde, that in one and the same kinde of infirmities, some are short, and others long? There are tertian Feauers or Agues; and of conti-

Two imagined reasons of this base ingratitude to well deficiuies

Recovery contrary to opinion is distinguished two wayes.

1. Of healing in lesser time, then the disease lasteth.

Vvv nuance

Of tertian
Feuers, and
them of con-
tinuance.

nuance also, which last and hold for a mo-
neth or two,, you imagine, that the Ter-
tiani should not exceed (at the most) a fe-
uenth access, which are fourteene daies,
and the continuer to consist of feauen, e-
leauen, or foureteene, as you haue heard
Physitions speake, which is the tearme of
exquisite feauers. But you know not, that
of a thousand, we shall hardly meete with
two such, because the most part are con-
fused and mingled, whereby their tearme
is much more lengthened, as in all disca-
ses engendered of diuers humours.

You imagine (and it is true) that if the
tertian Ague doe end within three weeks,
or a month, being well beaten by our
remedies: that (but for such encountering)
would haue endured two or three mo-
neths, as hath bin seene in many others.
Was it not well rebated, and cunningly
ouer-lept for the patient? Yet nothing at
all is done (saith he) if much more be not
performed, then he pretended. For he is
of the mind, that a Physitian may handle
sicknesse, as men doe Stirrop-leathers, in
lengthening or shortening them as they
list. The acte is not sufficient to abate or
extenuate a quarter, a third part, or the
moitie of the paine, and to hinder or ap-
pease those diuers accidents, which com-
monly happen in all kindes of diseases, de-
cliuering sound and probable reasons, for
the best account that can be possible, and
the charges equall to his owne desire.

Yet this is falling into an other part of
vulgar opinion, as namely, that all is no-
thing worth Sir, except yecan heale such
as are held for dead. For, admit the sick-
nes to be deadly, as all diseases are, which
we call eager (that is to say, cutting, goes
on swiftly, and is not without terrible ac-
cidents) if the patient or his visitants hold
opinion, that this great danger may be re-
cured, and it prooue to be so: yet still no-
thing is done. Contrariwise, if the sicke
man chance to die, then the Physitian is
in all the fault. For, the assistants were per-
suaded (though the Physitian found the
contrarie in his prognosticke rule) that he
might be recovered. But if they imagine
that a man will dye, or hold him already
for dead, then the Physitian beholdeth
great wisdom. For, though he doe no-
thing else, but appoynt Beuonks for him,
with some drogues or confectiōs, e-
specially restitutiue and cordiall things

(albeit they are not to any purpose,) yet
hath he performed a chiefe piece of work.
Heere is a rare cure; hee hath recovered
such a man, giuen ouer for dead: he hath
rayed him agayne: Oh, he is a great and
worthy man, & pity it is he should want.

The same Doctour, at the very same
time, hath another patient, whose sick-
nes is not reputed deadly, because the e-
uill lies more closely concealed. He takes
very great payns to restore his health, and
to compasse his intent, imployeth all his
skill and industry for the patients safety:
whom he knoweth to be in greater dan-
ger, then all the friends (standing by) doe
or can imagine. At the last, he dyeth, quite
contrary to their common opinion. Look
then vpon Maister Physitian, his reputa-
tion is sodainly lost, and then they tell
him: That hee meddled with too many
matters at once: The other man was
much better gouerned. Thus, neuer is a-
ny thing doone of value, if it be not per-
formed, against the hope and expectation
of the vulgar.

An other error propounded in this
Chapter, is, the attribution of the successe
in the cure, to the latest administrated re-
medies: euen as they refferre the occasion
of sicknes, to the last hurtfull acte that the
party committed. As if a man had fed on
some fruit, salad, or other thing lesse ordi-
nary, & (soon after) the party falls sicke, of
some disease more then of a months con-
tinuance) yet that must be the only cause:
neuer remembering other precedent disor-
ders, which procured the greater part in
preparation. For, euill humors will haue
a meeting together by little and little, till
they come to a certayne quantity, against
which nature hath power to resist no longer.
Euen as wee see a Glasse (set in the
raine) to fill it selfe by many drops of wa-
ter, so long as till they come to the brim:
but being full, the least drop then follow-
ing, makes an ouer-flow. Euen so, the least
addition, to that which nature hath already
supported, makes hir to sinke vnder the
ouer-plus: as a yong Mule, yfed to a com-
mon charge: how little fouer is added to
her vidual burden, she is (by no meanes)
able to beare.

It was not then the last morsell, meate,
or disorder, that did the harme, the prece-
dent riots had performed their parts be-
fore. Euen as in the felling of a tree, 100.

cuts

The recovery
of one pa-
tient, is not
a warrant for
all other in
the like case.

3. The third
proposition

Sicknesse im-
puted to the
last occasion, wile
the patient
hath bene of
longe, conti-
nuance.

Nature is so
sufficient of it
selfe, that
needlesse ad-
ditions weare
death but dis-
courage.

Sicknesse
may seeme
sudden, but
they haue
other prece-
dent occa-
sions.

It is not the
last applica-
tion in physick,
that is the
Matter piece.

The Arguēt
fill holding
between phy-
sicke and Mil-
litary Disci-
pline.

Perswasion
may do some
what in phy-
sicke, but not
absolutely
performe the
Cure.

cuts (giuen with an Axe) appeare to be in-
vaine, and still it stands; for tis the hundred
and eleauenth stroke that ouerthrowes it.
Now, if a man shal say, the last odde blow
did the deede; should hee nor do great wrōg
to all the rest? As also, when a strong To-
wer hath endured 1000. discharges of the
canon, and at the last shot of all, it falleth:
Did the last do any more then the first? It
is all one in judging of remedies, which a-
bate the harme, and expell sicknesse out
of the body. The last application (whatso-
euer it was) may haue the honor by vulgar
censure, speaking according to their capa-
city: but what was the labour and paines
performed before, of purging, glysters,
drugges of diuers kinds, administrated both
within and without, did all these nothing?
In the end, some one thing is added, and
then the man is made well. Poore idle o-
pinion, if this last admired acte had bene
done at the first, it had serued to no vse at
all: but after the hot seruice of so many o-
ther remedies, which controuled and dis-
heartened the euill, shaking, and renting it
from the root; the least thing in the world
could then quite displace it.

Like to poore besieged people, no longer
able to hold out, let but a man be slain
among them, and they yeelde themselves
immediately. Shall it therefore be sayd,
that all the battery, all the assaults, cutting
them off from vitailles, and other good
means for conquering; these serued to no
purpose at all? But only he did the deed,
that discharged the last Musket; and yet
(notwithstanding) he killed but one man:
If he had slaine a chiefe Commander, it
had bin a matter of much more moment:
Euen so, a brieffe or ticket, hung about the
neck; or drugges tied about the wrist of
a man; shall haue the honour of healing
Agues, affirming, that they could not be
cured by any other applyed good orders,
directions, remedies, and great medicines.
This is all one, as if the disease hung but
by a twine threed, which may easily be
broken by perswasion and opinion, and
thereupon the sicke man restored: but if
this had bene applyed in the beginning,
the patient could not haue bene cured,
by an hundred times as many perswas-
ions, or the very strongest imaginations.
Perswasion & imagination may do som-
what in healing, but not all, nor alone of
themselves. Thus you see, how true and

certaine remedies, are robbed of their due
honour, by judging ill of the successe, be-
cause men would be cured suddenly, before
any thing at all is done to effect it: othe-
wise, all indeuor else is but in vaine, & ser-
ueth to no purpose. He only is the author
of the happines, after whom (immediatly)
a man findes himselfe to be recovered.

And because it is commonly said (which
is the fourth poynt of this Chapter) *Happi-
ness is the Physitian, that comes to the declination
of the disease*; we must imagine, that what
fouuer was done before, health stoued at
the doore, tarrying but for his entrance, &
healths introduction is attributed to him.
And although that Physitian shall do no-
thing at all, nor appoint or giue direction;
yet (say the people) he is the cause of the
happines: and if he had bin sent for at the
beginning, the sicke man had sooner bin
set on foot. But if the Physitian be wife &
honest, he will not be bonneted with this
honor, consenting to thieftish larceny and
detraction; against them that well entreat-
ed the patient, & (vnder God) were truly
the Authors of his restoring: Rather he
will reforme those poore opinionists, by
shewing them, that the accidents former-
ly past, were of the nature of the sicknes,
which hath had such a course; and that (by
good directions already administrated) all
succeeded well, and to the advantage of
the patient.

If he doe otherwise, and attribute that
honor to himselfe, or accept it from their
vulgar ignorance, he commits a shamefull
wrong, and the like Jewell may after wards
hang at his owne care. For, of what suf-
ficiency or reputation souer he be, it may
so come to passe, that another Physitian
shall be called, vpon the ending of some
cure by him taken in hand at the first, and
he may requite him in the same kinde. E-
uery man therefore ought to be well ad-
vised, and honestly content himselfe, with
such honor as is due vnto him; not rob-
bing his colleague or fellow-labourer in
painfull endeauours, yeelding good and
faithfull testimony, of each others laudable
performed actions. Accounting himselfe
happy (neuertheless) that he came to the
declination of the disease; where, taking
no more paines, yet he shared a part in the
grateful acceptance, due vnto them that
were employed from the first beginning.

4. The Phys-
itian is effec-
tually a happy
man, that
comes to the
ending of an
infirmity.

No honest mē
will be the
bale pretence
of another
man, truly
deserued re-
putation.

Whosoever
doth another
mans wrong,
may meete
with the like
himselfe.

A duty need-
fully requi-
red among
learned and
honest phy-
sicians.

CHAP. XL.

Against such as censure and iudge of Physitions sufficiency, by their success: which oftentimes is more due to a happy chance, then skill or knowledge.

Badly can a blinde man iudge of colours, no more can a foole of Physicke.



IT is a great matter, that the Science of Physicke should be so obscure & profound, as nothing more: and yet notwithstanding, there is not any so foolish but will take on him to censure the knowledge of a Physition. To iudge soundly & iustly, concerning the sufficiency of anie man: it behoueth him (at the least) to be of the same profession, and to know something therein too. It must needs then be great rashnesse, for men that vnderstand nothing in Physicke, to enterprize to iudge, who are the best and most skillfull Physitions. Their eye and censure waites on the successe of their practise: & if from one heale (by chance, or fadainely, as we said before:) he is censured for a singular Physition, although he did not any thing deferring speech. On the contrarye, the Physition little knowes, whether the patient shall die, or linger long in the agonie; which the vulgar esteeme lightest of all. Modesty will neuer say, such a mā is more or lesse skillfull, if he be reputed learned among men of knowledge: but will rather say he is not happy among sicke men, and consequently, no great Physition; euer more censuring by the successe.

Good and ill hap awaiteth vpon the actions of all men, and consequently vpon Physitions.

It is vndoubtedly true, that in all things there is a happinesse and unhappinesse, & (as the Italian saith) *La buona e la male sorte, Good fortune and bad.* And the best happinesse for the Physition is, not to be called or employed, for such as are certain to die. For, there is no reputation to bee had, no, not in respect of friendship; neuertheless, he shal be sure not to escape blame, although he hath done his very vttermost endeavour, and ought to bee no lesse esteemed, then if the patient had escaped. Euen as we may say of a Captain, that shall defend a Town to the very latest Effort and labour, hauing eaten vp all the horses, Asses, Dogs, Cats, Rats, which the besieged place could afford, hides, parch-

ments, and other vile foodes (as is sayde of them of *Sanferre*, in the yeare 1573. who fed vpon the very tiles and flates, making bread of them, as I know not how.) Hauing lost the most part of his men, the wall battered, and no meanes whereby to resist any longer; constrainedly (in the end) renders vp the Towne. Shall hee deferre lesse commendation (nay rather not farre more) then he that faued his own towne, being well munitioned and provided of all things needfull, which he preferred without any paine, & very easily might do so?

If this case should bee controuerfed, it were easie to be decided; provided, that the censurer be a man of iudgement, and not transported with affection; as the most part of men are, in being wilfully blinded. Wherevpon ensteth, that they will not bee perfwaded, but that there must bee a fault in the Physition, if the patient (of whom he is most carefull and diligent) amend not as they desire and hope. Nor doth this case differ from the Captaines, that was the Gouernor of the lost Town, against whom remaineth continuall rancour and discontentment; because he did not sufficiently foresee the sieges affaires; but thus is all his paines baffulde in particularities of opinions, euen to the valere of a straw. Whereas contrarywise, he shal bee accounted for a valiant man (although hee bee the basest villaine in the world) if hee haue but good successe in his enterprizes.

Assuredly, it is no meane matter, for a man to bee happie in his attempts; but this happinesse dependeth not vpon his knowledge or sufficiency, because it is an especiall gift of God; without which, he may be called to succour such as shal escape, continuing and effectuating the vertues giuen to remedies; as also, in not being called to such as shall dye, to whome the greatest paines and skill profiteth nothing. It is then verie ill done, to censure the sufficiency of a Physition by successe, which is more due to happinesse, and to the grace of God, then to all the knowledge that can be in man.

And yet wee may not from hence inferre, or conclude, that it is all one, whatsoever Physition is called, to say; If God will that the sicke man shall recouer, hee will bestow his blessing on the remedies, if they bee ministred by the most ignorant

No thanks for a Generall to faue a Town, when he is able to withstand all resistance.

Men are our much added and led by their own selfe persuasion, & wilfully blinded.

It is a great matter for a man to bee happy & successful in his affaires.

man

man in the world, and they shall prooue happy. It is very true, but yet it is to tempt God, as we haue formerly alleaded. As if we would haue him, that of stones, he should make bread; and, of a remedie to no purpose, make it profitable. It is a common saying: *Helpe thou, and God will assist thee.* Let all the best meanes bee sought that may be vsed, and referre the issue to God, in whose hands are all things.

CHAP. VIII.

Against such men, to whom all things are suspected, and Physitions slandered, in the most part of those accidents, which happen in diseases.



A heavy burden to the very best Physition.

Accusations vpon the patients weakness, and imputed to the Physitions error.

For such as despise all good meanes ordained for their health.

Impuration led vpon diseases, by ignorance of such as are sicke censurers.

ONe of the very great paines, which a Physition (beeing the most generous, and of the best spirit) hath, is, to support the reproaches, and false accusations of the sicke person, or of his assistant friends, who are so vnreasonable; that all the accidents which do happen in sickenesse, they attribute them to the remedies; and those of good successe, they doubt whether they are due to the Physition, or no.

For first of all, when they see the person very weak, they accuse the abstinence and paucitie of food, appointed to him by the Physition: or else letting him bloud, or the purgation, and that they are the causes of the weakness; imputing no vertue to the remedies, which (in diminishing the euill and bad humours) sustained the sicke body in farre greater strength; for, but by the vse of them, his estate would be a great deale weaker. That this must needs be so, do we not see some, who, condemning abstinence, bloudletting and purgatiues, become in farre more feeble condition? If they that make no vse of such remedies, maintaine themselves in greater strength then other; one then might better say, that the remedies are the occasion of weakness; but on the contrary, we behold those despiters to be more feeble, and (in the end) to die sooner then the other.

So is it of the other accidents, imputed vniuittly to the remedies; as vomiting, flux of the belly, distaste of meates, alteration, paine, want of sleepe or watching, raving

and such like, happening by reason of the disease properly, & from the nature thereof: but not from applied remedies as ignorant people suppose. For, if after the patient hath taken something, by ordination of the Physition, or onely some matter is applied vnto him, and then (quickly after) he hath a casting, or fluxe in the belly: this was the cause, by reason he did it not before. After such a medicine received, this Syrope, that Restauratiue; this Cordiall potion is so distastefull, as nothing can be more, alteration hath made the impresseure far greater then before.

It is true, that these occurrences happen after, but not thereby caused. And is it not as ill argued, if a man should say: Since it snowed, my cloake grew more warme then it was before; therefore the snow was the cause thereof. Or otherwise? Since I fed on that Capon, I haue had the head-ach, the Collicke, or fluxe in the belly; therefore the Capon caused all these accidents. Sillic capacities, whatsoever commeth after, proceeds not from all that which hath preceded. The fluxe in the belly, the casting, distasting, alteration, lacke of sleepe, raving, and the like other causes (to you vnknowne) which produce such effects in their due time was, as the learned Physition knew how to direct the medicine, by breaking the course of the disease, foreseeing the dangerous accidents, and diminishing them. All which notwithstanding, in despite of what hee hath doone; the sickenesse will make his part good against him, and encrease it selfe to a certain point commonly called, the estate of the disease: but that may grow on more gently, then is to be permitted.

And if alteration, distaste, and other accidents doe encrease, after the vse of some medicaments well appointed: beleue assuredly, that they are from the diseases further progression, notwithstanding all the re-trenchings and resistances formerly made. Credite also, that the sickenesse would haue bene more furious, and the aforementioned accidents lesse supportable, if no meanes had bene made against them: as wee see by good experience, in such as mis-prise those remedies. For if it be true, that many do die through want of helpe (which is a Maxime receyued generally) it must needs fall out then;

Vvv 3 that

Of idle Arguments, pretending causes without any true fence or reason.

When the sicknesse is violent, it checketh much skill in the physician.

Willfull refusal of helpe killeth many, and diuers dye for lacke of helpe.

that they haue had more accidēt, & more tediousnes, then such as escape in the like perils. There is no need then of suspicēting, or calumniating the remedies, which haue bin followed by some accidents, olde or new, and then to say: This frontall (after the vse of it) he hath left lesse, or rauced more; for the frontall was no cause thereof, but the sickenes it selfe, that could not by the best meanes then be tamed.

Faults are easily found, but few good reasons can be shewne for them.

Next, after the Cordiall potion, he had the hiccok, the disenterie, or the cramp. It is very true: but this taile belongs not to this Calse, as we say in the common Proverb, this is another manner of straine. I deny not, but remedies may be shrewd occasions sometimes, for they may be ill ordered, and but badly to the purpose. But I euer presume, that the Physition should be learned, diligent and affectionate: of all which he should continually relish, for the better interpretation of his ordināces, and receiuing them in the more respect; attributing rather to the disease, or the expresse will of God, those accidents which happen (be they new or olde) then to the remedies. For there are diuers sodaine encounters, and which cannot any way be foreseen, to make a garde or preuention of them: as sometimes of a very light medicine, we shall proceed so far as blood, because the patient was then vpon the poynt, of hauing the fluxe in his belly.

The Physition, who can not diuine, especially on a neutrall body, neither sicke nor sound, that keeps not in bed, because he would be no sicker then he listeth: if nature make some euacuation of it selfe; hee (knowing it needfull) makes his medicine light enough. It hapneth hereupon, that after the operation, nature passeth on further, and makes a flux in the belly, which continueth inordinately: because the expulserix vertue, being pricked by the eagre and mordant excrements, cannot of her selfe restrain them. And the matter being corrosiue, cuts out the way as it passes along, that blood ensueth of it. The medicine must endure the accusation of all this, which (notwithstanding) gaue but two or three small sieges: all the rest was but a surrounding, & as a meere torrent of humours, gathered together of longer time. As sometime it comes to passe, that a man pulling but one stone out of a wall; a fadome or two follows after, because it was

so old and ruinous. Against a strong wall, there needs a Cannon or double cannon; but for a weak and feeble wall, a field-piece there will make a great breach.

And also, to iudge well of the effects of medicines; their true condition & estate must first be knowne, which none can so well do as the Physition, and not to iudge only by the effects. For, if during the operation, or soone after, we see that happen, which is not of that nature, caried or forced from the medicine; it is not to be attributed thereunto. No more then as if a child, should giue a blow with his fist to a drunken reeling man, and hee should sodainely fall to the ground. It was not the stroke of the hand, that had such strength; but the wine or strong drinke which had overcome him, whereby the fall happened to him.

Neuertheless, some one may reply by the selfesame comparison, that in like manner, to a sicke man (very weak) a light medicine being giuen, it hath the power to ouerthrow him to the ground. Then may we well couple therewith this other comparison: If a man should giue a fillop on the arme, to a woman being great with child, immediately after she should miscarry. Hapned this by the fillop? The arme is far enough from the belly, & the fillop too light to enforce it: It is to be vnderstood then, that from some other inward occasion, this so sodaine mis-hap receiued such vigour. Euen so, many other things doe meet together of themselves, not any way depending one vpon another; but casuall & accidentally, & the causes (commonly) neuer preceded, or by any means discerned.

The quality & condition of remedies must be knowne rather then their effects.

Comparisons that hold no true correspondence with the rules of physick.

Many are medlers in giuing counsell but few or none can giue right directions.

A pretty question mooued by the Noble Duke of Ferrara.

CHAP. IX.

¶ That there are more store and plentie of Physitions, then of any other sort of people.

Finde recorded, that *Alphonso de Este*, Duke of Ferrara, being on a time in familiar conference, demanded; of what trade or profession there was most people. One answered, of Cordwainers or Shoemakers; another saide, of Tailers; another, of Carpenters; another, of Mariners; and another, of Lawyers. *Gonello*, a famous Buffone,

Chap. 12. Of suspitious Detractions.

Buffone or Iester, replied, that there were more store of Physitions, then of any other kinde of people: and waged agaynst the Duke his master (who was far off from any such conceite) that he would approue his wordes, within the compasse of foure and twenty houres.

On the morrow morning, *Gonello* went from his lodging, with a great Night-cap on his head, and a Kerchiefe binding vpon his chin, and then a huge hatte covering them all, beside a warme cloake about his body. In this furnishment, hee tooke the way towards the Pallace of his Excellencie, along the streete called *La rue des Angers*. The first man he met withall, demanded of him, what he ayled? Where to hee answered, that he had an outrageous pain in his teeth. O my good friend (sayde the other) I know the best receipt in the world for it, telling him the matter & the means. *Gonello* wrote downe his name in his Tables, making shew, as if he had set downe the receipt. Not two paces further had he gone, but hee found two or three talking together: who demanding of him the same question; each man declared to him a seuerall remedy; he writing downe their names, as hee did the first.

As he held on his way along the same street, going a soft and gentle pace, euerie man he met withall, still gaue him counsell for seuerall receipts, and no one agreeing with another; yet still each friend assured him, that (what he spake off) had bin approued certaine and infallible; and still he wrote downe euery mans name. Being come to the low Bulwarke of the Pallace; hee was round engirt with many people there attending; because he was most familiarly knowne to them all; and euerie man ptyring to see him thus distressed, (vnderstanding the reason of his pain) aduised him to many receiptes, which each man auouched to be the verie best in the World: he writing downe their Names, gaue them infinite thanks at his departing.

Being entred into the Dukes chamber, his Excellencie no sooner sawe him, but running to him, saide: How now *Gonello*, what aylest thou? In pittifull manner hee replied (euen as if he had bene scarce able to speake:) Ah my Lord, I haue the tooth-ache, in the most cruell manner that euer man had. Whereupon, his Excellencie

saide vnto him; Alas poore *Gonello*, I know a thing that will helpe thy paine presently, yea, if thy teeth were spoiled and rotten: *Maister Antonio Musfa Brassuolo*, my Physition, neuer found a better in all his practise; take it, and it will immediately helpe thee. Sodainely, *Gonello* threw off all his sickely outside, saying out aloud: How now my Lord, what are you become a Physition too? See heere my roll of Physitions, how many I haue met withall, betweene mine owne Lodging, and your Court: they are in number almost two hundred, and yet I haue past through but one streete only. I will gage as much more to my wagger, to finde about ten thousand in this Cittie, if I should but go thorow it, as I haue done this one streete: finde you out as many more my Lord, of some other profession.

A history well met withall to our purpose, and verie true; for, euery man will be a Physition for one thing or other, and there are very few people, but they pretend to knowe enough, may more then some Physitions do. I fet aside some Chirurgions, Barbers, Apothecaries, Nursses, or attendants vpon sicke persons, wife women, Mountebanks, and other Empiricks, euen to very Merchants, who, to make some profession of a part of Physick become meere Polypragmons; pretending to vnderstand more then Maister *Menuche*, making great outward shewes, and meddling with many diseases, accompanied with shamelesse assurances, and no meane promises. I would leaue them, but that they are such a goodly number, and daily they encrease by multitudes, out of the basest mechanical trades; as it is most lamentable to behold, and many liues perishe by their meanes.

There are diuers of them, that will controule the directions of a Physition, presuming to handle the patients pulse, and obserue his Vrine. Deliuering their own aduices, quite contrary to that which the Physition appointed. If there be any, who are better aduised heerein; I thinke the number of them to be so small, as a man had much rather write of those presumptuous companions, making vp a role of so many vnder takers, as (indeed) they would appeare to be infinite. Some of the are so bold and impudent, as before the learned Physition (yea, euen in his presence)

Euery man periwadech himselfe, to haue much more knowledge, then diuers Physitions haue.

The name of a cunning Iugler, a Mountebanke in France.

Among verie base mechanical Trades, there are plenty of these Physicke professors, leauing their owne, because they cannot liue by them.

Of diuers encounters, no way can be foreseen or preuented.

Nature will haue her free passage in the body of man, beside all application of physicke.

The policy of *Gonello*, to make good what hee promised to the Duke.

The fool cunningly beguileth the Duke his master, for the winning of his wagger.

ſence) they will deliuer opinion, whether the patient ſhould be let blood, or no; and when he bleedeth, that ſo much may be taken, and no more: That it is not good to purge, the ſeaſon is not proper, but ſitter for nourishing; when to miniſter reſtoratiues, diets, coulliſes, preſſis, *Orges mondes*, &c. which muſt be giuen by their order, or elſe the patients friends will neuer be quiet.

In brieſe, the great controller, euen the prime and cheefeſt Iudge of all, is, the ignorant vulgar, moſt vniuſt and vniindifferent, who (as Terence ſaide) *Thinke nothing to be well done, but what they do themſelues*. And if their aduiſe be not followed, it is attributed to the Patients death, or to the prolonging of his ſickneſſe, if that ſome other courſe is not taken. Let the but imagine, and the Patient bee perſwaded (by them) that it muſt be ſo; all other proceeding is abſolutely erroneous, and things elſe is blamed, be they applied to the true purpoſe indeede. Is not this a miſerable caſe? In other Arts, which are leſſe obſcure and difficult, and all things (well-neere) apparant to euery eye; the Artizan is permitted to follow his owne mind. In Phyſicke, the moſt ſecre and hidden of all, and wherein the people cannot diſcerne a jot; euery man will domineer, like Rats in ſtraw. Nor ſhall wee euer ſee better ſucceſſe by the order of Nature, for the moſt part of diſeaſes, in perſons of degree; that haue great viſitation of followers: but alwayes they haue health ſooner of whom the leaſt account is made.

CHAP. XIII.

That it is not for the ſicke Patients profite, to haue many Phyſitions, as in ordinarie: but one Phyſition ſufficieth, being aſſiduaſe and ſkilfull.



His propoſition may be vnderſtood, by what we haue lately ſaide, touching vulgar eſtimation of Phyſitions: but I would not be miſtaken, becauſe my meaning here properly is; of ſuch as are truly Phyſitions, in

ſkill, knowledge, and profeſſion. It is verily reaſonable and neceſſary, that the aduiſe of many ſhould bee had, in difficulties, and matters doubtfull concerning a ſickneſſe. For (as the common ſaying is) *Four eyes may ſee more then two*; that is, ſuppoſing them all to ſee clearly; for, one may aduiſe one thing, and a contrary party another; whereby, their meeting and agreement, is to the profit of the patient. But to haue many Phyſitions, in ordinary (as it were) and all to haue equal care of the ſicke perſon; can no way bee for his good and profit. For, in euery purpoſe, they may contradict one another in ſome thing, or elſe about a matter indifferent, one in enuy of another, and more for oſtentation then neceſſity.

Pliny did very well obſerue and note this writing thus. *It needs not to be doubted, that Phyſitions (conſeuting reputation by ſome novelty) make a ſodaine Traffick of our ſouls. Hence enſueeth thoſe miſerable contentions, about ſicke bodies; none of them being of one and the ſame opinion, becauſe no repetition muſt be made. Thence came that ſuperſcription on the vnhappy Tombe: I was ſpoiled by hauing too many Phyſitions.* Meaning thereby the Emperor Adrian, who (in dying) cryed out: *That the multitude of Phyſitions had killd him*.

The reaſon of this miſcheefe is diuers waies vnderſtood. As firſt, the enuy or iealouſie, which (commonly) one man beareth to another; eſpecially ſuch, as are the worſt created, ambitious, and couetous, beyond the ordinary courſe of other Artcemen. For, it is vſually ſcene: *That one Potter is enuious at another*, according to the ancient Adage. But much more (without compariſon) the Phyſition, becauſe he deſireth, that the whole honour ſhould be referred to him, of well predicting, well ordering, and well finiſhing the diſeaſe. Wherefore, hee cannot willingly endure, that any other ſhould ſhare a part with them. I ſpeak of the couetous ambitious man: who is likewiſe (commonly) quarrellous, a detractor, and inſupportable.

You haue ſome men very modeſt, but yet iealous of the honor, which they conceiue is due to them; chiefly, in ſuch occaſions, which they thinke may be done by themſelues, as being caſes light, common, and ordinarie. They can bee well

Aduiſe of one Phyſition to another, cannot be hurtfull to the patient.

Philiſageta.

The words of the Emperor Adrian on his death bed.

One Begger is two, another by the doore doth go.

Of couetous, ambitious, & quarrellous Phyſitions.

Chap. 14. Of employing many Phyſitions.

contented, not to be contradicted; & yet notwithstanding, they will giue conſent, and yeelde to the deſire or pleaſure of the Patient, or thoſe friends that are about him. But this is not for the ſicke parties profite, as I haue vnderſtanden to proue. For, although there be three or foure Phyſitions, one aſſiſting to another for cure of the man, being all modeſt, peacefull, and ſkilfull: yet notwithstanding, wee knowe not how to preuent and auoide, the moſt part of ſuch inconueniences as I will ſette downe, and are (oſentimes) ordinary. For I leaue to them, who haue obſerued it by others, to iudge, how much this manner of proceeding is incommodious, and hurtfull to poore patients.

Firſt, if there be but one or two Phyſitions ordinarily employed: they will (no doubt) be moſt carefull, moſt diligent, moſt affectionate, to come off with their credit and honour. And yet one man alone, who ſhall haue the charge layde on his ſhoulders, may be there much more attentiuely, becauſe the truſt is wholly reposed in him, and all the worth muſt redound to him. If that man haue a good heart, he will ſtudie and labor, to do much better, then if he were conſorted with another; conſidering euery man (as he ought to do) that in all difficulties he may quickly haue counſell.

Another diſcommodity is; that manie Phyſitions can hardly meete together, to viſit the ſicke patient, and all, as one boyr. For each of them haue other cures of viſitation, beſide ſome hapning in the meane while, and other affaires of importance: whereby, men are oftentimes compelled, to faile of the appointed time, that all cannot be preſent with the ſicke perſon. In this caſe, the Phyſition moſt vſed, or ſuch as meete there, are greatly hindered in giuing their aduiſe, or for ordering againſt ſome occaſion which may happen; fearing leaſt the abſent parties or parties, ſhall not allow their iudgement; whereupon, it may breed an error in the patient, or his aſſiſting friends, who will after knowe his opinion, and demand it alone by himſelfe. Some time, this may chance but about a Cherry, or a difference of ſmall moment, deſeruing (of it ſelfe) not to be ſpoken of; but yet al muſt agree together, and giue conſent in the caſe. This keeps the attending Phyſitions in no meane af-

ſiſtion, and many times the patient in much more.

In like manner (comming now vnto a third point) they may endure many ſmall things, which the ordinary and preſent Phyſition would order otherwiſe, following ſuch occaſions as preſent themſelues at euery moment. I do call them ſmall of themſelues, yet often might bee brought to the patients great benefit; but hee dare not apply them, dreading diſcontentment in them which are abſent. Hereby the patient may paſſe thorow diuers afflictions (from which hee might haue bene freed) as, during too much drought, or being kept ouer-hot, or too much preſſed with ſoode and Medicines, or prohibited of ſome pleaſure and recreation, no way preiudiciall to his healing, and ſuch like. I hold my ſelfe ſatiſfied, in ſetting downe theſe three inconueniences, which are ordinary in the plurality of Phyſitions, to ſhew and approue, that it is much better (without compariſon) to haue but one Phyſition; provided, that he be aſſiduaſe and carefull.

It is the greateſt happineſſe for the ſick man (that can be) to haue but one Phyſition, that goeth not away from him. For, by viſiting him once or twice in a day, the patient cannot bee well cured: this may be called healing in groſſe, and not exactly. For the preſent Phyſition, obſerueth many particularities, which cauſeth him to change opinion euery houre; as well of his nourishment, as in other Remedies. Wherefore Celſus ſaide very well, where he ſheweth, what diligence a Phyſition ought to vſe, in well directing the patients ſoode, for due houres, and meaſure of them, becauſe it is one of the cheefeſt points in the whole cure. For (as hee writeth) *Foodes fitted to purpoſe, is a moſt ſingular Medicine and remedy: it ought alwayes to be obſerued, and generally, that the attending Phyſition do continually reſpect the Patients ſtrength: When it ſhall be good & able, to uſe abſtinenſe; and when hee begins to doubt his weakeneſſe, then to make ſupply of food. For it is his duty, that he ſurcharge not the ſick body with ſuperfluous matter; neither to let it be too ſeuerely, by famine, or ſtarving, &c. Hereby may eaſily bee vnderſtood, that many (together) cannot be cured by one Phyſition: & that he (if hee vnderſtand truly his Art) is moſt proper, that neuer par-*

The 3. inconuenience.

Many afflictions hapning, to a man in ſickneſſe, yet eaſily holpen.

Greateſt happineſſe to a ſick patient, in hauing but one Phyſition, that ſhall attend him diligently.

The words of Celſus, a moſt learned Phyſition.

Of the firſt inconuenience by multiplicity of Phyſitions.

Of the ſecond inconuenience.

Many Phyſitions cannot meete all at an houre.

The verie chiefe controller of all Arts and knowledge.

All Arts elſe but Phyſicke, are not ſubiect to ſomuch controule & obloquy.

The Authour writeth here to ſhew as are Phyſitions in deede.

teeth from the sicke person. But such as are addicted to gaine, because much is to be had by a multitude of people: they willingly embrace those Rules, which require no such great curiety, as in this case. For it is verie easie, to account daies, and houres, and other times of access, especially in such, as use not often to see their patients. But it behooueth him to be attendant, that must haue a care of all needfull things, and when the patient shall bee once feeble, so see that hee haue good nourishment.

The great importance of the sick mans seruice.

Heereby you may perceiue, how important the sicke mans seruice is, that he must alwayes be assisted by a good Physitian, both for his gouernement, and also for the vse of remedies. For, by being present, hee may aduance or tardie, encrease or diminish, and doe many things in other manner, then when the sick-man is scene but by starts and leysures, as is too much practised vpon the people. Wherefore, it is best to haue but one Physitian, though he be of the lesse sufficiency or reputation (and consequently of lesse pretiure, so that he be honest, most frequent, and diligent. For diligence, vigilancy, & careful obseruation in the ordinary Physitian; may counterpoize one of greater knowledge, that is not halfe so much employed.

CHAP. XV.

Against such as complaine on the over-short visitation of some Physitions.



Vr life is full of contrarieties, according as *Democritus* declared to *Hippocrates*, in the conference which they had together: as *Hippocrates* writeth to *Damocritus* in his Epistles. For, that which pleaseth vs now, will discontent vs within an houre. The labourer would be a souldier, and (in short time) fall to his former condition againe. The Merchant would be made a Gentleman, and (soone after) returne to his Merchandize againe. But contradiction is yet more palpably discovered, when wee see contradictionarie quality in one and the same thing. As, to

All conditions are full of contrarieties.

Hip in Epist. ad Damag.

be a souldier, and yet not engaged to follow war, to be a great landed man, and yet not subiect to suites in law; to haue Varettes and Drabs in the house, and yet to be free from robbings to liue dissolutely, and neuer to be sicke. So is it in many, who would haue Physitions of greatest following, and most reported of for practise, (of whom the vulgar giue great iudgement, as they are men of singular knowledge, as oftentimes it so falls out, though not alwayes.) And sodainely they make complaint, of their too short or seldome visitation, and that they come not (so often as they ought) to see them.

This is a complaint commonly made of our *Parisian* Physitions, being the most famous, who in so great a Citie, haue ordinarily such plenty of patients, as it is vterly impossible, that they should stay long with any one of them. For, if a Physitian haue twentie patients to visite in a day, is it not much, if hee abide with each one a quarter of an houre at a time? For, in the longest day, which may consist of xvi. houres, I would haue him begin to visite at five of the clock in the morning, and so continue vntill ten: then begin againe at noon, and hold on till five in the euening, heere are ten houres employed in visitation. It is verie necessary, that hee should haue some time of rest, as from tenne to twelue for his dinner, & refreshing from five to seauen in the same euening, and then to sleepe in quiet: for if he cease not day nor night, it is not possible for him to haue long continuance.

I will yet allow six houres for the morning, and six more after dinner. For, to go from one house to another, to mount and descend againe all the staires, importeth wel the space of two houres, in visiting of twentie seuerall persons. For no man whatsoever, can ride in poste quite thorough a Citie, and then in the Sommer, when the dayes bee long, the swiftnesse of motion is very dangerous, by over-heating, sweating, alteration of body, and other such like accidents. There remaineth then ten houres wholly cleere, that the Physitian may bee by each sicke mans bedde, and that is the most for such employment: And howe much time is heere allowed then to each of the twenty? If I could account well, there were (for euery one) a quarter of an houre in the

Contradiction contrary to themselves

Complaint made of Physitions visitings.

The Physitions of Paris in France.

Allowance at times, for visitation.

Six houres for morning, and six more for afternoon for visitation.

A very short time for visiting twenty patients.

morning, and as much againe after dinner.

But very certaine it is, that the most famous Physitions, haue to visite (som such dayes) about thirty patients; and besides that, to vse consultations, where a man is constrained to stay longer then a simple visiting. Whence ensueth necessitie, yea, and inuitably, that each of the other visitations, cannot bee halfe a quarter of an houre. For, hee must content euery man, and he that imparts himselfe among so many, must needs allow euery one a little. Thus the Physitian, doth but enter and depart, and (cursorily) informeth himselfe of the patients estate; feelles his pulse, obserues his vrine, speaketh a word of that which is to be done, and then away to another.

He is not iustly to bee blamed, for his celerity and summarie visitation, seeing it is not possible for him to doe otherwise; and they that call such men to their cure, are not well informed. Nay more, if the Physitian answer sometime, that hee can haue no leysure, considering the great number of patients he is to attend: some one or other will reply, *O good Sir, if you do but wake to a doores, and then depart; the sicke man will thinke, that he shall bee healed by your verie sight only: if you would but once in a day see him, as you passe along, hee were well satisfied.* As much saith another, yea, three or foure: What shall we say to such a man?

But some one will answer mee: He ought to haue regard of the persons quality, and make longer stay with a great Lord, Bishoppe, Abbot, Earle, Baron, President, Councillor, Treasurer, General of the Finances, and other men of Honour, who haue wherewithall to acknowledge and recompence him better, then ordinarily other men doe or can. I heare one make reply, that he ought to do his duty towards all men, and to acquite himselfe faithfully of his Charge. Beside, that (by some) he is to be much more commended; as his parents, neere Kindred, Friends, Familiars, and some to whom he standeth in high degree obliged. Such persons indeed (according vnto humane sense and iudgement) ought to be preferred before the other, what ranke or degree fouer they hold. And such, of whom no money is to be taken, in regarde of the

fore-named obligation; do iustly require of the Physitian, much more care and diligence, then they from whom hee may expect recompence. And therefore, it is no small matter, to haue a learned & wise Physitian obliged and affected vnto anie one, who will alwayes make more regard of friendship, then of greatnesse.

And although the most part of our greatest personnes, haue no other knowledge of the Physitian, but by his Fame onely, and are much lesse knowne to the Physitian; yet such knowledge being not reciprocal, and having no familiaritie, friendship, nor mutual Obligation; the Physitian is no more proper to them, then any other beside of the same profession, who hauing fewer crowds following the, may (happily) as soone minister succour, and giue more respect. But passion is so prevalent in these our dayes, as none must bee had, but hee that is in most request; and euery man would very willingly haue him, which properly is no way possible, and yet they complaine of his slack attendance too.

If a man say, I am none of the meanest persons, and I haue wherewithall to pay him, as well as another: you shall haue an hundred to speake the same Wordes: What shall the Physitian then doe? But diuide his visitations into so many pieces, as euery one may haue a little. But euer more let him referue the longest, for such to whom hee is most obliged, and standeth engaged; as reason and humanitie commandeth him.

Wherefore, it were much better (in my minde) that men heerein would take more aduise, and to desire which they may haue: that is, a Physitian easier to bee had, among them that are accounted learned and expert, and yet haue not such busie employment; because their season is not as yet come, being post-pozed to others, that haue more name, and longer time. And if there bee any difficultie in the disease, it may as iudiciously bee consulted on, as they that bragge most, and performe least. Beleue it vndoubtedly, that if the Physitian be an able man, he can soone vnderstand, and hath fewest words, which he had rather should appeare by proofe, then waste the time in vaine lip-labour.

This is the best aduice that a sicke patient

Great men are guided by the fame of Physitions.

When all will haue one man onely, what vser like to be made of himselfe?

Men of lesse note may haue as good experience as greater boasters, & what they prolong, performe in lesser time.

That great persons shall bee more respected, when vnder meaner quality.

Parents and united children haue no mean knowledge in testimony and respect.

tient can take, of what quality focuer hee be, for his soonest helpe and succor. And if this meanes be such, as to haue the Physition full with him, or that hee goe but little from him: it will be much the better for him, imitating what hath bin discoursed in the precedent Chapter.

CHAP. XVI.

How much it importeth, that the sicke patient should repose confidence in his Physition.

The Authors clearing himselfe concerning the former chapter.

SOME may mis-vnderstand, that which I haue serdown in the neighboring Chapter; as if I reprehended the affection which many haue to be visited by the most famous Physitions, and who (for their great reputation) haue most access in the best Cities. God forbid, I should therein do wrong to very venerable and rare persons, who (by their merit) haue acquired such renowne: And I should also offer iniurie to the sick if I perswaded them from affection, and recourse to the healers of their harmes. For, on the contrary, if men may ioy plainly, and so much as neede requireth; none in the Worlde may better doe it than they.

He taxeth nothing but vulgar complaints only.

I take onely vulgar complaint, and in such as (to their owne shame) are discontented, because they cannot enioy what they would haue. I alwaies maintaine, that they are onely the meekest men, in regard of themselves, and for their respect. Onely this is my desire, that men of such fame and reputation, remaining alwaies in so great request: should also be most skillfull and expert, happy in their practises, and conformable to their patients. For otherwise, their high failes will strike, and their reputation (badly grounded) will flie vp in smoke.

In commendation of the renowned generally by the world.

But for the choise men themselves, they are verie meeke, apt, and correspondent, to cure the greatest diseases, and in the worthiest personages: in which respect, they holde reputation, and the cheefest ranke among Physitions, onely for happinesse in their cures. Because opinion conceived of them, giues certaine confi-

dence to the sicke man, to bee recovered better, and more securely by their means, then any other whatsoever. Whereupon, we commonly say in our schooles, *Hee healeth most diseases, in whom most confidence is reposed.* And this proceedeth from strong imagination, which hath mightie power, to make impression in vs; as I sufficiently haue shewne, in the Preface to my 2. booke of Laughter.

Confidence in the patient is halfe a halp to the Physion.

It is a power of the soule, which strongly moueth the blood and spirits, in such a strange manner; that if the walke along (hand in hand) with firme opinion and confidence, the very powers of Nature assemble, to fight against the sicknes. And thereupon, great changes are noted in the Patient, onely at the very presence of a Physition devoutly attending. For, desire and hope being satisfied, the soule releaseth it selfe, and re-enforceth against the sicknesse. So that (verie often) Nature maketh some braue fall and effort; chasing the matter of offence impetuouslie, by a *Crisis* as we vse to call it, which is the consist of Nature and Sicknesse. Contrariwise, if the Physition be not verie answerable in liking to the patient, perceiving him not so succourable, as hee desireth or would haue: such a Physition shal neuer proceed successfully, and the sicke man (contrifing and discouraging) will become much more feeble then euer hee was. For his spirit is being danted, they haue no vigour at all; onely by the feare and distrust which hath before seized vpon his heart.

The power of Desire and hope on their satisfaction.

An vnpleasing Physition can do no good to his patient.

There is another benefite, which returneth to the patient, by hauing a Physition at his owne deuotion, and according to his wish and liking; because from him hee hopeth to haue great comfort. For, hee willingly apareth and accommodateth him selfe, to whatsoever he ordaineth for him; with a chearefull confidence, that all this will surely helpe and heale him. As on the contrarie, what hee receiueth (from another Physition) all is in mislike & disdain, whereby, nothing can be profitable vnto him. For, although it were the best, and most delicate thing in the world, if hee haue not a good opinion of it; the stomach falls to a loathing, and neuer can it come so gladfome to his heart, as when he takes it with a chearefull disposition. Wine, the brothe of a Capon, and the Brawn of a Par-

Par-

CHAP. XVII.

Of such as will haue Physitions, and yet desire to do as they appoint and direct them.

NOT long since, I met at *Narbona* with a Gentleman of *France*, who was Ambassador to the Seignery, and he talking purposely concerning

The Negatives of Physitions better credited then their affirmatives.

Physitions, pleasantly said: That he would beleeue them well in their Negatives, but not in their affirmatives. This was a good old man, gallant and pleasantly disposed, who came from *Spaine*, having accomplished the teatime of his legation with King *Phillip*. Hee thus interpreted Negatives prohibited by Physitions: As not to drink Wine, nor cate fruit, nor to feede on windie meates, and such like. And their affirmatives were, to take medicines, glister, leleppes, and other things by them appointed. Was not this a goodly proposition, which many put in practise, to their extreme harme. For, they are willing to haue Physitions: but go looke for such as shal do as they direct them. Hardly will they keepe within the boundes of this *Feminar*, who (at least) would abstaine from what he was forbidden: but the most part of patients now a dayes, do quite contrary. What aualeth it to haue a Physition, if a man bee resolu'd, not to execute and accomplish his counsell, for the defence of his owne life?

The Physition may be kindly welcome, but his counsell nothing respected.

Some will answer, that the presence of the Physition comforteth, delighteth, and increaseth courage; whereby they feeble the infirmity to diminish, & their strength to augment. Another saith, I will doe something that the Physition doth aduise mee, at least of foode and gouernment; but of his Drugges I will not heare him speake.

Friuous answers in denying the Physitions counsell.

We'll may wee compare this case, vnto people besiedged in a Towne or Cittie; calling some good and expert Capitaine for Commander, for their succour and defence. Hee being come to them, they will not obey him, nor accomplis any of his

Xxx

or-

Partridge, are most excellent nourishments, delicate, and dainty: but if a man take them frowningly, with an ill opinion of the Butlers bringing them, or that the Cookes dressing them is not agreeable; all will doe no good, the stomach being directly opposit vnto them. What will he thinke then of things, which (are of themselves) very vnpleasing, and sickness abhorreth naturally, as medicines & other drugges?

Many afflictions happen to the patient if he bee not confident in his Physition.

It followeth moreouer, that the patient will endure many annoyances, wherein he shal be greatly impatient to his owne prejudice: if he haue not a good opinion of his Physition, and be confident in him. For, hee may approue him to bee such a man, as the credite of any other could neuer perswade him. Therefore, it is not in vaine, that poore sicke men should desire such as holde great reputation, and of whom (commonly) passeth good opinion; for such haue the best efficacy in their proceedings and directions. But yet they are not so much to bee affected, as no respect at all should be vsed of other: whereof choise also may bee made at a second or third time of occasion, and they then must needs bee vsed, for want of the former. When any such man happens to be called: the patient must likewise repose his trust, confidence, and affection in him, without desiring any other; relying onely vpon God, who giueth vertue to remedies, at his owne good will and pleasure.

Marriage vsed as a comparison with the present argument.

For, in marriage, Maids couet to match in great houses; but if it will not come so to passe, they must content themselves with meaner place, giuing all their loue and affection, to the husbands chosen by themselves. And God may giue them as much (or more) happinesse and contentment with their meane match, then if they had the richest husbands in the Worlde. This may redound to an honest household life, whereas the other might haue procured iust nothing like the Physition, standing out of his patients affection, being daily desirous of another.

ordinances, but say: That they are well pleased with his presence, and they are sufficiently fortified; it is enough for them, if he but take order for victuals, & be provident in policie. As for fight, mounting the Artillery, and other needfull preparations, they will not heare a word of that. Is this any thing else, but merely to mock a braue soldier for his paines, & send him away with losse of credit?

Ecclesi. 38. 4.

I durst not tearme this folly, if Ecclesiasticus had not taught me, saying: *Hee that is wife, will not abhorre the Physitian.* Oh, but Physicke (say some) is very ytkesome to take. It is true, and God hath so ordained it, that it may the better fight against the euill. For, as health is pleasing and acceptable, so is it entertained with as acceptable things: and as sickness is vnpleasing, so must distastfull things helpe to conquer it. It is not wisdom, if we apply not our willes, to whatsoever the Physitian appointeth, without concerning any thing. For oftentimes, thorough defect of one obseruation, which may seeme but small: the disease impaireth, euen to death. Like as a Towne may (sometime) bee lost, by lacke of a Sentinell; or by the meanes of a little hole or passage, which appeared to be of no importance. Sometime, a sparke of fire enflames a whole heape of Straw, and thereby a house, and of one house, a whole Burrough or Towne. If a small fault grow into excess, or faileth of help in due time, no meane disorder ensueth thereon.

Small errors may grow out great to be easily perceived.

Concerners of Physicke seek for helpe thereby, when it is too late.

What then shall become of such as despise the Physitian, when he (many times) hath worke enough to doe, to saue them, that are willing to doe whatsoever hee would haue them? Commonly it falleth out with them who are so difficult, that (in the end) they would yeeld to all, & more, euen then when there is neither meane, nor time, and can no way bee preferred from death, as they might haue bene before, by Gods gracious assistance. Euen like to besieged people, that began but coldly in their owne defence, not employing all their means; but sparing their bed-rickes, ballies of Wooll, Chests, Cuppeboords, and other moueables, for re-impairing their victualles and money, that their Soldiers, Armes, and persons might be the better secured, and to fight valiantly. But at length, beholding themselves

constrained; then they can offer bags of Gold, Plate, Jewels, yea, all to their verie bowels, onely for safety; when there is no remedy at all to sted them, but become wise too late, with the *Phrygians*, according to the Prouerbe. Wherefore, let euery man determine with himselfe (euen in the very beginning) to doe willingly what the Physitian shall counsell and ordaine for him, without restriction, or distinguishing Negatives and affirmatives, that God may the better giue his blessing, to concurre with the Physitions true endeavour.

Delay in such cases is euen more dangerous, & hardly recovered.

CHAP. XVIII.

Of such as in their sickness, will admitte no medicine or remedy; but only for the present paine and anguish.



Obserued this opinion, in a Gentleman of *Vitruues*, affected greatly to his pleasures. He made no particular account of infirmities, which were without greauance, thinking remedies to serue little or nothing at all for them; euen as if it were necessary, that the disease should haue his course. And whatsoever was done, the infirmity would passe his fourte times, if it were recoverable: but if it were deadly, then there was no remedy that could bee proper for it; which were erroneous speeches, grounded on those folies heretofore refused. In breefe, he would not allow of any Physitian, nor any medicine; but to take away instant anguishes. But if he wer false into a palsey, which is a disease without paine, I beleue he could gladly haue desired, that it might be cured by medicin, or any other helpe else whatsoever.

Now, concerning dolorous and painefull diseases, it is to bee vnderstoode, that grieue there is not the principal (although of very great importance) and that the euill must and ought to be taken away, in which the anguish proceedeth, if men do deale iustly in their cures. For, if one stand trifling simply vpon the paine, & the cause is mistaken (which is the source, root, and mother of euill :) there are then but two

No application of remedie, but to the place of present paine.

Concerning dolorous and painefull diseases, wherein anguish is not cheefe.

Chap. 19. Subiect to sickness, subiect to Physick.

meanes; the one is by *Anodyne* medicines, which diminish the pain in some measure, and caueh the party to endure the rest more patiently.

The other is by *Arcotick* medicines, that is to say stupifying, making the member sleepe, in attorning the Naturall heate. Which is not to be vsed, but in extreme necessitie, and very wisely: but, as wel the one, as the other, do not let passe or lessen the grieue, but onely for a time.

Euermore, wee should come to Cure the principall, otherwise it is still to begin againe. And if our remedies serue not to take away the euill, which is without paine, or which causeth paine: that were the greatest fallshood in the worlde; as I haue apparently proued before, where I ouerthrew the idle imagination, that Physitions serued to no purpose, but abused the world. If any yet shall reply vnto me, that many are well re-cured, both without Physitions and Medicines: I answer also in the same manner, that as many lose their greauances, without Physicke, or any other applyed remedies, whereby that proposition is merely confounded of itselfe.

The ground cause of euill is to be taken away, or else all our labour is to no purpose.

CHAP. XIX.

That such as are subiect to diseases, are in like manner subiect to Physicke: and that they not.



ANY throw aspersions of blame and reproote, on such as obseure some orderly rule and government, subiecting themselves to certaine remedies, to maintaine their healthfull condition, and prevent some knowne euilles, whereto they are subiect. They that commend those meanes, are (doubtles) verie healthfull, and of good Complexion: in which respect, the position is verie true, according to that which is saide in Sacred Scripture, *The law was not giuen to the iust.* But more expressly, where it is saide, *The whole need not the Physitian; but they that are sicke.* These words likewise do confirm the contrary, to wit: That such as are sicke, haue need of the Physitian; & such as are

Men strong & healthfull, commend such as are weak, and sicke.

Math. 9. 12.

subiect to any sickness, are also subiect to some rule. Euen according as we are subiect to sin, so are we subiect to the Law.

I shall alwaies giue consent with most eloquent *Celsus*: That the healthfull Man, while he carrieth himselfe well, and is truly himselfe: needeth not to be tyed to any Law or Government, nor to employ the Physitian. It is very expedient, that he should haue diuers manners of life; one while in the field, then againe in the City, but more often in the field.

To Natures, hunt, to be at rest, and ease sometimes, but yet to exercise himselfe more often. For, sloath and idleness, maketh the body drowsie and dull, but trauell confirmeth it: The one is the hastner of Age, the other is the continuer of iolly youth.

It is good also sometimes to bath, and sometimes to use colde waters; one while to amoint, then againe to forbear. Feare no kind of meats, that are vsed among civil people to be sometimes present at Feasts, another while to reframe them. One while feede somewhat immeasurably, and afterward soberly. Make two meales a day more often then one, and alwaies eate well, so long as it may haue digestion, &c. As concerning carnall Copulation, it may not be desired too much, nor too much feared neither: That which is rare and sildome, exciteh the body; that more frequent dissoleth it, &c.

These rules are to be obserued by such, that haue their health firme, and can so keepe themselves; that remedies ordainned for euil carriage be not employed & consumed in vaine. In this maner are men of sound health indifferent to all, and subiect to nothing, while they beare themselves well, and are so firmly in health, as *Celsus* hath limited. It were very great shame for a man, to make himselfe delicate, soft, and tender, slouping and encreasing his good and strong Complexion; which would extend it selfe a great deale more, by bolde, valiant, and manly exercises. But for valeudinarie personnes, vnhealthfull, subiect vnto manie Diseases, as Epilepsies (commonly called, *Mel de S. Iean*) Megrimmes, Rheumes, Catarrhs, shortnesse of breath, Ache in the bones, Oppilations in the Liuer or Spleene, the Winde Collicke, or Stone, Gouts, and the like infirmities (whereof the most part are Hereditarie, yea, and the Leaprofitop) who makes any doubt or question, but that such men ought to liue

Celsus lib. 1. c. 1.

Excellent aduice giuen by learned Celsus, to a healthfull man.

He that is well & skinnot keep himselfe so, the blame is his owne.

Many diseases and infirmities, that are said to be hereditarie to some men.

Concerning
Students and
men in pub-
like offices.

within rule, if their owne ease they be not enuious of, and desire to see manie dayes?

Such also as addict themselves to studie, or vnto publike charges in the Common-wealth, because they are subiect to many necessities, ought to be gouerned; otherwise, they often fall into diuers infirmities. For they tie & constraîne themselves to store of things, which are verie hurtful for them. And *Celsus* in the words before alledged, presupposeth, that the healthfull man, must also be wholly himselfe in all respects.

How we are
to vnderstand
our being sub-
iect to sickness

Now, in the position formerly alledged, saying, *Subiect to diseases*; we vnderstand a particular subiection & aptitude. For all men in the world are subiect to all kinds of sickness, euen as we are all subiect to death. But we say, some are subiect thereto particularly, that haue an inclination and disposition to some euil, the rudiment wherof is in them: not that they are already sicke, but because a small matter will throw them into sickness; and therefore, they ought the more respectiue, to carry themselves. By example of him formerly spoken of, who being the only sick man in his time: made shift yet to liue an hundred yeares, by great cunning, & exquisite manner of liue.

CHAP. XX.

That such as know some little matter in Physicke, are more dangerous to be meeere sicke personnes, then they that know nothing at all.

In the 13.
chape before.



Must confesse, that this error ought to haue followed a former Chapter, where we declared, that there were more Physicians, then of anie other profession. But fearing to offend any succorable people, I had a long conflict with mine owne cogitations, whether I should censure and reprove them in such publike manner. At length, I concluded to holde on my course; knowing, that ther is more danger (then we wold easily think) in such

as know something, and imagine to know all things. For out of this ouer-weening, either they presume, & vndertake the very greatest cures; or withstand and hinder Physicians, from being employed in principall remedies, necessarily requiring quick and sure healing. But these insolent controllers, keep them so engaged to fear; that they neither dare, nor will aduenture.

There are some persons, who know not any thing in Physick, in regard of discourse and reason; as ignorant women, who can neither write nor read; but once haue certaine obseruations and rules, knowing how to make a good Broth, a Cullise, a Restorative, to make a bed well, and knit a kerchiefe about the sick mans head. Beside, they know some infant remedies, against itch, scabs, burnings, falling of the *Vulua*, wormes, the Mother, &c. Hereupon, they imagine themselves compleat in knowledge, and make many things out of their owne braine and fantasie; and if their experiment succede ill, they spare not to vaunt, that the Physicians great Gowne shall couer all this.

It were very good and expedient, that assistants about sicke patients, did know nothing else, but to obey the Physicians directions. It were a knowledge very beneficiall to the patient; for, such as do not presume of themselves, will neuer attempt to execute any thing, but what is prescribed, ordained, and commanded. Others, that dreame they haue knowledge; they will adde, diminish, alter, or else do iust nothing at all. Like to lewd Apothecaries, who execute the Physicians directions at their owne pleasure, as presuming to know the curing of the disease, and the nature better in course, then he doth: being drunke with some opinion concerning the like; as hauing obserued diuers the like sicknesses, attended many Physicians, and seene the successe of the like receipts.

O dangerous ouer-weening! see here the verie ruine of most sicke personnes. It were much better (before God I speak it) not to know any thing, then to know thus in this Empericke manner. What more unhappinesse for the patients life, and honour to the Physician, then to haue an Apothecarie so ouerweening, temerarious, and presumptuous? In *Italy*, and in *Spain*, the

The left skill
or knowledge
in some small
matter, pre-
sently incite
to presumption.

Of ignorant
women Physi-
cians, that can
neither write
nor read, yet
haue know-
ledge in some
peety cures.

They should
be no prela-
mers about
sick persons,
when they be
vpon their
sick beddes.

Better to know
nothing at all,
then to haue
knowledge in
dangerous
manner.

the sicke are in much better manner serued. For, the Apothecary goeth not to see the sicke man, except it be in courtlesse and friendship; and yet not as an Apothecary neither: nor do the Physicians vnder write their bills of receipts, by or for who the remedies were compounded. Whereby, the Apothecarie knowes as litle of the Physicians intent, euen as if hee were acquainted with nothing. By this meanes, hee cannot abuse the Physicians directions; or, much lesse then our Apothecaries, to whom all is imparted ouer familiarly.

A great inue-
dive against
ouer pre-
suming Apothe-
caries.

For Nurses,
keepers, and
attendants a-
bout patients,
preceding to
haue no mean
knowledge.

Next to Apothecaries, I speak of those vile and bad (not good, proud, modest, and honest people, that meddle not, but what they haue to doe withall) yea, most dangerous keepers or seruants, attending about poore weak patients, who thinke they haue more knowledge then the Physician (especially, if they be anciently traded in the businesse) touching nourishing principally; because it ought to be of inestimable importance, qualitie, fit hours, and measure. True it is, of the quality they credite enough by the Physicians order; but for the houre and measure, they do all at their owne liking. I spare the drugeris they covertly vie, and the omissions of Ordinances appointed to them, when they meete with patients fitte for their purpose. Such people are most dangerous, and much better to haue them that know no such cunning, neither haue learned any other lesson; but to doe what they are appointed, which is the main article of their duty.

CHAP. XXI.

The manner of knowing Opportunity truly, for vnderstanding or performing such actions, as we would haue to be well done: And how our graue Elders used to depit or figure Occasion.

Opportunity
is the greatest
matter, belong-
ing to the
life of man.



Here consisteth no meane wit and iudgement, in knowing howe to make vse of Opportunity; & to perform our actions in due time: be-

cause great care is to be had, either for doing, or not doing a thing at a time; in regard there is no alteration or returning backe, when defect falleth vpon the aduenture. Hereupon, the Grecian Philosophers leste vs many notable sentences in writing, making to that purpose: in regard that they truly vnderstood, what wisdom depended vpon knowledge, for doing a businesse in apt opportunitee, and taking occasion when it is fairly offered.

Salomon saith in his *Ecclesiastes*: *To all things there is an appointed time. There is a time to be borne, and a time to dye: A time to plant, and a time to plucke up that which is planted: A time to kill, and a time to be killed: A time to build, and a time to rinate: A time for warre, and a time for peace. In breecfe, many examples might be alledged, whereby to demonstrate, what losse relyeth on dooing any thing out of due time; and what benefite redoundeth vnto men, when things are accomplished aptly to time and place.*

Menander, a Greeke Poet said; *That all things done to purpose, & in time, haue great grace, for Opportunity hath more power then Law.* So that a litle attendance giuen on time, is esteemed highly worth. *Hesiodus*, a Greeke Authour also, appointed vs to keepe meanes and obseruation of times: *For, the importance of all affayres* (saith he) *consisteth in attending on time and opportunity.* *Pindarus* said; *Time hath great power in all things.* Also (according to *Horace*), *A man should alwaies set forward his affayres, when he seeth due time.* *Socrates*, writing to *Democritus*, said; *All things are naught, being done out of due season.* In breecfe, there is no man of iudgement or experience, but will pursue his busines in fittest times.

All which notwithstanding, it is to be noted, that as it is good to waite on Opportunity, and aptest times to performe any thing: so likewise, the point or instant is not to bee slipp, for exact executing any matter when it cometh. This is that which hath commonly bene sayde, *Occasion is neuer to be surprized.* For, all things are done out of their constellation, & consent of the stars (although occasion cometh otherwise) can neuer grow to good perfection.

And to speake seriously, occasion and opportunity for our actions, was in such

X x x 3 high

Ecc. 3.1, 2, 3, 4
A discourse
made by Salo-
mon concern-
ing times.

The wife say-
ing of Menan-
der.

Hesiodus.

Pindarus.

Horace.

Socrates.

Democritus.

Opportunity
must by no
meanes be let
slipp, taken
while it may
be.

high esteeme with our Ancients, as well Greeks as Latines; that they had alwaies her portraiture, like as a Mirrour before their eyes. The Latines figured Occasion in the form of a woman; but the Grecians figured her in the shape of an infant, holding one foot vpon a turning wheele, and all before the face couered with Hayre, dangling downe in long tresses; but all the head behind was bald and shauen. This shape was given to occasion or Opportunity, by *Pofidius*, or *Pofidippus* as some called him, a Greek Poet, translated into Latine by the learned *Erafmus*, and *Aufonius* the Lombards Poet. Whom Sir *Tho: More* of England, a man much renowned for wisdom and learning, traduced into the *Caftilian* tongue, in forme of a dialogue. For *More* said, that Occasion, standing so vpon a wheele, declared thereby her inconstancy, and hauing wings both at her handes and feet, shewed, how lightly shee past away, without tarrying. Moreouer, said he, her forehead and face being couered with hairy long locks, expressed; that shee might easily be held, by such to whom shee presented her selfe; but being vnwilling to be known to others, shee kept her face so couered, because she would escape away vnknown: being all bald and shauen behinde, for feare she should be stayed, after shee was once past. Whereby may be comprehended, that Opportunity once lost, is not to bee recovered, by all our paines applied afterward.

Aufonius making a further addition to this picture, placed the figure of Repentance, sitting vpon the shoulers of Occasion: declaring thereby, that whatsoever happeneth by the losse of Occasion, may well be repented. And truly there are two kinds of people, who might make good vse of this example. For, some are so faine in their affaires, that they can neuer bring them about, by not tarrying for opportune time. And others (on the contrary) are so long and tedious in concluding their businesse, being troubled with so many inconueniences, which may happen; that in the time of this lingering negotiating, Occasion hath past by. Both which extremities are to bee auoyded by men of good iudgement, who, in waiting the time for best performing their businesse suffer no occasions (in the meane while) offaire to offer to ouer-slip them. For other

wife, they may fall into a tardy repentance, which will be little to their credite and benefit.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Favour, Grace, or Good opinion: How it hath bene described by picture, and also concerning the Morall signification.



The precedent discourse, concerning the portraiture of Opportunity, or Occasion, hath brought that to my remembrance, which the ancient *Romanes* gaue and granted to *Fauor*, *Grace*, or good Opinion: as well for the great conueniency which these two things hold together, as also because the true time and very occasion of well-doing any thing is, when *Fauour* standeth fairest for him; as much to say, as when the Prince lendeth an attentue care, and vouchsafeth (withall) a gracious countenance: For, a man that is in credite with a Prince, is very much made of by all men, euerie one thinks well of what he doth, or saith; because all things succede to his good and honor: for all are full of fauour towards him, either with an honest heart, or else in outward ceremony.

Little need is there to produce Histories or examples to this effect, considering that (at all times) it hath bin in practise, & euerie yeare is a breuiate thereof; wherefore it shal suffice me only to represent the true figure of *Fauor*, according to the draught of our graue Elders, which may for way conformance it selfe with that of Occasion. For, in their truest picturing *Fauour*, they figured a yong infant blind, being alone, & without any company. *Bartholomewus Dardanus*, moralizing vpon this picture (introduceth himselfe) speaking to the Painter *Apelles* by way of dialogue, in this manner.

O Apelles! Perceyuing the great paines that thou hast taken, to portraite truly the Image of Favour: I pray thee tell mee, of what race shee is descended? Whereunto Apelles (sodainly replying, saydes) *Her Race is knowne, but to verie few people. And indeede, the Originall of Favour is hardly*

The excellent correspondence betweene Opportunity and fauour.

The fauour of Princes areno meane blis-sings to such as haue them

The true picture of Favour, according as it was drawne by Apelles.

The lesson that he weene Paidrus taught Apelles.

Chap. 23. Of Fauour, Grace, or good Opinion.

to be found. For some say, that fauour cometh by corporall beauty: Others hold, that she cometh by aduenture, or good hap. Yet some will haue her to be the daughter of Fortune, or of accident. And yet neuer thelesse, many are of the minde, that seee yssueth from true Noblesse of the minde. As is easilie discerned, by this short Dialogue following, where a Poet, speaking to *Apelles*, beginneth thus.

A discourse Dialogue (according to Morall sense) betweene a Poet and *Apelles*, concerning the true Image of *Fauour*.

Poet. What is that Woman, standing on yonder side, who is neuer forsaken, but still hath store of company?

Apelles. Her name is Flattery.

Poet. And what is shee that attendeth, or followeth after her?

Apelles. Her Name is commonly called Enmie.

Poet. What people are they that follow engirt her?

Apelles. They are such as continually keep company with *Fauour*, and are especially obedient to her: As namely, Riches and Pleasures, the source and originall of all vices.

Poet. Why hast thou (in figure) giuen wings to *Fauour*?

Apelles. Because shee cannot step a foote abroad, but she mounts aloft, when the wind of good Fortune raiseeth her.

Poet. And wherefore hast thou painted her blinde?

Apelles. Because such as are in credite, will no more take knowledge of their ancient Friends.

Poet. And why hast thou placed hir feet vpon a wheele?

Apelles. Because shee followeth the steps of Fortune, being enmore as inconsistent as shee.

Poet. But why dost thou make her puffe and swell so proudly?

Apelles. Because prosperitie blindeth the vnderstanding of all men.

This Dialogue, reported in the Language belonging to it, would haue much more grace, then any tongue else can be-

flow vpon it. Neuerthelesse, the most gracious Fauourites may heereby take aduice, to know, what companions attend vpon *Fauour*, and the instabilitie both of them and her. To the end, they may the better gouerne themselves with modestie in their credit, without puffing or swelling vp into pride. For, ouer and beside, that God is greatly there-with offended, there are many other dangers else, by the obseruation of passed times: as true testimonie hath bene made, by the vnhappy and lamentable end of many Princes Fauourites, that knew not howe to vie their credit so wisely, as they should haue done.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of those seven Wise men of Greece, commonly called the seven Sages: With many notable Sentences which they left behinde them in writing.



Among the ancient *Grecians*, such were called Sages, or *Wise men*, as now we vlie to terme *Philosophers*. But *Socrates*, accounting the title of Sage or wise to be ouer-arrogant (because it was only proper and peculiar to God, to bee absolutely called Sage or Wise) inuented the name of *Philosopher*, as much to say, as a louer of wisdom; and being somewhat better qualified, and more moderate then the name of Sage or Wise; so that all *Wise men*, which were since the time of *Socrates*, were well contented with the Title of *Philosophers*. Notwithstanding, there were seven seuerall men, vnto whom the name of Sages or *Wise-men*, were attributed, by common consent of all Greece, in regarde of their Knowledge and Vertue.

And indeede, many Authors (as well Ancient as Moderne) do make mention of them, and of notable Sentences left by them for memory: whereof (I purpose) to set downe heere a breefe summarie, that vnderstanding Readers (yet ignorant in the originall Language) may the better be acquainted with their witty sayings.

The greatest Fauourites of Princes haue bene subiect to many misfortunes

Socrates first inuented the name of *Philosopher*, as thinking the title of sage or Wise, to be too arrogant

The Authors intention, concerning this Chapter.

Set.

Occasion or Opportunity, moralized in Figure.

Occasion familiarly described by Sir *Thom. More*, Englishman.

Repentance figured sitting on the shoulers of Occasion.

A worthy precedent for two sorts of people.

<p>Authors of great & good sufficiency. The names of the seauen Sages of Greece</p>	<p>Setting aside then that vaine and foolish Booke of the Seauen Sages, which hath runne thorow too many Countreies, with many opinions divulged, concerning their liues (which were defiled, and rent in peeces by <i>Diogenes Laertius</i>) I will shap my courſe, according vnto that which hath bene auouched by <i>Saint Augustine</i>, <i>Erasmus</i>, <i>Philiſt Melancthon</i>, <i>Beroaldus</i>, <i>Raphaell Volateranus</i>, and many other Authors of great fame. The names of those seauen men, were <i>Solon</i>, <i>Chilo</i>, <i>Cleobulus</i>, <i>Thales</i>, <i>Bias</i>, <i>Pittacus</i>, and <i>Periander</i>, and they are all liuing together at one time: although some of them were more aged then the other, and (happily) liued longer then the rest did. For, all of them were in perfect beeing, during the reigne of <i>Cyrus</i> King of <i>Persia</i>, at such time as the Iewes remayned captiues in <i>Babylon</i>: which was about the space of fife hundred and fiftie yeares, before the comming of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ, as <i>Eusebius</i> saith.</p>	<p>About all things, this man sought still to maintaine loue and amity, & therefore he was held the chieffest in the Common-wealth: he would say, he had much rather be a iudge between two of his friends, then between two of his enemies: for in condemning a friend, he should loose his friendship; but in iudging betwixt two enemies, hee for whome the sentence was giuen, would become a friend.</p> <p>A lewd man once demanded of him, what was to be pittied in religion; wherto <i>Bias</i> answered not a word: the man growing angry, mooued the same question againe; and <i>Bias</i> replied, <i>Why dost thou aske such a case of me, as concerns not thee at all?</i></p> <p>He liued oft-times to say, that the greater part of men, were the worst men; and <i>Auſonius</i> took great paines in confirming this saying. But it is so manifest and true, that it needs no other confirmation, then what is auouched in the Gospell, where it is said: <i>Many are called, but few are chosen.</i></p> <p><i>Cicero</i> also maintaines it to be true, affecting the race of the wicked to be great. <i>Plato</i> also laide to the same purpose, That good men were gone, and growne to nothing: but contrariwise, the vices of the wicked encreased daily, euen as if they were watered hearbs.</p>
<p>At what time the seauen Sages liued.</p>	<p>We purpose to speake of them particularly, and likewise of some of their principall Sentences, which they left respectiue for vs: albeit memory hath embred infinite common sayings of theirs, as ordinarily all Authors haue concluded in their writings. <i>Auſonius</i>, a famous Poet of <i>Lombardie</i>, verie elegantly reduced into verse, many notable Sentences of those Sages, whereof he maketh very ample relation in three feuerall Bookes published by him.</p>	<p>There are some Authors, who alledge many other sentences of <i>Bias</i>, very singular, and necessary; as, <i>Attribute to God all the good thou doest: Neuer be enuious at the rich. Hee may well be called a good man, that hath no remorse of conscience. The greatest danger that happens to a man, cometh from man: The very richest gift in a woman, is to be vertuous and honest.</i></p>
<p>Antonius the Lombard Poet.</p>	<p>First then, we will begin with wife <i>Bias</i>, who was borne in <i>Priene</i>, a Sea-coast towne of <i>Ionica</i>, a Region in <i>Greece</i>, hauing a very poore man to his father, named <i>Tamius</i>. This <i>Bias</i> was a great Oratour, a good Aduocate, and well scene in all the Sciences; beeing otherwise endued with many vertues. Among which, he held in highest estimation, to contern the riches and honors of the world. <i>Cicero</i>, speaking of him, saith, that when the enemy defroide the towne where he dwelt, and euery man labored to saue and carry away the best of his goods: <i>Bias</i> would not saue any thing belonging to him. And being demanded, why he was so respectlesse of his goods: he answered, <i>All my goods I carry with mee: meaning his wisdome, which (indeed) is the greatest wealth of all.</i></p>	<p><i>Aristotle</i> attributeth this to <i>Bias</i>. Degrees of honor and offices, do most manifest what a man is for; many appeare to be honest men (as indeede their actions shew no lesse) beeing priuate persons: but hauing power to command, doe manifestly declare the malignitie of their hearts: He addeth also. That a man should so carry himselfe to his friend, as if (another day) he should become his enemy: and so to deale with an enemy, as hoping (one day) he may be his friend. Yet <i>Aristotle</i> himselfe reproued this saying, in his <i>Rhetorike</i>. Notwithstanding in due consideration of managing friendship in these dayes, wee shall finde this Sentence to be most true.</p>
<p><i>Cicero</i> in <i>Orat. pro Cluent.</i></p> <p><i>Omnia mea mecum porto.</i></p>		<p>There</p>

<p><i>Bias</i> buried at the Common wealths charge</p>	<p>There are many other sayings, well deserving memorie, which are attributed to this Philosopher, & would aske too much time heere to insert: and therefore I will leaue them, hauing first informed the Reader, that after the death of <i>Bias</i>, his funeral was solemnely performed, at the cost and charge of the Common-wealth, in signe of his perpetuall honour.</p>	<p>subject to a tyrant.</p> <p>Heereupon, after that <i>Pisistratus</i> had gotten full possession of <i>Athens</i>, <i>Solon</i> departed thence, and travelled Countreies for the space of tenne yeares, as well in <i>Egypt</i> as in other places. Till at the length, he came to the Court of <i>Craſus</i>, the rich and powerfull King of <i>Lydia</i>, who hauing shewed him his abundant treasures, demanded of him, if euer hee had scene more Royall possessions? Whereunto <i>Solon</i> (like a Philosopher and Free-man) replied: That he had scene the possessions of diuers Fowles, Cockes, Capons, and such like, which seemed goodlier to him, because they were naturall to them. Againe hee demanded of him, if euer hee had scene any man more rich, or so happy as hee was? <i>Solon</i> answered him (without flattery) that hee had scene a man in his owne Countrey, named <i>Tellus</i>, who (in his opinion) was more happy then <i>Craſus</i>; for hee was an honest and vertuous man, and had scene his children, and the children of his children so well aduanced, that hee receyued seruaice from them in his age. Nay more, being growne into the extremitie of yeares; he dyed in the defence of his Countrey, and repelling the enemy.</p>
<p><i>Solon</i>, the second Sage or wife Man of Greece.</p>	<p>The second Sage or wiseman of Greece was <i>Solon</i>, although some ranke him in the prime place. <i>Plutarke</i>, and many other haue written at large of his life, saying: That hee was borne in <i>Salamina</i>, an Island in subiection to the <i>Athenians</i>, illused of an ancient and most Noble house; his fathers name being called <i>Acræſtides</i>. The <i>Athenians</i> made such pretious esteem of <i>Solon</i>, as well in regarde of his wisdom, and the victories which he had obtaeyned against them of <i>Mytilene</i>, with sundry other enterprises, which hee had finished very dexteriously; that they limited themselves to his ordinances, which were great (as <i>Plutarke</i> affirmeth) recording many of them by particular mention.</p>	<p>The King being much displeased at the answer of <i>Solon</i>, layd vnto him: Why dost not thou attribute to me some degree of happinesse? Whereunto <i>Solon</i> replying, shewed him the great traueses and mutations, which may enſue vnto such as are constituted in great Estates: and they being subiect to such alterations, he could not tearme them truly happy, alledging a common Proverbe, vied among the <i>Athenians</i>: That the end of life must first be scene, before any iudgement of happinesse passe thereon.</p>
<p><i>Solon</i> highly esteemed among the <i>Athenians</i>.</p>	<p>Especially he moderated the Lawes of <i>Draco</i>, which were very rigorous, so that for the very least fault committed in <i>Athens</i>, life depended thereupon. For, <i>Demetrius</i> the Oratour sayd, That the Lawes appointed by <i>Draco</i>, were written downe with the blood of men. <i>Solon</i> therefore corrected them, and confirmed in <i>Athens</i>, the Councell of the <i>Areopagites</i>, according as <i>Aristotle</i> and <i>Plutarke</i> do plainly maintayne.</p>	<p>Of most notable saying, though to <i>Aristotle</i>, it seemed not receivable: for, while a man continueth in life, hee is alwayes vncertayne of his estate and condition, as also of his fame and reputation: as it was well approved by the Wise man, who said, <i>Commend no man before his death.</i> And our blessed Lord also, would haue his Apostles and Disciples to make stay in no place, or to salute any body by the way: which some expounded according to the saying of <i>Solon</i>, who affirmed, that man (in his life time) could not assure him</p>
<p><i>Plutarch</i> in <i>vit. Sol.</i></p>	<p><i>Draco</i> lawes registered in blood.</p>	<p><i>Craesus</i> would haue some degree of happinesse granted to him.</p>
<p><i>Pisistratus</i>, an opposer against <i>Solon</i>.</p>	<p>Hee had a concurrent or corruall in <i>Athens</i>, a kinsman of his owne, named <i>Pisistratus</i>; so that, the more <i>Solon</i> labored the libertie of his Countrey, so much the more did hee study and endeavour to oppresse it. Neuerthelesse, in conclusion, the cloquence of <i>Pisistratus</i> had more power, then all the approved goodnesse in <i>Solon</i>, whereby hee possessed himselfe of the Seignerie and Rule of <i>Athens</i>; which <i>Solon</i> might haue done (much more easily then hee) if he would haue vied but his owne meanes. For, when the men of <i>Athens</i> offered him the soweraigntie of their City, hee made them answer thus: The house of tyrannie is very pleasing, but it must haue a winding staires to mount it: And therefore, I will neither be a tyrant, nor</p>	<p>A witty <i>Athenian</i> proverb.</p>
<p><i>Solon</i> refused of governing <i>Athens</i>, & his wife reason.</p>	<p>There</p>	<p>No man can be happy before his death</p> <p><i>Eccleſ. 12. 14</i> <i>Math. 8. 19.</i></p>

The saying of
Solon appro-
ved by many
good authors.
Plutarch. 14.
Cicero.
Quintus Me-
taphysic.

selfe from falling into many inevitable in-
conueniences. *Pliny* also conforming him
selfe to *Solon*, sayd: *One day indgeth another,
and the last day indgeth all. Ouid* maketh
the like affirmation, saying: *Whosoever con-
sidereth the last day of man, which is conser-
uative, it is not possible for him to say, that he
can be any way truly happy.*

Solon departed
from his
Circus, as a
man vnder-
dred.

But returne we againe to King *Crasus*,
who, notwithstanding the wife answer
Solon had made him, he regarded him not,
neither what great benefit might after be-
fall him, by enjoying the companie of a
man so worthy, as neuer respecting future
occasions to follow. Whereupon *Solon*
departed from his Court, with very vn-
kinde entertainment: but afterward, such
an adventure happed, as made him deare-
ly acknowledge his error, and well to re-
member the words of *Solon*. For, Great
King *Cyrus* waging new warre against
him; and hauing vanquished and taken
him prisoner, gaue Sentence, that hee
should be burned alive. Hee being vpon
the pile of wood, and fire making readie
to consume him: cryed foudainely out a-
loud, *O Solon, Solon, remember*
now in this extremitie, that his saying
was true, and that no man could be hap-
py while he liued! *Crasus* commanding
the Officers to slay, and to keepe the fire
from the pile: would needs vnderstand
of him, wherefore he vsed that inuocati-
on vpon *Solon*, or expected thereby for
deliuerance from death? *Crasus* reported
the whole History to him, what *Solon* had
sayd, concerning his imaginarie happi-
nesse; the trued whereof he had now too
apparently proued. *Cyrus* being much
amazed thereat, and entering into mature
consideration, of the strange and vnaoid-
able mutabilitie of Fortune, deliuered
King *Crasus* from death & captiuitie, do-
ing him to great honor, that he made him
his associate in his kingdomes. Whereby
we may perceiue, that this wise and wor-
thy saying of *Solon*, was the meanes of
seeing one mighty King from death, and
made an other also much wiser then hee
was before.

Cicero found
Solons words
true to the no-
men hazard
of his life.

Solon, hauing attained vnto the age of
four score yeares, dyed at *Rhodes*, ordain-
ing by his testament (as *Aristotle* sayth)
that his body should be burned, and his
ashes scattered in the Isle of *Salamina*: be-
cause they should not be caried to *Athenes*,

Aristotle polit.
lib. 3. cap. 1.
The death of
Solon in the
Isle of *Rhodes*.

for contraying them (by that meanes)
to keepe his ordinances. Because, before
he departed from *Athenes*, he made the *A-
thenians* to take an oathe, that they should
keepe his Lawes inuolubly, vntill he was
returned from his voyage. And indeede,
according vnto *Aristotle*, the Common-
wealth of the *Athenians* maintained them
felices very prosperously, so long as they
kept the Lawes of *Solon*.

Now, as concerning the sentences and
sayings of *Solon*; for the most part, they
were conformable to Christian Religion,
and all Ciuillitie. As, *Honour God: Be help-
full to thy neighbour: Maintain the vertue
of thy friend: Obey the Lawes: Bristle thine
anger: Honor thy father and mother: Swear
not: Keepe thy selfe from Envy: Be not too
light in confirming a friend, but learne to keep
him when thou hast him. Marrie with time
equall: Reprooue thy friend in secret, but pub-
licly thou mayest commend him: Shunne the
company of wicked people: Praise and follow
vertue. Hee sayd moreover, That Lawes
were like to Spiders webs, wherein poore little
Flies were soone entangled, but such as were
great and strong, could easily breake throug.
Such, and the like notable Sentences, are
found among his Lawes and Ordinances:
And so much for *Solon*.*

Solon saying
conformable
to Christian
Religion and
Ciuitie.

Chilo, son of *Amaratius*, was also num-
bered amongst the seauen Sages of
Greece. He was of *Lacedemon*, a city high-
ly renowned in *Greece*, where he was ele-
cted in the Councell of the *Ephori*, in re-
gard of his great wisdom & knowledge:
this was an Estate among the *Lacedemoni-
ans*, as the Conseruatorous and Tribunes
were among the *Romains*. *Chilo* was ve-
ry summary and succinct in his Discourse,
as (ordinarily) all the *Lacedemonians*
were: and hee was likewise called *Arifto-
goras*, in regard of that qualitie. When
any one compiled an Oration, in few and
witty words, they vsed to say; That he had
written a *Chilonical* Oration. He liued so
long (as *Pliny* and some others say) euen
till nature fayled in him. Neuerthelesse,
he dyed with a conceit of himselfe, seeing one
of his sonnes, to winne the prizes of Ho-
nour in the Olympian games, and after
his death; the *Lacedemonians* performed
his funerall with great solemnitie.

Chilo called
Arifagoras,
for his lucid
and discur-
sing.

The singular wisdom of this man, ap-
peared sufficiently, by the notable Sen-
tences

Plutarch lib. 14.

Chilo entrusted
all men to
know the
felices.

tences which he had written; but especi-
ally in this, that he exhorted every man
to know himselfe. Which being heedfull-
ly obserued, men would not be too vaine,
nor so proude and inordinate, as usually
they are: because all voyces and disorders
do proceed from selfe-conceite, and no
man truly knowing himselfe. Hee cupon
the Christian Church tooke an order,
that euery yeare (in the beginning of Lent)
all men should bee admonished to remem-
ber, that from dust they came, and to dust
they should returne againe.

Plutarch lib. 14.
lib. 3. cap. 9.
Isenall.

Plato recordeth, that this saying of
Chilo, *Know thy selfe*, was written in letters
of golde, vpon the portall of *Apollos* Tem-
ple. *Isenall* saith, That this saying came frō
Heauen. *Macrobius*, in his Tract of *Scipios*
Dreame, saith; That the Oracle of *Apollo*
being demanded the meanes, what course
should be taken, for attaining to felicity,
answered: *Only teach a man to know him-
selfe*. *Demonius*, being asked, at what time
he began to be a Philosopher, answered;
When I began to know my selfe. O most ne-
cessary rule; for if a man would consider
himselfe well, and study but to vnderstand
his condition, estate and vacations, and
frame his life accordingly thereto: hee
could neuer bee so changed, to attempt
such things, as he neyther shold or ought
to do, neyther would there bee so much
disorder in the world, as now there is.

Things find
necessary for
all men to
know and v-
derstand.

Chilo also had an accustomed kinde of
Prouerbiall speeches, to wit: *Remember
thou must dye, and therefore provide for
thine owne saluation. Honour olde men. Be no
murmurer. Speake no euill of an offender.
Chuse rather losse, then dishonest gaine. In vi-
olence and constraint bee milde and humble.
Labour rather to be loued, then feared. Try
Gold by the touch; for, a golden-songed man,
who keepeth all that comes into his mouth,
men may often heare from him, such things
as they would not.*

Witty and
grave senten-
ces written &
vsed by *Chilo*.

Chilo being asked by one, named *Æ-
sop*, what God had done, answered; *Hee
exalted humble men, and suppressed proud &
ignorant Fooles*. Being demanded also, what
was the hardest thing in the world to bee
done, replied: *To rise and imploy a mans
time well, and to pardon injuries and outrages
received*. In briefe, he would vsually
say, that he would so dispose the course of
his life: *That the greatest persons should ne-
derseele, nor the meanest feare him*. Finally,

Chilo both wrote and spake many notable
things in his time, which would require
ouermuch leysure to report: And there-
fore, we take our leaue of him, making
way to entertaine our 4. man of *Greece*.

Cleobulus, who was also one of the se-
auen Sages, was borne in *Lindus*, a Ci-
ty in the Isle of *Rhodes*; or as some others
say, in *Caria*, a Towne of *Anchidia*, a Re-
gion in *Greece*; and his Fathers name was *E-
uagoras*. This *Cleobulus*, beside his being a
very singular wise man, was also of very
goodly bodily feature, and wonderfully
active of his person: so that eyther, or
both these happy blessings together, made
him admired, and esteemed generally.
The loue of learning preuailed in such
fort with him, that he forsooke his Coun-
try, Parents and Friends; trauiailing into
Egypt, where (in those times) were many
goodly and famous Vniuersities.

Cleobulus,
the fourth
wise man of
Greece, a man
of learning
and excellent
composure of
body.

He had a Daughter named *Cleobolina*,
that could inuent and write in prose, be-
yond ordinary compass of men or wo-
men, and very skilfull shee was beside, in
propounding questions of difficult resolu-
tion; as this one for an example: *A Fa-
ther had twelue children, and each childe had
thirty sonnes, all white by nature, and thirty
daughters, all of them naturally blacke: all
which were immortal, and yet (notwithstand-
ing) were discerned to dye daily*. By which
Enigma, shee vnderstood the yeare, that
hath twelue Moneths, and euery Moneth
thirty dayes and thirty nightes.

Cleobolina,
daughter to
Cleobulus, a
woman of
rare ingenu-
ity.

But come we againe to *Cleobulus*, who
after his returne out of *Egypt*, deferred so
highly by his learning and iudgement, as
to be ranked among the seauen Sages of
Greece. And many of his learned sayings
and sentences, were held as rules and dire-
ctions for mens liues. Among other, he
vsed most of all to say; *That Mediocrity
was without compare*. And assuredly, these
words greatly confirmed the saying of
Chilo, who would haue every man to know
himselfe: For if we knew our felices well,
and as we ought to do, a meane then in all
things would easily gouerne vs. By this
sentence then of *Cleobulus*, making such
precious account of Mediocrity; we may
well conclude, that all extremities are vi-
cious. As much to say, when there is too
much, or too little: whereupon our an-
cient Philosophers vsed to say; *Beare of*

Her witty
Enigma.

Cleobulus his
commendati-
on of Medi-
ocrity.

Omne quod
nimis viciatur
in vitium.

too much, declaring thereby, that all ex-
cesse is vile.

Aristotle attributeth this Sentence to
wife *Bias*, and some other to *Solon*, but be
it howsoever: Vertue alwayes consisteth
in mediocrity: According to the saying of
Aristotle: *Vertue consisteth in it selfe by too
much, or too little*: For vertue is nothing
else but a mean or mediocrity, consisteth
between two extremities. *Horse* ap-
pointed in his Discourses, that a mean
should be obserued in all things. For (saith
he) *all that goeth before it, or contendeth to
come after it, keeping neither meane nor mea-
sure, can neuer be said to be well accomplished*.

An infinite number of examples may
be alledged to this purpose, especially
concerning the foure principall vertues,
which are commonly called Cardinal.
For, Fortitude is lodged betwixt Feare &
Boldnes; & Liberality keeps the mid-way
betwixt Couetousnes and Prodigiousnes;
as the like may be sayd of other vertues, and
humane operations, which ought to go-
uerne themselves by time and necessity:
yet with this charge neuertheless, to be a-
ware of ouer-much in any. This is a do-
ctrine conformable to the saying of *Heli-
odorus*, oftentimes alledged by reuerend
Erasmus, commanding all men to obserue
a measure in their actions. As much main-
taineth *Plato*, *Terence*, *Plautus*, and many o-
ther Authors both ancient and moderne,
euery one of them auouching common-
ly, *That happy men alwayes follow a meane
in their trauels*.

And (in this case) the reason is peremp-
tory, for all things are euen as nothing,
they haue their beginning and their end,
and so they passe away: Reason then fits
them with an apte conclusion, that their
perfection consisteth in the midst of the five
Zones or Places, which girdle round the
whole wide Vniuers; the two extremest
are held to be inhabitable: and yet con-
trarywise, those in the midst are allowed
to be most perfect. The Sunne which is
held to be Prince of the Planets, is in the
midst of the eare and wandring Stars. A-
mong men, the place of honour is in the
midst, & indeed it is hard to make any a-
greement, except rather be a third, to serue
as the means. To conclude, the meane is
much commended to vs in all things, con-
cernes chiefly Christ, that best would be
called the Mediator betwixt God & man.

He vied diuers other notable sentences:
beside, as, *Beware of giving thy friend occasi-
on to reprove thee: Shunne the vnbalances of
thy enemy: Before thou goest out of thy house,
remember what thou hast to do: and upon re-
turning home, consider what thou hast done*:
match not in marriage, but with thine equall,
*for if thou takest a wife of a better house then
thine owne, thou makest thy selfe a slave to her
and her kindred: Pardon the errours of other
men, and neuer be sparing of thine owne: The
more liberty thou hast, so much the lesse rise
make of it: Be not proud in prosperity, nor
faint-hearted in aduersity. Inure thy selfe to
beare the traueses of fortune patiently.* Many
other singular Sentences are attributed to
Cleobulus, which *Ausonius* and *Diogenes
Laertius* haue recorded in their works, af-
firming withall, that he dyed at the age of
seauenty yeares.

NOW it remaineth to speake of *Pittacus*,
of *Mitylene*, the capitall City in the
Isle of *Leibos*, and at this day called *Mity-
lene*, his fathers name being called *Hyrra-
dus*. He was of such learning, wilddome
and ingenuitie of spirit, that the Græcians
placed him in ranke among the seauen Sa-
ges. The loue hee bare to his Countrey,
moued him to make warre against the ty-
rant *Melæger* (who vsurped thereon) so
that hee enforced him to flight. In the war
betwixt the Athenians and them of *Mity-
lene*, about a field then in controuersie hee
was General for the *Mityleneans*, and be-
came Conquerour, and slew *Erinenes* Ge-
nerall for the Athenians in the open field.
Whereupon, the Athenians quitted vnto
Pittacus, the contentious field which they
quarrelled for, in regarde of the victorie
which hee obtayned against them: and
gaue him the gouernment of their Com-
mon-wealth, which he ruled worthily the
space of ten yeares, ordaining many good
Laws and Constitutions for the benefit
thereof. Which hauing done, he willingly
gaue ouer his gouernement, as it was
freely put vpon him: and liued vntill hee
was seauenty yeares olde, beloued and ho-
noured generally.

His sayings and Sentences are no lesse
considerable, then those of the other Sa-
ges, neyther the manner of his life. For, first
of all, he made so final account of the dig-
nity, gold and riches of *Croesus*; King of
Lydia, that hee would not receive any of
him.

Other sen-
tences vied
by Cleobulus.

Ausonius in lib.
Dig. Laertius
out. lib.

Pittacus the
5. of the Gre-
cian Sages.

He made war
on the tyrant
Melæger, &
was General
against the
Athenians.

Pittacus made
Gouernor of
the Athenians.

The slender
euen chance
made of King
Croesus, and
all his pompe.

him: but sent him word, that he had no
need of his gold or siluer, because he had
already a great deale more, then willing-
ly he would haue. Giving thereby to vn-
derstand, that hee was sorry for his Bro-
thers succellion, which happened to him,
because he affected his Brother, better
then his owne welfare. He often saide,
that things to come, were very difficult to
vnderstand; and that there was nothing
in the world more certain then the earth;
and contrariwise, that there was not any
certainty in the Sea.

A wise man (quoth he) ought to foresee
disasters: before they happen, the better to
shun and keepe himselfe from them. Recouer
that with patience, which force cannot com-
mand. He that knowes not how to holde his
peace, knowes no fit time when he should speake.
In time of prosperity get thee friends, & make
proofe of them in aduersity. Neuer boast of
what thou wilt doe, least thou bee scorned if
thou canst not do it. Look how thou art to-
wards thy Father, such shalt thy children bee
to thee. So much for *Pittacus*.

Thales, the sixth of the Sages of Greece,
was a Native of *Miletum*, a City
much renowned in Greece; and for the ma-
ny vertues abiding in him, deferred well,
that the cheefe place among the Sages,
should be assigned to him. For, in the first
place, he was Soueraigne in Geometry,
and the first man that discouered the prin-
cipall secrets of Astrology: as the course
of the Sun, the reason of his Eclipses; and
likewise of the Moone, and the Equinocti-
als. In briefe, he brought to light the
course of the Planets, and many other se-
crets of naturall Philosophy. Moreouer,
he was the cause, that the proud Title of
Sages, remained to the seuen learned men
of Greece, by this accident.

Vpon a day, sundry young men, and
friendly companions of *Miletum*, had
bought a draught of certaine Fishermen,
hauing cast forth their Net into the sea,
and the seely young men were to haue the be-
nefit, of al to be drawne vp at that time. A
most admirable case suddenly happened;
for when the Net was drawne vp, they
found therein a Table of Golde, beautified
and enriched in most costly and sumptu-
ous manner. They which bought the
draught, pretended, that the table of gold
belonged to them, by their bargain. The
Fishermen (on the contrary) auouched it

to be no filth, & that they bought nothing
of them, but only all the filth which should
be taken: and therefore (in that respect)
they had no right at all to the Table. A
long and great contention grew between
them; which to be the sooner ended, by
full consent on eyther side, they sent to
the Oracle of *Apollo*, for a final resolution:
where he, or the diuell speaking by
him, made this answer: *That the Table
must be giuen to the only wise man of Greece.*

Which being thus vnderstood, the golden
Table was sent to *Thales*, as being the
wisest man in Greece. But he was so mo-
dest, that he sent it to another of the Sa-
ges before named (for they were all liuing
at that time) and hee sent it to another, so
that the Table of gold passed from hand
to hand, vntill at last it came to *Solon*, who
likewise would not enioy it, but sent it to
the Temple of *Apollo*, at *Delphos*.

Ausonius, *Callimachus*, and many other
write, that through the countie vied in
the Sages one towards another, the Table
returned againe to the hand of *Thales*, to
whom at first it was presented; and that
he sent it to the *Delphian Oracle*. But how-
soever those Authors write diuersly, con-
cerning this History; yet all doe agree to-
gether in this, that *Thales* was the first man,
to whom the golden Table was sent.

Aristotle making mention of *Thales*,
reciteth many conceited sayings proce-
ding from him, especially in his Bookes of
Pollicies, and namely one, which he vied
ordinarily. *That when he pleased, he could be
rich*. Whereof he made good and suffici-
ent proofe; for foreseeing by Astrology,
that there would be a good season for Oli-
ues, and Oyle of Oliues (soone after)
was likely to be deare; he laid out his mo-
ney, to buy Oliue Oyle while the season
serued, which afterwards hee sold at what
rate he pleased. Not because thereby hee
would enrich himselfe; but to make a ma-
nifestation, that when he listed he could
be rich, considering what knowledge he
had, both for times of abundance, & like-
wise of dearth, when they would happen.
On a time it came to passe, that as he was
gazing vpon the stars, he fell into a ditch;
which an old woman seeing, & comming
(vpon his outcry) to help him, in mocking
manner said to him. *Tell me Thales, how dardest
thou presume to foretell of things to come, by
consideration of the Stars, and yet couldst not see*

The Oracle
of *Apollo*
must end the
controuersie.

The Table of
gold sent to
Thales, as the
only wise
man of Greece

Variation a-
mong Au-
thors, concer-
ning this Hi-
story.

Aristotle in lib.
Polit. cap. 9.

Thales would
be rich when
he listed.

Thales being
fallen into a
ditch, was re-
proued by an
olde woman.

Diuers wife
layings offer-
red by Tha-
les.

see what was under thine owne feet upon the ground. And yet notwithstanding, he was knowne to be an admirable wife man. He was wont to say; *That ouer-great assurance and confidence, was euermore accompanied with repentance.* For many times, such as trust too much to others faithfull promises, are faine to pay the debts, from which no other caution could preuaile with them. He sayd moreover; *That the true meanes of liuing vertuously, is, by not doing such things, as we condemne in other men.*

Being demanded, what was the easiest thing in the world to doe; he answered; *To know other mens faults; and none of our owne.* He sayd also; *That few Tyrants liued to be old.* Diogenes following the opinion of * *Hermippus*, sayd; that *Thales* vied to thank God for three things (though this Sentence is fathered on *Socrates*;) *First, that he had made him a man, and not a beast. Secondly, that hee had made him a man, and not a woman. Thirdly, that hee was borne a Greeke, and not a Barbarian.*

* A philoso-
pher & schol-
ler to Philo-
Bibius, Iew,
borne in A-
lexandria.

Periander the
last of the ten-
uon Sages of
Greece.

Now we come to speake of *Periander*, the last of the Græcian Sages, of whom I haue no great matters to relate; because (according to diuers authors) he was not in the rancke of the seauen Sages, and yet a man of singular wit and vnderstanding. *Periander* was King of *Corinth*, and the son of King *Cypselus*: the manner of his life being rather tyrannicall, as liuing like a Sol-dior or Captaine, rather then a Philoso-pher. And hence it ensued, that *Heraclides*, and many more beside, esteemed *Periander* to be none of the seauen Sages of Greece: but another *Periander*, who was (indeed) a great Philosopher; and a man highly renowned for vertue. Neuerthe-lesse, the most voices gaue the title of Sage to *Periander*; for although hee reigned by power at *Corinth*: yet notwithstanding, he was so discrete, valiant and so abso-lute vnderstanding, that thereby he won the name of Sage among the *Greeks*.

It was demanded of him, why he did not depart from his tyranny & kingdom; because (quoth he) I may fall into as great danger, by willingly leauing my king-dome, which none other can dispossele me of by force. He vied continually many notable Sentences, and had the word *Consideration* very frequent in his talke, as declaring thereby, that the principall thing

we should haue care of, is, to consider well what affaires we vndertake. The Poet *Ausonius*, expounding the word *Consi-deration*, saith; *A man should thinke some times on any thing, before hee presume to at-tempt it.* For men (often-times) fall into great dangers, through much inconsi-deration: especially, when they will not be governed by wisdom or counsell, but rashly follow the persuasions of For-tune.

Vertue (sayd *Periander*) is immortal, but the pleasures of this world are of small continuance. In times of prosperity, be wise and modest; & in aduersity patient and constant. Live in such sort, that thou mayest haue honour by thy life, and that after thy death, men may account thee happy. Let an- cient Lawes and Ordinances be rules for thy gouernement, inducing no nouelties into the Common-wealth. Profite should alwayes be accompanied with good grace and honestie. Performe that chearefully, which thou canst not preuent but cowardly.

Complete he was in these, and in-finite other of the same nature, which bre-uiary maketh me spare to speake of.

Ausonius, ex-
pounding the
word Consi-
deration.

Wise & lea-
rned Senen-
ces of Peri-
ander, iust to
eternall me-
mory.

Periander re-
puted not to
be a philoso-
pher, but king
of Corinth

His answere
when he wold
not leaue his
Kingdome.

CHAP. XXIII.

¶ *That Sight is the chiefest and principall Sense of all the rest. And of many be-
ing blind, who neuertheless were men
of great honour and renowne.*



Aristotle had great reason to say; *Sight is the very principall Sense of all the other corporeall sen-
ses.* For, it is seated as in the maine Cittadell, in the high & most eminent part of the body, where-
by we may vnderstand, that it partaketh greatly with fire: by vertue and power whereof, it is placed aboue all the other senses. Touching hath a terrestriall partici-pation, for the earth is most touchable and tractable; and of all the Elements, Tasting holdeth with Aquositie and hu-miditie: for, without humidity, a man cannot taste any thing. As for Smelling, *Aristotle* attributeth it to fire, saying; *Heat is the foundation of odour, and her
cold consisteth in vapour, ioynt to an Ayre
grosse, and full of exhalation.* Concerning

Aristotles
Animal cap-
s The influ-
ence of light

The Elemen-
tary qualities
of the body
senses.

Hearing,

Hearing, euerie one well knoweth, that it partaketh with ayre, which entering into the eares, by found, causeth hearing; but sight participateth with fire.

And although that the Eye were com-posed of a moylt and waterish bodie, yet notwithstanding, without Fire, it wer not possibl: to haue sight: whereby wee may perceiue, that Sight or Seeing holdeth more of fire, then all the other senses doe beside. And because the eye (as *Aristo-tle* saith) doth more present the figures of things to a man, then all the other senses: to it is granted, the beginning of contem-
plation, and knowledge of all things. For from sight proceedeth admiration, and the consideration which a man hath by seeing, occasioneth a desire in him, of co-ming to vertue: So that (by good right) we may call the Eye, the Author and In-
uenter of all Arts and Disciplines.

In the prime place, by the Eye, a man considereth the admirable Architecture of the heauens, & of all the other bodies: by the Eye we discern their colours and greatnesse, their formes, number, propor-tion, and measure; their sense, motion, & their resting. And although Hearing had some concurrence in this case with See-ing, so that it might be termed a sense of doctrine and of discipline, because men learne vertue by hearing and vnderstand-ing: yet (for all this) that title appertayneth principally to the sight, as vnto her, that giueth the meanes to the vnderstand-ing, to enquire by the plenitude of things which she heareth, to come to the true knowledge of them; to the end, that this knowledge may afterward be communi-cated to other. Hereby then we may ob-serve, that the first source or spring of in-struction, cometh from the Sight, who afterward maketh Hearing mistress of the worke, by comprehending those admi-rable things: presented first to the eyes cen-sure. Wherein also may be noted, that Hearing can comprehend nothing of it selfe, without vying the meane of another; but the Sight comprehendeth all things (as it were) euen of it selfe.

Moreover, Seeing surpasseth all other senses, in swiftnesse and promptitude of her operations: for in an instant, and with no more then a cast of the eye, the per-fecteth her designs: whereas the other senses are long, & laborious in their wor-

king. For, Touching must haue one thing or another, to execute her power and of-fice vpon, before (hee can expresse her prerogative. Tasting also must needs tar-ry, for some things answerable to his pal-late. And Smelling requireth such a ley-fure, in receiuing an ayre qualified, as may penetrate into her nostrilles: As the like doth Hearing, to comprehend a voice en-tering into the eares. But Sight only wor-keth instantly, and presently comprehendeth the images of things presented to hir in an vnspokeable and gracious manner. For, blowes may be seene giuen a great way off, and although the sound or noyse of them bee not heard so soone; yet not-withstanding, there is nothing that can conceale sight of the strokes, for they are sodaine and apprehensue vnto the Eye. And therefore, Seeing surmounteth the other senses, because it extendeth it selfe so farre.

In this respect, by many Histories and examples reported by *Pliny*, wee may ca-sily gather, that Sight hath a farre larger extent, then all the other senses, without any comparison, or wearying her selfe re-ligiously, as all the other do. For the Taste tareth it selfe by too much feeding. The Eare is easily offended, by talkative bab-bling. The Smell is trauailed extremely, by continuation of sweete Odors. But Sight folie, hath no sense of paine in her opera-tions. Nor doth she at any time wearie her selfe, as to close her lids retiredly; but rather, she is neuer satished with Seeing. In briefe, the excellency of Seeing is so great, that the name of Seeing is attrib-uted to all the other senses, in theyr severall operations. For, men ordinarily say, Be-holde the excellencie of this sweete O-dour a little while; or the Delicacie of this Musick; or the rare taste of this Fruite.

The name of Seeing, extendeth it selfe to the operations of the vnderstanding; for it is an vniuersall saying; Marke how my intention will come to passe. It is like-wise sayde in the Gospell, that our Lord and Sauour saw (that is to say, knew) the thoughts of the Scribes and Pharisees. And verily, among the miracles & workes which our blessed Sauour did in those vnworthy Countreys; it is helde for the most especiall and singular, that he gaue sight to the blind. And therefore there is no

The Eye dif-
ferent along
way off from
where the per-
son is, so can
none of the
other senses.

The name of
Seeing attrib-
uted to the
other senses
in their kinds

Seeing exten-
deth to vnder-
standing.

Matth. 23. 30.

Christ his gi-
uing sight to
the blind most
commendeth.

Yyy 2 labor

Sight holdeth
more of Fire,
then all the o-
ther senses.

Sight the be-
ginner of con-
templation.

The singular
benefit recei-
ued by sight.

Hearing can
not attain to
the preceps
of Seeing,
but cometh
thereby the
better enlur-
ted.

Hearing com-
prehendeth
nothing but
by anothers
help.

The swiftness
and celerity
of the Eye in
her operations,
inregard of
tardines in all
the other sen-
ses.

A History of
Fredericke
King of Na-
ples.

Of the enu-
ous man.

Spectacles
helpe to pre-
serve the
fight.

A gluttonous
Feeder.

A Gentleman
of Spaine
wayes wif
his Spectacles
at his meales.

Diuers blinde
men of great
honour and
excellency.

Blinde Appi-
us Claudius,
Censor of
Rome.

Cicero in Tus-
culan lib. 5.

labor, wherein our Physitions more glad-ly study and take paines, then to preferue and maintaine the sight of men.

I reade of a holy man named *Azarius*, who being present in a consultation, that diuers Physitions made before *Fredericke* King of *Naples*, concerning the maintaining of mens sight. When it came to his turne to speake, he said; *There is nothing better to comfort the sight, then enuy, because it will alwayes make the goodes of an other man seeme greater then they are.* This agreeeth with *Ouids* saying, *Enuy euery thinks his neighbours Corne, more goodly then his owne.* Notwithstanding, according to the opinion (almost) of all men, Spectacles do greatly serue to defend the sight: and surely, they were a very good inuention, though the first deuiler neuer knew it.

I haue heard of a great Lord in *Spain*, that would alwaies eate Cherries with his Spectacles on his nose; onely to make them seeme the bigger and more nourishing: but yet this gourmandise was exorbitant. An other Gentleman, being quipt by *K. Phillip*, because he fed ordinarily with Spectacles on his nose; answered the King, Sir you count it not strange, that I use my Spectacles in reading a Letter, in which can be no danger at all: why then do you blame me, because I eat fish with Spectacles on my nose, wherein are such an infinite number of bones, as the very least is able to strangle me, & which I cannot see without my Spectacles? Spectacles then serue to very good purpose many times. But to our former purpose againe concerning Sight.

Although Sight is the chiefe guide of many; yet notwithstanding, I haue read of diuers blind men, who were of no meane fame and reputation: Nature supplying their vnderstanding, for whatsoever wanted in their sight. *Appian* *Claudius* the great Orator, highly honored and esteemed of *Cicero* and *Titus* *Linus*, although hee was blind; was elected Censor at *Rome*, which office hee managed with so singular authority, as he only hindered the peace the whole Senate had concluded with King *Pyrrius*, *Cicero* discourseth amply in the fifth Booke of his *Tusculan Questions*, concerning the blindness of *Appian* *Claudius*, and of remedies against diseases in the eyes.

Caius Drusus, the most famous Lawyer and Advocate, was blinde; and yet neuertheless, his house was continually full of clients and suitors, who rather affected to be guided by his darke wisdom, then by their owne eye-sight. *Caius* *Aspidius*, a great companion with *Cicero* in his youth, was Prætor of *Rome*; and yet left not to opine in the Senate, and all his friends receiued counsell from him, in their very greatest and weightiest affairs. And notwithstanding this blindness, yet he digested a very notable Chronicle, of his own writing, whereof was made most high estimation. *Diadorus* a Stoical philosopher, was greatly renowned in his darkenes, and for all that imperfection, he could study in the night time, & play on his viole in the day; nay more, he taught Geometry publicly, a matter almost incredible, considering that it can not be practised but by the eye.

Antipater of *Cyrenæica*, and *Aclepiades* the Critique Poet, were both of the blind; and yet bearing their disaster with patient soules, they neuer gaue ouer studying Philosophy, but therein spent their time to the benefit of many. And when certain Ladies (grieving at his hard fortune) sate weeping by *Aclepiades*, hee said to them: *Forbear (noble Ladies) because you know not what a pleasure it is, to dwell in darknes: they then demanding of him, what profit he receiued by his blindness, he replied; I haue a boy more now to keep me company then I had before. Homer*, the Prince of Poets, was blind also, as his name imported; according to the saying of *Cicero*: neuertheless, tis vnkowne when he lost his sight; but true it is (as *Ouid* saith) that this disaster happed to him in his olde age.

Didimus Alexandrinus, may likewise be ranked with them that haue gone before, who being blinde euen from his youth, became (neuertheless) a most perfect Logician; studying besides, in all other humane disciplines; and hee made a very notable Commentary vpon the *Psalms* of *David*. Such then, as wee haue before spoken of, perceiving themselves to be deprived of their sight, did yet striue and labour to performe thin memorable, as Necessity is alwayes sayd to be industrious.

But that which *Democritus* did to himselfe, made the world both astonished & smile

Caius Drusus, a famous lawyer blinde, & yet wrote a worthy Chronicle.

Diadorus a Philosopher yet taught Geometry in his blindness.

Antipater *Cyrenæicus*, and *Aclepiades* Critique.

Homer being blinde, was called the Prince of Poets.

Didimus *Alexandrinus*, the famous Logician.

Democritus the Philosopher, plucked out his owne eyes.

Zisca, chiefe Capitaine and Commander of the Bohemians.

Belus, the second King of Hungaria, was blinde by his owne fault.

John, the blinde King of Bohemia, who assisted *Phillip* of France, against King *Edward* of England.

smile at together: For, (as *Lucretius* and *Andrus Gellius* do affirme) he plucked out his owne eyes, to enjoy the more freedom in his contemplations. But *Tertullian* (who was an Author worthy of credite) maintaineth, that he did it, onely to auoide the inordinate appetites of the flesh.

About all other men, subiected to the infelicite of blindness, *Zisca* the Bohemian deserueth no meane remembrance, who being blind, was chosen chiefe Capitaine and Commander of the Sect hee professed among the Bohemians; and so well executed his charge, that he obtained many victories against his enemies, and carried himselfe so worthily in his place, that hee atchieued immortal memorie.

Belus also, second king of *Hungaria* being elected chiefe of the *Hungarian* army; had his eyes plucked out by the meanes of King *Colomanus*, his owne vncle. Being blinded thus, hee withdrew into *Greece*, where he made such plaine apparence of his manly spirit and wisdom: that King *Stephen*, sonne to King *Colomanus*, repeated him, and gaue him in marriage the daughter to the count of *Serua*. In which dignity he carried himselfe with such rare integritie, as (after the death of King *Stephen*) hee was chosen King of *Hungaria*. And being blinde, reigned nine yeares; during which time he had diuers warres, and especially against *Braccus*, the bastard sonne to King *Colomanus*; whom yet he vanquished, so that he left the kingdom of *Hungaria* peaceably to his sonnes.

The last blinde man, whereof wee will speake at this time, was *John*, King of *Bohemia*, who reigned in the yeare of our Lord 1350. or thereabout. And surely, it is almost myraculous of this Prince, that blinde *Zisca* should maintaine his Commanders place so worthily, being General of the Bohemian army, against *Belus* then reigning in *Hungaria*: yet I hold all nothing to blinde *John* of *Bohemia*, who had so much valour (after his owne victory) to succour (in person) *Phillip* King of *France*, his kinsman, in his warre against King *Edward* of England. For, this blind King, euer affected to make one in the field; assisting also the Earle of *Flanders*, and many French Princes.

CHAP. XXV.

¶ That Auarice or Couetousnesse, is a most enormous vice, and subiect to great dangers: With sundry examples of diuerse persons, who were extremely couetous.



He Auarice of our instant dayes, induced mee to discourse on this sin, as a case of most perillous and extreme danger: and to intermeddle among my relations, certain histories of many couetous men, which may serue as exampls to other yet liuing. Desiring all Readers (in the meane while) to consider the estate of a couetous man, with the like eie, as common people doe diligently looke vpon a monster, which foule juggler or Mountebanke bringeth into a city, for singularity & obseruation.

As entrance then into our discourse, it is to be noted, that *Aristotle*, *Cicero*, *Thomas Aquinas*, and many other Authours beside, haue diuersly defined what Auarice is; neuertheless, we may deriue this resolution from their definitions. That Auarice is an inordinate desire of a mans enriching himselfe, without sparing part of his goods to any other; so that we may well say, this vice is excessiue in desiring and griping, but very cold and slowe in giuing or parting with any thing. Vnder the cloake of this sinne, march a thousand disorders, infinite iniustices and abominations, sheltering themselves there so safely, as they cannot doe the like in anie of the other vices. For, as *Virgil* saith; *Execrable famine of gold, is there any vice, which thou inducest not into the hearts of men?* *S. Paul* also saith: *Couetousnesse or Auarice is the source or roote of all euils, hauing made many to wander from Faith, which otherwise would haue kept and followed it.*

That Auarice is a sinne most abhominable, appeareth sufficiently in this, because it makes a man hated both of God and men, being (of it selfe) quite contrary to Charitie: which is such a vertue, as conioyneth God and men together, euen as the opposite sinne maketh a man hateful vnto himselfe. For, the loue of our selues is so rooted in our hearts, that wee respect not any thing, in regarde of our

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interfering this
Chap. by
the Author.

Aristotle,
Cicero,
Thot. Aquinas.
The definition
of Auarice.

Virgil, his ex-
clamation on
Auarice.

Rom. 9. 14.

Auarice cau-
seth contemp-
t both of God
and Men.

felues, louing alwayes our owne profit, more then any others. And yet notwithstanding, Auarice hath gotten such preeminence ouer man, as he cares for nothing but getting money, being loth to forgetfull of himselfe, that hee will neither eate, drinke, nor clothe himselfe decently; but rather is content to fast, and almost starue himselfe, because he will not allow the least leisure from the scraping goods together. Nay, he feareth not to hazard both his soule & body, so he may be sure to get money; which is a thing repugnant to the Lawe of Nature, who ordained and instructed vs, to affect and maintaine our felues, and contemne all things, before our owne liues. And yet the couetous man cares not to loose and condemne his owne soule; yea, and abridge his life, which he will endanger in a moment, for the getting of a Crowne.

Vndoubtedly, it is much to be lamented, that a man should not respect himselfe, nor his parents, wife, children nor friends; provided that he may wallow in wealth and mucke of the world: such an one was the Rich man, spoken of in the Gospell. What a miserable and wretched follie is it, to endure hunger, thirst, colde, ill cloathing, and neither sleep by day or night, but every houre to endanger life, and yet make no vse of golde when it is gotten? It ought, and should serue for the sustentation of life, and to that end riches were ordaind. Obserue the words of our blessed Sauour; *What a wayleth is a man to winne the whole world, and loose his life, that is, his soule?* Surely, I am of opinion, that this happeneth by the Diuine permission, casting such couetous men into a reprobate sence, to the end they may die in that avaritious will and desire.

And yet notwithstanding, God often permitteth that wealth scraped together, by such toyale and trauaile: shall fall into the hands of other, to scatter as prodigally, as it was gotten wickedly, and wonderfully sparing. This is that whereof Salomon speaketh in his Ecclesiastes: *Such as heape up riches, gotten by iniustice, leave them for other to spend.* For, can that thing bee good for an other, which is euill in him who hath it? *Iuuenall* also vpon the very same words speaketh thus. *Some doe gaine and make profit, only to maintaine their*

life; and there are others, who live not but to gaine. In brieft, this wicked vice doth so captiuate a man, that it robbes him of all loue and respect to himselfe: so that there is not any wickednesse in this world, but it may well bee expected in a couetous man.

* *Dion the Philosopher* said, *Auarice is the head of all wickednesse.* *Euripides* saith, *An ambitious & couetous Iudge, can neither thinke or desire any iust thing.* *Saint Augustine* saith, *who soeuer suffereth himselfe to be gouerned by Auarice, becometh subiect to all vices and wickednesse.* And this is conformable to good reason. For, the couetous man (by Auarice) becometh a tempter, periured, an euill payer, an vflurer, a deceiver, a traytor, a turne-taile, a thiefe, a tyrant, and an idolater: so that it is not possible, that a couetous man should haue any good being; neither as Lord nor vassalle, gouernour nor subiect, father nor sonne, nor friend or coufine, and in the end, neuer doth good, except when he dyeth.

* *Lucilius* sayd, *An avaritious man is good to no bodie, because he is wicked to himselfe.* *Democritus* maintained, *That extreme Auarice, is worse then extreme Pouertie.* *Aristotle* in the first Booke of his Politiques saith: *Desire to become rich, peruerseth the mind; and therefore riches serue as powertie to a couetous man: because hee dare not rise them, for feare of empaying his estate.* The Stoicks had a saying, *That wisdom and necessitie came not of powertie, but of abundance: for, the more that a man hath, so much the more needy is he.* Concluding, *It is good to haue a little, because as no time to be needie.* *Plato* gaue this counsell to a couetous man, to become rich indeed, hee should not encrease his wealth, but rather decrease his auarice or couetoufnesse.

All these notable Sentences before remembered, are intirely conformable to the sacred Scriptures, who declare; *That the eyes of a couetous man are insatiable.* *Salomon* also saith in Ecclesiastes: *A couetous man is neuer satisfied with money: And that who soeuer addictheth his mind to riches, shall neuer enjoy them.* *Saint Augustine* compareth the couetous man to hell, which can neuer be glutted enough, and neuer saith it hath sufficient, although it hath beene so long time in filling. Euen so, the greedy

* A Philosopher of Be-tylhene.

Aug in lib de lib. arbit. cap. 5.

Therewas picture of a couetous man.

* A famous Latine Poet, living in the 17.

Arist in Polit. lib. 1. cap. 4.

The opinion of the Stoicks concerning wisdom and necessitie.

Sentences of Scriptures, touching couetoufnesse.

Aug in Chast. de lib. 9. cap. 4.

Auarice maketh men carelesse of themselves in getting money, yea and to endanger their bodies and soules.

Men care not for their Parents, Wife, Children, Friends, nor themselves, so they may get riches.

Luke 16. 15.

The niggard oftentimes gets goods together for the prodigall to spend vniuertually.

Eccles 7. 19.

greedy couetous man is neuer satisfied, but the more he gaineth, the more he gapeth still after gayne; thinking himselfe poorer and poorer. *Saint Ierome* sayth: *The couetous man is so needie of that which hee hath, as if hee had it not at all. And alwayes his auarice encrease, as fire doth being continually fed with dry wood.* As much or rather more, haue many other holie men sayd; all in vtter detestation of this damnable sinne.

Neuertheless, because I will no longer weary the Reader, I shall conclude this point with the saying of *Saint Augustine*: *How strangely insatiable is this desire in men? Other creatures haue their appetites limited for they hunt when they are hungry, and being satisfied, they leave their prey. But hee that coueteth the riches of this world, is insatiable: for hee seeketh and boordeth up daily, taking wealth from all hands, without fearing, cyther God or men. Hee knoweth neither father nor mother, he maketh no account of his brethren, or any friends of his; hee neuer careth for keeping his word: Hee oppresseth Widowes, robbeth Orphanes, and serues his turne with free-men, euen as if they were slaves: He is commonly a false witness, and cares not how hee engroffeth up dead mens goods: Are not these commendable qualities in a couetous man? Let vs flee then from this accursed vice, which (ouer & beside the former notes of wickednes) is incurable (according vnto the saying of *Aristotle*) for it increaseth with age: so that Auarice is in his full reigne, when bodily strength faileth in man.*

To shunne one falling into this slauiish sin, I will alleadge some examples of wicked couetous men, among whom, *Indas* Iscariot marcheth in the first rancke; he being an Apostle and Disciple of Christ Iesus, was so subiect to Auarice: that he would robbe the money from the rest of his fellowes and companions, by bearing the bagge, and hauing the money in his owne possession. This wicked passion had so farre blinded him, that he accounted the precious Oyntment to be lost, wherewith *Mary Magdalen* anoynted the feete of our blessed Sauour. For, if the Oyntment had beene solde, hee would haue stolne part of the price. In the end, he was so strangely led by this sinne, that (for money) he solde his Lord and Master. This onely example were sufficient

to approue whatsoeuer hath beene said concerning couetoufnesse: neuertheless, I am content to report some other, among which, *Tiberius Caesar* Emperour of Rome is the foremost man; and questionlesse, there is no other vice in the world, better to be exampld in the *Romain* Emperours, then this of Auarice.

This Prince, among other his notorious vices, (whereto hee was very easily moued) was so subiect to penurious griping, and pinching, that although he was Lord of the whole world; yet notwithstanding, he put to death *Cnaeus Lentulus* (whom he had instituted to be his heire) onely to enjoy his wealth. As much did he to the King of the *Parthians*, who did come to liue with him vnder his safe-conduct; onely to possesse himselfe of the riches and treasure, belonging to the simply abused Prince. He so heauily charged the poore with taxes and toyles, that they were enforced to forsake their countries, in such sort; that the Cities and Townes remayned desert and vnhabitable. In the end, pursuing on still his insatiable inclination: *Caligula* smothered him between two pillowes, and so hee dyed.

Domitian the Emperour was more couetous then he: And the Emperour *Commodus* (therein) exceeded them both: for he (ordinarily) vsed to make port-sale of iustice: and therefore heauen iustly permitted them to be stabbd to death by *Ponnyards*. *Achelous* King of *Lydia*, was so ouercome with couetoufnesse, that hee could not be contented with his Crowne lands, and very large ordinary reuenues; but layd (beside) such taxes and impositions vpon his subiects, that they arose in Armes against him, and hauing taken him, murdered him most miserably, and (afterwards) hung him vp by the heeles.

Pontanus maketh mention of a Cardinal, who was so extraordinarily avaritious, as he would often disguise himselfe like vnto a poore groom or slave, and steale away the prouender from before his owne horses. *Horace* saith, that there was a man in Rome, named *Ouid*, who was so abundantly rich in money, that he could measure his gold and Silver by many bushels: and yet notwithstanding, hee would goe starke naked, and neuer did eate halfe so much as would suffice him; as feazing still

Sierome, his comparison of a couetous man.

S. Augustine, concerning desire in men, and other creatures, but (as hee saith) all in the avaricious and couetous man.

Arist in Polit. lib. 1. 10.

Examples of wicked couetous men, Indas Iscariot, one of Christs Apostles.

Example of couetoufnesse in diuers of the Romain Emperours.

Tiberius Caesar, who couetously put his own heire to death, to enjoy his reuenues.

He was found smothered by Caligula.

Domitian and Commodus, two extreme couetous Emperours.

Achelous, King of Lydia.

A most extreme couetous Cardinal.

A wretched, and miserable couetous man in Rome.

accident of his confederates death, which he neuer dreamed of; and he himselfe forsworne for nothing.

Heere to I will adde *Cæsar Borgia*, Duke of *Valentia*; whome *Machiavel* so highly admitteth, that he propoeth him for a patterne or example to his Prince. This *Cæsar*, being become exceeding rich and potent, by the helpe and Authority of *Alexander* the sixt, his Father; and fearing nothing so much as his Fathers death, whereby it might chance, that some enemie of his might be chosen to succede him; studied and laboured by all meanes possible to prevent that inconvenience, & to procure, that the election of his Fathers successor, might fall into the power of himselfe and his friends. Which when hee had provided sufficiently, as he thought; it chanced by such meanes as I will declare.

After a while, not onely his Father died; but he fell likewise so extremely sicke at that time, that hee could execute nothing of that which hee had before resolved. Whereby it came to passe (God so disposing in his iust judgement) that an enemy of his fathers and his (being chosen to succede) he was within a while utterly overthrowne. In which respect, he himselfe was wont afterward to confesse, and lament the imbecility of mans witte, because when hee thought, that he had foreseene all inconveniences, which might happen to him by his Fathers death, and provided to prevent them: hee neuer so much as imagined, that he should bee so sicke at the same time, that he should not be able to put any of his designements in execution.

And herein is also to be noted; for further prooffe of the matter in hand, that he himselfe was the cause, as well of his owne sickness, as of his fathers death, and consequently of his owne overthrowe, by a wonderful chance, which hapned contrary to his expectation. For, having invited his Father, and Cardinall *Cornetti* to a Vineyard, with intent to poyson the Cardinall, so the end to inherit his goods; hee re-commended a certaine Bottle of impoisoned wine, to a trusty servant of his, with speciall charge to keepe it safe, and giue it to none without his expresse order. But it to fell out, by his servants negligence (or rather by Gods iustice)

that as the Psalmist saith; *Incident in fouem quam fecit: He fell into the pit himselfe, that he had made for other.* For his Father, coming into supper very hot and thirstie, by reason of the great heates, and calling for wine; the servant that had charge of the Bottle (not knowing it was poysoned; but imagining onely, that it was some speciall wine, more precious then the residue) & not having any other ready (because the poyson was not brought from the Pallace) gaue him of that wine, whereof not onely he, but his son *Borgia* drank. And being both poysoned therewith, the Father (who was old and weake) died presently: but the Sonne being young, and more able to resist the force of the poyson; had time to take great and potent remedies, whereby (after a long and dangerous sickness) he hardly escaped. Thus was his bloody plot and pernicious purpose preuented, by an accident which he neuer minded.

But lets come now to an example in our Countrey of *England*, which manie yet may well remember. The Lord *John Dudley*, Earle of *Warwick*, and after Duke of *Northumberland*, in the time of *K. Edward* the sixte, meaning to advance himselfe and his Family; married the Lorde *Guilford Dudley* (his fourth sonne) to the Lady *Jane*, daughter to the Duke of *Sussex*; pretending to make her Queene after King *Edward*, in prejudice of the Lady *Mary*, daughter to King *Henry* the 8. and eldest sister to the sayd King *Edward*. For, by reason of the Kings lingering sickness, he had time to vie all the meanes, which he thought convenient for the accomplishing of his desire. And therefore partly for friendship, and partly for feare, hee had herein so farre preuailed, that there seemed to want nothing for assurance of his intention: but only to haue the Lady *Mary* in his hands; whome therefore hee procured the Councell to send for in the Kings name; vpon pretence, that the should come to comfort the king; where to the obeyed, not suspecting any sinister meaning in the Duke.

But as she was vpon the way, and somewhat neere to *London*; before she fell into the snare prepared for her, it pleased God, that shee received aduice of the Dukes designement, from one of his owne counsell: wherupon she returned sodainly,

Psalm 7. 15.

Guilford Dudley

The plotte of the Duke of Northumberland, and against the Lady Mary, eldest daughter to K. Henry the eighth.

John Stow in his Booke 6.

Lady Marie a daughter of the treacherie intended towards her, by one of his owne counsell.

The overthrow of Cæsar Borgia (Machiavel's murmur for a Prince) by a sodain chance

Guilford Dudley

Borgia the great politician preuented

Guilford Dudley

Cæsar Borgia thinking to poyson another, poysoned his owne Father & himselfe

ly, and within a while after, that she arrived at her owne house; she had newes of the King her Brothers death. And although the was destitute of men, money, counsell, and all other meanes to enable her, whereby to resist to great an adversary as the Duke (who was not meanly provided) yet such was her trust in God, as also the iustice and right of her cause; that she provided her household servants to proclaim her Queene presently in the countrey Townes thereabout. Whereupon, first the common people of the countrey adioyning, and (afterward) diuers gentlemen of account repaired vnto her in so great a number: that the Duke of *Northumberland* and the Councell (who had already proclaimed the Lady *Jane* in *London*, and in diuers parts) thought it convenient to leuy forces, and to make a royal Army, whereof the Duke himselfe (for the authority of his person) was General.

The Duke then presently put himselfe into the field, leaving the charge of the City & Tower of *London*, to the Lords of the Councell: who, vpon his absence, and vnderstanding the great concourse of people, to the assistance of the Lady *Mary*, and the equity of her cause iustly considered: they agreed amongst themselves, to proclaim her in *London*, as presently they did, and committed to prison the Lady *Jane*. Then sent they order to apprehend the Duke, who was so dismayed therewith when he vnderstood it; that he utterly lost his high and hopeful courage; and being taken prisoner at or neere *Cambridge*, was brought to *London*, and there afterward executed.

By these examples, and infinite others which might be alleged, it is verie evident, that there is no surety in the plottes and contriuings of men, be they neuer so wise, except they be guided by the Spirit of God particularly. For, when they haue built (as a man may say) Towers of policy, as high as the Tower of *Babel*; a sodaine blast of an accident vnexpected, shall cast them downe to the very ground, to the confusion (many times) and ruine of the builders and contriuers.

But what shall we say of counsellors and policies, that seeme not only to be grounded vpon great reason, and continued also with as great prudence; but also suc-

ceede (for some time) notably well; & yet in the end proue to be pernicious? Vnder these we haue seene sufficient experience in the *Romane* Empire, which was overthrowne in course of time, by that (which for many years) seemed to bee the strength and security thereof. For, whereas the first *Romane* Emperors, having oppressed the Common-wealth by Armes, perswaded themselves, that their state was to bee established and conferred, by the selfsame meanes as it was gotten, and therefore resolved, that the safety thereof, & of theyr persons, consisted in strong Guards, garisons, Legions, and Armies of soldiers, to be distributed throughout all the parts of their Dominions: it is euident, that the same was (in the end) one of the principall and cheefest causes, of the Emperors utter overthrow, though (at the first) it seemed greatly to establish and assure the same.

For, after the death of *Nero* (when the Family of the *Cæsars* was ended) not onely the Guards departed for the custody, & safeguard of the Emperors persons, called *Pretorian milites*; but also the Legions & Armies, disposed and placed in diuerse quarters of the Empire (seeing as well the personnes of the Emperors, as also the strength of the Empire in their own hands) did arrogate vnto themselves, such authority and liberty to chuse new Emperors: that they set them vppe, and pulled them downe at their pleasure. Vnder which then one year after *Neros* death, foure Emperors, *Galba*, *Otho*, *Vitellius*, and *Vespasian*, were chosen by the Guardes, who forced the Senate to admit and confirme them. And their insolency grew to such extremity in time, that after the death of the Emperor *Pertinax* (whom they killed) they made offer of the empire (by publike proclamation) to whosoever would giue most for it.

And whereas there was but onely two that offered money for it, *Sulpicianus*, and *Didius Iulianus*; they gaue it to the latter, partly because he gaue them ready money, and partly because *Sulpicianus* was Father in Law to *Pertinax*, whom they had slain. And, whilst not onely the Emperours guards, but also the soldiors of every army tooke vpon them to make Emperors: it fell out sometimes, that there were as many Emperors chosen at once, as there were

The *Romane* Empire overthrowne by the same meanes that preferred it for a time.

The famous election of Emperors by guards and armies of soldiers.

Suetonius, Plutarch.

Elivs Spartian.

The Empire sold to such as would giue most money for it.

The Duke of Northumberland his overthrow by gods providence and iustice.

These are commonly the ends of high and ambitious hopes.

Trebet. Pollicie
triginta tyrana

were diuers Armies in the Empire. Informuch, that in the time of *Galen* and *Valerian*, there were no lesse then thirtie Emperours declared in sundry places, within the space of fifteene yeeres. Whereupon it followed, that the Empire (becing pittifully rent and torne with ciuill warre) was so weakened, that it became a preye to the *Gothes*, *Vandales*, *Alans*, *Hunnes*, *Lombards*, and such other barbarous Nations.

The ruine of
many Emper-
ors by their
owne GuardsSuetonius,
Jul. Capito-
linus, Elio-
trid. Pollicie,
Flauius Iosephus

Thus was the Romane Empire ouerthrowne, by the same meanes, that were not only ordained to conserue and maintaine it; but also did indeede (for a time) preserue it from many dangers, both domesticall and forraigne, to wit, as well from inuasion of forraigne enemies, as from rebellions of Subiects: which by the Emperours Guards, and the ordinary Legions, dispersed through all parts of the empire, were either easily preuented, or speedily repressed. For which cause, the Emperours themselves were content, to stand (as it were) at their mercy, to the end that they might (by them) rule and command others; which although to some it was a safeguard and security, yet to manie more it brought ruine and perdition; as to *Caligula*, *Pertinax*, *Caracalla*, *Heliogabalus*, *Papianus*, *Balbinus*, *Galen*, *Sewerus*, *Macrinus*, *Aurelianus*, *Julius Maximinus*, *Probus*, with diuers other; some of them being slaine by their owne Guards, and some by their Soldiers.

The Turkes
great Guard
of Janizaries,
dangerous
to his State.Leo 10. Swan-
son in his Ot-
tomans, part 1.

This inconuenience, the Emperours of Turkes doe seeke to remedy, in their Tyrannicall Dominion (which they also vphold by force, as the Romans did, though with lesse danger.) For, although they haue about three hundred thousand horse, and foote euery readinesse, vnder their Colonels and Captaines, in *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Africa*: yet they keepe them alwayes fundered, and farre dispersed, that they neuer come together in any number, vnlesse they are to be employed in some forraigne Warre. Neuerthelesse, their Guardes of Janizaries, which they haue alwayes neere about them, for the security of their persons, to the number of thirtene or foureteene thousand, haue proued (many times) no lesse dammageable, then dangerous to their States. For they haue not onely sometime set the younger Brother against the elder, and holpe the

sonne to depose the father: but also (euen in our Age) haue taken the most confident Officers, and greatest fauorites of the Turke from him by force, and smote off their heades; and compelled him to pardon them, yea, and to giue them whatsoeuer they would demand, to appease them.

Whereupon, two considerations may be gathered; the one, the infelicities of Tyrants, who while they seek rather to be feared, then louingly affected: are forced to make themselves subiects & slaues to those, by whome they keepe other in subiection and slavery. Whereby wee see, how true it is which *Seneca* saith; *Quod a lieno metum magnum est, suo non vacat. That which is great by others feare, is not void of feare in it selfe.* The other consideration, is, how tickle the state of Princes is, how weak their policies, how vncertaine the successe of their plots; and consequently, how needfull it is for them, to craue and haue the especiall protection of Almighty God, in all their designements and actions; seeing the meanes wherby they labour to preserue themselves from dangers, proue many times more dangerous in the end, then the dangers themselves, which they seeke to auoid.

This may further appeare, by the policie which *Rodericke* King of *Spain* vied, to assure his state against the children and friends of King *Ysida*, whom hee had deposed. For, fearing lest his subiects might rebell in their fauour, hee dismantled all the strong holds and places in *Spain*, and disarmed the people. Whereby, though hee strengthened his state, in regard of domesticall danger; yet hee weakened it, in respect of forraigne attempts. In somuch, that the Moores inuading him shortly after, and ouerthrowing him in battell, found so slender resistance afterward, that in feauen or eight moneths, they conquered almost all *Spain*.

The like also may be saide of the Brittaines, to whom their owne policie proued most pernicious; for, being mollified by the *Picts* and *Scottes*; they called in the *Saxons* for their defence, who (for sometime) serued them to good purpose; but in the end, they conquered them & their Country.

In like manner, the Queene of *Hungarie* thought it good policie, to procure the

Pauli. Iulius, in
Commen. reuol-
utione, Turci, in
Eug. 12. a.Tyrants are
slaued to those
by whom they
keepe other
in slavery.The danger-
ous & tickle
state of Prin-
ces, without
Gods especiall
protection.Rodericke K.
of Spain, o-
uerthrowne
through his
owne policie.
Leo 10. Swan-
son 173.Ioan. Pol. Swan-
son in Crow. 1714
Baron. An. 1711.
Beda. h. 1. l. 1.
10. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.The very
worst kindes
of policie
to procure
the desires
themselves.No policie
preualleth a-
gainst the will
of heauen.

the ayde and assistance of *Solyman* the Great Turke, against *Ferdinando* King of the Romanes, brother vnto the Emperour *Charles*, the fifth of that name; and (for a certayne time) hee was relected and supported thereby: but in the end, *Solyman* coming into *Hungarie*, in his owne person, with a pretence to succour her: hee depriued both her and her sonne of their Kingdome: Also *Amurath*, one of *Solyman*'s Ancestours, conquered and subdued the greatest part of all *Greece*, euen by the very like kinde of meanes and occasion.

But peraduenture you will say, that this was so grosse a follie in Christian Princes (to put confidence and trust in the helpe of such potent and perfidious Infidells) that it is not to bee alledged for an example of policie. I graunt that it was follie; but such kindes of follie may bee committed and doone, euen by the wisest Princes and their counsellors, when Almighty GOD will punish and afflict them. For, hee eyther taketh from them their politicke wittes, to the end they may erre and precipitate themselves: or, hee ouerthroweth their wisest designements, by such kinde of meanes as they cannot imagine: or else, hee doth bring them to such exigents, that they are forced (sometimes) wittingly, to take in hand some dangerous and desperate resolution, whereby they are disgraced and ruined.

CHAP. XXVIII.

A briefe Discourse concerning the first foundation of *Ierusalem*: What fortunes (from time to time) befall there to: And of the Kings that there did reigne.

The admir-
able graces &
priviledges of
Ierusalem in
precedent
time.

Neuer was there any Towne or Cittie (of what estate or condition soeuer) that had so many especiall graces and priuiledges from Almighty God, nor euer had such store of sacred mysteries therein performed, as in the

Cittie of *Ierusalem*: although it had not had that (onely chiefe) note, that our blessed Lord and Saviour was there crucified, dead and buried; and that the mysteries and secrets of our redemption, had not bene there accomplished: Contrariwise, there is not any Cittie in the world, that euery endured so many miseries and mischances, or fell into such slauiish seruitude, as hee, and as is to be discerned at this day.

As concerning her riches, and sumptuous buildings, no Cittie vpon the earth could euer equal them; as *Pliny* extollet it about all the Citties in the East, and *Cornelius Tacitus* amply describeth the situation thereof: whereby wee may easily collect, that it was one of the most potent Citties in the world. As much affirmeth *Iosephus*, who describeth the three wals wherewith it was ingirt: which neuerthelesse were adorned with goodly Towers, Bulwarkes, and buildings most rare; besides the excellencie of the Temple, a thing beyond all compasse of comparison. All which considered, I thought it not vn-necessary, to make some briefe report, concerning the first foundation of this Cittie, with what fortunes happened thereto (as well good as euill) by a summarie Collection, of such things as I find recorded in her owne Chronicles.

Ierusalem was situated and founded, in the very midst of *Iudea* or *Ierrie*, at the toppe or knap of Mount *Sion*; which is helde or reputed (commonly) to be the middle or centre of the earths superficies. *Ezechiel* also saith, *That it was seated in the midst of Nations.* *David* likewise saith, *That the saluation of men was perfected in the midst of the earth.* Which Saint *Hierome* declareth, writing on that passage of *Ezechiel* before specified. Moreover, it is written in *Genesis*, That *Melchisedech* (which, according to the interpretation of Saint *Paul*) is as much to say, as a Iust King, or a King of Iustice. *Abraham* hauing conquered foure Kings, that kept *Lot* prisoner, mett him and made a sacrifice to God; and that this Prince baptized this Cittie of *Salem*, or (as some say) *Salem*, which is as much to say, as Peace: in regard wherof, he was called King of Peace.

Salem then was the first name imposed vpon this Cittie: although Saint *Eliensis* is of the opinion, that it had the

Z z

name

The wealth
and sumptu-
ous buildings
in Ierusalem.
Plin. lib. 2. c. 9.
Cor. Tac. in
lib. 3. cap. 4.
Ioseph. de Bell.
Iudaic. lib. 6.Concerning
the seating or
plantation of
Ierusalem.Genes. 14. 18.
Hebr. 7. 1. a. 3Salem the
first name gi-
uen to Ieru-
salem.

name of *Iebus* at the beginning. *Strabo*, *Cornelius Tacitus*, and many other Authors beside, called it *Solima*, speaking otherwise of the foundation, then formerly hath bene sayd.

This City likewise was called *Iebus* and *Ierusalem*, as wee may reade in the sacred Scriptures. Saint *Hierome* writing to *Dardanus*, doeth giue it three names: Notwithstanding, it was (in the end) called *Aelia*, in regarde of the Emperours name *Aelius Adrianus*, who caused it to bee re-built and fortified. Saint *Hierome* sayth, that it had the name of *Iebus*, in regard of the *Iebusites*, who had founded it, vntill the time of the holy Prophet *Dauid*.

Iosephus and *Agesippus* say, that *Melchisedech* gaue it the name of *Ierusalem*, as much to say, as *Vision of peace*: making one word of *Iebus* and *Salem*. So that *Ierusalem* found it selfe to be composed of these two wordes, onely by changing *B* into *R*. Others say, that it had the name of *Here*, that is to say, *Vision*: by reason of the Angel which appeared to *Abraham*, when hee would haue sacrificed his sonne *Isaac*.

Some others say, that it was called *Ierusalem*, as much to say, as the house of *Salomon*: in regarde of the admirable buildings which King *Salomon* erected there: many other opinions are there vpon this poynt, which I passe ouer lightly; because I am of the minde, that as the *Iewes* called it in their tongue *Ierusalem*, so did the *Greekes* and the *Latines* name it *Ierosolima*, as wee may reade in *Iosephus* and *Agesippus*, Greeke Authors. Yet, *Nicholas de Lyra* will not haue it to bee so receyued, because hee sayth, that *Ierusalem* was first called *Luca* and *Bethel*: which I can giue but little credite vnto; for (according as Saint *Hierome* sayth) *Bethel* is twelue miles off from *Ierusalem*, as wee may see it also auouched by *Iosephus*. Notwithstanding all these opinions, it is to be noted, that *Ierusalem* (in former times) had many particular names; which were thereto attributed, in regard of the manifold high mysteries therein accomplished. As, *The holy City*; *The Sacred Citty*; *The Citty of Dauid*, and many other such like Titles, besides her owne proper and peculiar name, *Ierusalem*.

But come wee now vnto the Historie. The *Iebusites* and the *Canaanites*, who were one and the same Nation (for *Iabub* or *Iebus*, was the sonne of *Canaan*, the sonne of *Can*, Nephew to *Noah*, of whom these Nations tooke their name) were Lordes of *Ierusalem*, at such time as the Children of *Israel* (deliuered from the Captiuitie of *Egipt*) possessed themselues of *Palestine* and *Iudea*. And it came to passe, that in the diuision or partage, which the twelue Tribes of *Israel* made of the Land promised vnto them: *Ierusalem* fell into the portion of the Tribe of *Beniamin*. Neuerthelesse, because this Tribe of *Beniamin* (notwithstanding all their aduentures in Armes) could not wholly cleare the Country of the *Iebusites*: they were constrained to let them liue there among them, for more then three hundred and seauenty yeares after, euen to the time of *Dauid*. Hee being both a Prophet and King, and descended of the Tribe of *Iuda*; expelling the *Iebusites*, wonne their Fortresses from them, building them new againe, and erected there a goodly Pallace, as wee may reade in the Booke of *Kings*, and also in *Iosephus*. *Dauid* hauing thus expelled the *Iebusites*, called *Ierusalem*, *The City of God*, creating it to be the chiefe and Capital City in all *Iudea*.

During the Reigne of King *Dauid*, *Ierusalem* was in her triumphing iollity, and highly renowned among all the Nations, in regarde of the great victories which *Dauid* obtayned: after whose death, wife *Salomon* succeeded him. And although this King laboured to liue in peace, yet *Ierusalem* still increased in fame, riches and sumptuous buildings: for *Salomon* enlarged the walles thereof, and erected there goodly fortifications. Hee builded many other costly Castles beside: but especially the Temple, so greatly renowned, in regard of the treasure and artificial cunning bestowed thereon, as neuer could any other building be compared therewith. For, as wee may reade in holy Scripture, and also in *Iosephus*, the Furniture thereto belonging, was infinite and incomprehensible. So that the very fame thereof, incited the Queene of *Saba* to visite King *Salomon*.

Concerning the *Iebusites* and *Canaanites* the lords and possitors of *Ierusalem*.

Ierusalem fell to the tribe of *Beniamin* in the diuision.

King *Dauid* expelled the *Iebusites* out of the land. *Ioseph*, in *Ant. Iud. lib. 8. c. 9*

Salomon succeeded his father *Dauid*.

Ioseph, in *Ant. Iud. lib. 8.*

The Queene of *Saba* visited King *Salomon*.

Many

Many Kings likewise sent him choyle Presents to the same effect, Gold, Silver, and Treasure, which they brought to him by sea, and in such abundance, as no more account was made thereof, then as stones in the streete.

This King neuerthelesse, forgetting the great blessings which God had bestowed vpon him; became an Idolater, so that God suffered his kingdome to be diuided after his death.

Hauing reigned forty yeares, *Rehoboam* his sonne succeeded him; against whom ten of the Tribes revolted, who elected *Ieroboam* to be their King. *Rehoboam* had but two of the Tribes onely, to wit, *Iuda* and *Beniamin*, whereupon he fortified his Cities: and afterward, this Kingdome remaining to his successours, began to take and continue the name of *Ierusalem*, because of the Tribe of *Iuda*. *Ieroboam* and his successours, called themselues Kings of *Israel*, and chose *Samaria* to be the chiefe City of that Kingdome: and by this diuision, those Kings were alwayes at continuall warre, each against other. Notwithstanding, although *Rehoboam* had but two of the Tribes subiect to him, yet his reputation was so great (because hee was descended of *Dauid*) that euermore hee prevailed in fight, and was much more feared and obeyed, then the King of *Israel*, so that *Ierusalem* became not a little diminished, eyther in strength or riches. But when the Kings of *Iuda* and their people, grew offensive to God by Idolatry: then this goodly City suffered many miseries and calamities.

Rehoboam hauing strongly defended his Townes and Cities, and they flourishing in all pompe and prosperity; hee notwithstanding, fell to Idolatry, as wee may reade in the holy Chronicles; and likewise in *Iosephus*. In regard whereof, God raised vp against him, *Sufac* or *Shishbak*, King of *Egipt*, who came and towred his Country with twelue hundred Chariots, threescore thousand horse, and a countless number of Infantry, belonging to the *Egiptians*, *Ethiopians*, *Troglodytes*, with many *Lybians*, which came from *Gynna*, to his seruice. Boldly they entred into *Ierusalem*, sacked the City and the Temple, from whence they carried infinite Treasures, as is to be obserued in his chronicle. After which chastisements, the

anger of God being appeased; *Rehoboam* remained peaceably in his Kingdome, all the remainder of his life: and being dead, *Abias* succeeded him, who ouer-came *Ieroboam* King of *Israel*; in which conquest were slaine fifty thousand men belonging to *Ieroboam*.

After the death of *Abias*, who liued but a while (being also an Idolater; and yet God permitted him to haue this victory, in consideration of *Dauid* his grandfather) *Asa* succeeded him. This Prince was good, iust, and feared God, and therefore hee gaue him many great and signall victories, against *Zarab*, King of *Ethiopia*: who had entred so farre vpon his Country, that he kept *Ierusalem* besieged. In his time, the Kingdome of *Iuda* was so flourishing, that (vpon an account made) there were found five hundred and fourescore thousand men, able to beare Arms. I finde also in the sacred Scripture, that this King builded and fortified many Cities.

Hee being deceased, *Iehoshaphat* his sonne came to the Crowne, during whose Reigne, *Ierusalem* was in great reputation: chiefly in respect of Prophets, as *Abias*, *Michas*, *Ostias*, *Elias* and *Elihu*, who were all then at that time. This King found such fauour in the sight of God (according as wee reade in the holy Chronicles of the Kings) that the *Moadibites*, *Ammonites*, and the Mountaineers of *Seir* (being gathered together, with an infinite number of people, to runne vpon this Prince) God sent a dissention among them; that they conuerted thence, and employed their powers to spoyle themselues, so that without striking a stroke, King *Iehoshaphat* returned with great triumph to *Ierusalem*. Where hauing reigned peaceably, and in no wicane power, hee dyed, leauing the Kingdome vnto *Joram* his sonne, giuing also to his other Children, diuers Cities, with great summes of gold and silver.

Joram being come vnto the Crowne, hee followed not the steps of his Father, nor of his Grand-father. But gaue himselfe to impiety and crudelly, putting to death his owne Brethren. He laboured also to haue alliance with *Achab*, King of *Israel*, whose counsell hee mainly followed in his affaires, and likewise tooke his Daughter in marriage. Whereat

After *Abias*, succeeded *Asa*, a iust and vertuous Prince.

A goodly multitude of men made in *Iuda*.

Ierusalem builded with many famous Prophets.

A mighty army presented by Gods providence.

The impiety and wicked rule of *Joram*.

the country
of Iuda was
led & ruined.

Wicked lues
were common
by a wicked
death.

The Prophet
Zacharie put
to death by
Ochozias.

Another great
military hap-
ping to Ieru-
salem.

Amasias mur-
dered by his
son Azarias
succeeded him

God being displeased, suffered the men of *Edom* to revolt from him. The *Arabs* also made warre vpon him; which proved in such cruell manner, that the whole Countrey of *Iuda*, was thereby vterly waited.

After his death, *Ahasias*, or *Ochozias* his Sonne, succeeded in the Kingdome, with his Mother *Athalia*: and, as they were both of most Wicked life, came to, hadde they asynhappie an ending.

Next him succeeded *Ochozias*, who gaue good apparence in the beginning of his Reigne, to doe all things for the best, as well in regard of Religion, as for actions of policie. For, he reduced the Temple into the first condition, and re-established all the damages and iniuries which the Kinges of Egypt (and especially his Father *Ahasias*) had done. But soone after, hee fell vnto Idolatrie, so that (by common voyce of the people) hee caused the Prophet *Zacharie* to be put to death.

So highly was the goodnesse of Almighty God distasteth herewith, that he sent a terrible chastisement vpon *Ierusalem*, and that in the time of King *Amasias*, Sonne vnto this *Ochozias*. Who hauing Warre against *Ioua*, King of *Israell*, and neuer remembering the great Victories, which God had giuen him against the *Idumeans*, and manie other Nations: both hee and his people were overcome, and being ledde Prisoner vnto *Ierusalem* his owne City, was compelled to yeelde it to the mercy of *Ioua*, who caused it to be dismantled, and foure hundred fadomes of the Vallies to bee beaten downe. He spoyleth the Temple also, and possided himselfe of all the wealth and riches belonging vnto King *Amasias*: returning home afterwards (in Triumph) to his Citie of *Samarita*.

Furthermore, King *Amasias* being slaine by Treason, *Azarias*, or *Ozias* his Sonne next succeeded, who was a verie valiant and potent Prince. First of all, he strengthened *Ierusalem*, and all the other dismantled Cities, enriching his Countrey, by diuers great victories which hee obtained against the *Philistines*, *Arabs*, and *Ammonites*, making them all Tributaries vnto his Crowne; so

that the renoune of *Ierusalem*, encreased day by day, while hee reigned; and hee founded and builded many Townes and Cities beside.

Neuerthelesse, pride made him to forget his dutie; for, perceiving that he had three hundred thousand men subiect vnto him, and all in abilitie to carry Armes: hee grew so exceeding arrogant, that hee would needes vsurpe the High-Priestes Office. But as hee was performing his Sacrifice in the Temple; God smote him with a fowle Leaprotie, the which continued with him to the time of his death.

After his decease, *Iotham* his Sonne next succeeded him, being a Prince very wise, iust, and valiaunt; hee also enlarged *Ierusalem* verie spaciouly, by manie reparations and new foundations; besides, the building of some other Cities. Hee likewise ouercame and vanquished the *Ammonites*, from whom he brought backe great summes of Golde and Silver. But after his death, Triumphant things beganne to weare away, and all unhappinesse fell vpon the people of *Iuda*: For, his Sonne *Achaz*, sur-named *Elezazar*, being come to the Crowne; gaue himselfe to Idolatry, introducing the ceremonies and superstitions of the Pagans. In regard whereof, God chastised them by the hand of *Rasias*, King of *Suria*; and *Phezas* King of *Israell*, who slaughtered (in one day) fixe score thousand men. After which pittifull ouerthrow, they ranne thorow the Countrey of *Iuda*, robbing and spoyling it in lamentable manner; and because *Ierusalem* was strong, it stood the sharpe besieging of these kings so long, til they despayring of their insufficiency, were forced (with great summes of Golde) to buy their succor of *Salmanazar* king of the *Assyrians*. And for the better satisfaction of him, they tooke the Vesselles of Gold and Silver, which onely were for the Temples service, to helpe them withall in this great distresse.

Salmanazar being come to assist the king of *Iuda*, vanquished and ouerthrew the king of *Israell*: and yet notwithstanding, ledde away with him a great number of the Iewes prisoners, to whom he gaue the Region of *Libna* to dwell in. And this was the first dispersion and captiuitie of

Pride and arrogancy lustily punished by the hande of heauen,

Iotham succeeded Ahasias his father

Pagan Ceremonies and superstitions brought into Iuda.

Ierusalem reduced againe to distresse in wofull manner.

The first dispersion and captiuitie of the Iewes.

Ezechias the son to vnto Achaz, succeeded him in the kingdom after his Father.

His rooting vp of Idolatry and turning given to the Iuda Tribes.

Salmanazar and Sennacherib, Gods scourges vnto the Iewes.

The dispersing of the Iewes into strange Countreys.

of the Iewes, since their miraculous deliuerance out of Egypt: and in short time after, the *Assyrian* king, compelled the King of *Israell*, euery yeare to pay them Tribute. At this very time, the Prophets *Osai*, *Esay*, *Amos*, *Micha* and *Iona* were in great reputation.

After the death of this vnfortunate *Achaz*, next came to the Crowne his son *Ezechias*, a man farre beyond the Nature of his Father; for, hee was wise, iust, religious, and one that feared God. *Ierusalem* also (in his reigne) recovered once more her former credite; policy becoming better reformed, and the seruice of God reduced to such perfection: that (as the Scripture it selfe amply declareth) the Realme of *Iudab* neuer had a better king; liuing in great prosperity, and honouring his Countrey, with many famous Victories.

Hee could not content himselfe, with renting vp the rootes of Idolatry, whereto the people were ouer-much inclined; and bringing them entirely vnto the true seruice of God: but hee also gaue summons to the ten Tribes of *Israell*, to lue according to that Lawe, which God had deliuered by the hand of *Moyse*. Whereunto many condiscending, they came to Sacrifice in *Ierusalem*, and to celebrate Easter, according vnto the ordinance of *Moyse*.

Notwithstanding, as the sacred Scriptures doe testifye, the rest perseuered still in their Idolatry, and made a mockerie of those gentle inuitations, as also the aduertisements which the Prophets had giuen them. For which contempt, GOD layde his correcting rodde vpon them, aswell by *Salmanazar*, as *Sennacherib*, Kings of the *Assyrians*, who oppressed them greatly, in the first yeare of King *Ezechias* his reigne.

Also in the fourth yeare of the reign of *Ozias*, King of *Israell*, the *Assyrian* brought so heauy a warre against ten Tribes of *Israell*, for the space of three whole yeares: as he enforced them to forsake their countries, and to go dwell as slaues among the *Medes*.

Thus you see how the Iewes were dispersed here and there, among forrayne and strange Nations, without euer returning againe home to their owne houses, so that none knew what afterward should

become of them. For heere was the end and ruine of the kingdom of *Israell*, which had continued three hundred and seuentie yeares.

On the contrarie, *Salmanazar* sent his *Assyrians* into *Samarita*, to inhabite there; who (vsurpingly) got possession of all the Countreys (wherein the *Israelites* had formerly dwelt) and tooke the name of *Samaritanes* vpon them. Yet *Eusebius* taketh that name but as a Garrison, wherein his opinion (me thinks) is not warrantable: for they were called *Samaritanes*, after the name of *Samarita*, the chiefe and principall City of that Countrey. The *Assyrians* made a mixture of the Iewes Lawes with their Idolatries; yet held them in abomination, as excommunicated people. As concerning their actions, I shall be silent therein, because it no way concerneth my discourse: and if heerein I haue committed any error, I submit my selfe to the Churches correction.

After the ouerthrow and ruine of the *Israelites*, the Kingdome of *Iuda* onely remayned on foote: For the good King *Ezechias*, to saue his people from the fierce rage and furie of King *Salmanazar*, and to preferre his owne dominions in peace; gaue him great summes of gold, buying (by that means) peace for long time. Neuerthelesse, this Infidell King falsified his Fayth vnto him, and came with a mighty powerfull Armie, intending to ruine the Kingdome of *Iuda*, as formerly hee had done the Kingdome of *Israell*. But GOD being pleased to defend his people, sent the Prophet *Esay* vnto King *Ezechias* to comfort him, (because this Prophet liued then) and in one night, the Angell of the Lorde, slew one hundred and fourescore thousand fighting men in the *Assyrians* camp: by meanes of which great slaughter, the rest retired thence. And *Ezechias*, hauing escaped this dangerous perill to himselfe, and his people, lyued the remainder of his dayes peacefully in his Kingdome. And God hauing evidently declared great Myacles, on the behalfe of this King, he dyed peaceably, leaving his Sonne *Manasses* succedour in his kingdome.

This Prince wandered from the good wayes of his Father, and added him selfe altogether to Idolatry, committing

How the Samaritanes first received that name.

The kingdom of Iuda remaining after the ruine of the Israelites.

One hundred and fourescore thousand Assyrians slaine in one night.

Manasses re-
uoluted from
the wayes of
good King E-
zechias his fa-
ther, and was
led captiue
into Babylon.

The deeds of
the holy king
Iofias, repay-
ring the Tem-
ple, and expel-
ling idolatry
out of his king-
dome.

King Iofias dy-
ed of a wound
needlesly re-
ceiued in fight.

The lamenta-
tions of the
prophet Iere-
mie.

many most abominable finnes, directly contrary to the Law of God, and thereto likewise induced the people. Whereat God growing offended, raised vp the *Affyrians* against him, who so well chastised him; that, ouer and beside the ouerthrow of his people, himselfe was taken prisoner, and ledde away captiue into *Babylon*. Notwithstanding, he repented him of his finnes, which caused God to deliuer him out of the *Affyrians* hands; so that hee returned home to his owne estates, and dyed there in peace. After him, succeeded his wicked son *Amon*, who was slain most miserably: the Prophets *Iel*, *Nahum*, and *Habbakuk* succeeded in his time. Next him, came to the crowne his sonne *Iofias*, who was a Prince that feared God, & very vigilant for the reformation of his people; performing many other actions, rightly becoming to good and iust a King. For, he expulld all idolatry quite out of his kingdom, which had taken deepe roote in the hearts of men, and he repaid the Temple also. Neuertheless, the anger of God against the Iewes was not appeased, in regard of the abominable idolatries committed, in the reigns of the Kings *Manasses* & *Amon*. Notwithstanding, in respect of King *Iofias*, who (thorough his owne folly) dyed poorly; God deferred to chastise the Iewish people, in such manner as he did afterward.

This king dyed of a wound, which hee receiued on the day that hee had agaynst *Necar*, King of *Egypt*, when hee might haue bin better employed. For *Necar* had no matter of quarrell against him, but rather sought his friendship so much as hee could; and hauing no other intention, but to imploy his forces against the King of *Affyria*. Neuertheless, in a brauery of spirit, *Iofias* would needs meddle with him, which cost the deere price of his life. His death was very much bemoaned, especially by the Prophet *Ieremy*, who wrote his Lamentations on his behalfe.

Iochaz his son succeeded him, who was giuen to all iniquity and wickedness; wherefore God furnished him to reigne no more then three moneths: for *Necar*, who had before foyled his father, depriued him of his kingdom, making the country of *Iudea* tributary, paying an hundred Talents of Gold, and one of Silver, every yeare.

Iochaz being thus defeated of his king-

dome, and led prisoner into *Egypt*, where he dyed; *Iochim* his Brother, was entailed in his place, behauing himselfe verie wickedly; for hee was wholly affected to Idolatry, and prouoked his people to doe the like. In which respect, God stirred vp king *Nabuchodonosor* to be his enemy, who had already reigned forty foure yeares in *Babylon*.

This Prince hauing won the victorie against the Iewish people, ledde away the most part of the greatest personnes in all the Countrey, as captiue slaues and Vassals, and tooke away also the Vesselles of the Temple. The occasion of this warre grew, because *Iochim* gaue ayde vnto the King of *Egypt*, against *Nabuchodonosor*, contrary to the counsell of *Ieremy*. *Iochim* hauing reigned eleuen yeeres, and liued prisoner three yeeres, dyed in great pouty.

After whom succeeded *Iechonias*, following the steps of his Father, because hee was as wicked as hee. In his time, God began to display his rigorous rods of vengeance, prepared long time before against *Ierusalem*, but deferred in the regard of *Iofias*, according as the Prophets had foretold. For King *Nabuchodonosor* came in his owne person, with an exceeding great and powerfull Armie, to besiege the Citie of *Ierusalem*: but, *Iechonias* being not able to make resistance, submitted vnto his will, himselfe, his Mother, his Wife, and the principall personnes that were of his House. Moreover, hee made him a present, of the Vesselles and Treasures which remained (as yet) in the Temple. By which means, King *Iechonias*, and the chiefeft men of his Court, were ledde away captiues into *Babylon*: But *Nabuchodonosor*, tooke all the assurances and fidelitie of *Mattathias*, vncle to King *Iechonias*, and made him king of *Iudea*, calling him by the name of *Sedechias*.

In speaking of this King, I must needs say, hee was one of the most Wicked and vnhappy Princes that euer reigned: For, not onely was hee ingratefull vnto Almighty GOD, for the great Graces which hee had bestowed vpon him (turning still his backe, and not willing to heare any thing which the Prophet *Ieremy* tolde him) but also did falsifie his word vnto King *Nabuchodonosor*; who

Iochaz dyed a prisoner in *Egypt*, led thither in captiuitie.

King *Nabuchodonosor* ouerthrowed the Iewish people.

The long deferred anger of god against *Ierusalem*, now cometh to appearance in the warre of *Nabuchodonosor*.

Sedechias one of the worst Kings that euer reigned in *Iudea*.

The warning giuen to this vngriuous King, by *Ieremy*, *Ezechiel*, and other Prophets.

The wrath of God executed vpon King *Sedechias* and his Children.

The utter ruine of the Temple of *Ierusalem*.

The captiuitie of the Iewes in *Babylon*, & how long it continued, as also the wofull depopulation of the Citie.

who had entailed him in the Kingdome, denying him his friendship. And if this Prince was no more worthy: much lesse then were the sacrificing Priests, and least of all the common people: so that all abominations and idolatries reigned in *Iudea*, euen to the prophanation of the Temple, which had bene held in such sacred esteeme. And notwithstanding all the aduertisements giuen to this King, by *Ieremie*, *Ezechiel*, and other Prophets: yet his obstinacy encreased daily more and more. Whereupon, God raised *Nabuchodonosor*, who, to reuenge the wrongs done him by *Sedechias*, in the ninth yeare of his Reigne, he came and couered the Countrey of *Iudea* with a mighty Army, and held *Ierusalem* besiedged, the space of two yeeres, where King *Sedechias* had betaken himselfe for his more security.

The poore people languishing with famine & pestilence, were no longer able to endure the sidge; but being thus by extremity compelled, yeelede to the enemies mercy: when hee entring into the Citie, put all to fire and sword. *Sedechias* was taken in his flight, and being brought before *Nabuchodonosor*; saw his own children flaine before his face; and as for himselfe, he had his eyes plucked out, and sent (in that miserable manner) captiue to *Babylon*. After the Conqueror was returned home, he sent to *Ierusalem* *Nabuzaradan*, who was one of his principall Captaines, with especiall charge, vtterly to ruinate the Temple. This was foure hundred yeeres after the building thereof by King *Salomon*: as he performed the like; to all the Fortresses and sumptuous buildings of *Ierusalem*, beating downe the walles of the Citie, and defacing the Pallace belonging to the Kings of *Iuda*.

Hee carried away also all the mettall that was in the Temple, and ledde thence the Sacrificers, and all the chiefe men, as well of *Ierusalem*, as throughout the countrey beside, with their Wiues and Children; who continued Captiues in *Babylon*, for the space of about threecore and ten yeares. This was the Captiuitie of *Babylon*, which hath so much bene spoken of, and which happened about fixe hundred yeeres before the comming of our Lord and Sauour Iesus Christ. Thus you see, how the poore Citie of *Ierusalem* remained desiert and desolate, except some

few of the meaner people, left behinde to till and husband the grounds: vnder the charge (neuertheless) of *Gadolias*, Deputy Gouernor in *Iudea*. But the people falling into mutiny, slew *Gadolias*, and then fearing the fury of *Nabuchodonosor*; such as remained of the *Iewes*, went and dwelt in *Egypt*, leauing *Ierusalem* waste and vnpeopled.

S. Hierome saith, that after the surprizal and lacking of *Ierusalem*, there passed well neere fifty yeeres, when neyther Man, Beast nor Bird entred into it: whereby may sufficiently be knowne, what great punishments this people had deserved, that were so highly beloued and priuiledged by God. Seauenty yeeres being passed ouer, it pleased God with the eye of pity, to looke vpon the Captiuitie of his people: being then, when the Empire fell into the dominion of the *Persians*, who thereof disseized the *Affyrians*, and in the time of the puissant King *Cyrus*. He, being moued by the Spirit of God, suffered fifty thousand *Iewes* to returne home into their Countrey, vnder the conduct of *Zerobabell* their Captaine, and *Iosiah* or *Iesias*, the foueraigne Sacrificer or High Priest: who being returned into *Iudea*, began to repaire the ruines of their Cities, and especially *Ierusalem*, which they re-built with great ioy, offering sacrifices to God, according to the Ordinances appointed in his Law.

CHAP. XXIX.

What difference there is betwenee *Leasling* and *Lying*; And how a man may tell a *Leasling*, and yet not to be false, that it is a *lye*.



Lying, is one of the greatest vices that any man can haue; for it is not any way possible to negotiate, or to conclude any matter, with him that is a *lyar*, because *lying* maketh euerie thing to be suspected. Moreover, the horrour of *lying* sheweth it selfe sufficiently, in that it is directly opposite to truth, which is God: as likewise the diuell is called the Father of lyes. *Salomon* (in his

Hier. in Lib. Quinquagesimo.

At what time God began to commiserate the distress of his people.

Fifty thousand Iewes releued by King *Cyrus*, and sent into their Countrey

How detestable a thing is *lying*, in a king men not to be credited when they speake truth.

The hatred to
lying, both by
Infidels and
Christians.

his Prouerbs) placeth lying in the second ranke, of the seauen vices greatly displeasing to God. In briefe, this vice hath (at all times) bene so abhorred both by Infidels and Christians; that a man knowne to be a liar, was reputed as a plague to the Common-wealth, as we may perceiue in *Euripides*, according as is auouched by *Stobæus*.

The difference
betweene lying
& telling
a leasung.

But not to make any longer stay, in shewing how pernicious and detestable a thing lying is, in regard that it is so common and vulgar: I take it as a matter conuenient, to declare what difference there is betweene leasing and lying, according to the saying of *Aulus Gellius*, and of many other Authors more; for oftentimes, there is a great difference in these two bad qualities. Obserue we then to this effect, that to tell a lye, is to affirme the contrary, of that which a man knoweth to be true. But telling a fallacie or leasing, is to affirme lying, with an intention to speake truth: wherein a man cannot be saide to haue lyed, when he speaketh not against that which he holdeth for truth, & knoweth it to be.

How a man
may lye in
speaking
truth.

Contrariwise, a man may lye, and yet (notwithstanding) tell truth, when hee speaketh against that which hee thinketh, although that which he hath said, be true. But when a man vttereth a leasing, knowing the thing it selfe to be otherwise then as he hath said; hee lyeth, and then it is a dire & lye. From hence it ensueth, that it is impossible to tell a lye without vice or sinne; but he that speaketh a leasing, thinking to say the truth, lyeth not at all. This is that which *Nigidius* saith, according to the expreffion of *Gellius*: *That an honest man will neuer lye, and a wise man hates to tell a leasing*. For mine owne opinion hereine, I would aduise all men to auoide both the one and other vice, although they may imagine to speake truly.

Aul. Gellius
lib. 1. cap. 9.

*Ambrosius in Serm.
de Genâ Dom.*

Heere it is to be noted, that although the tongue keepe silence, yet deeds sometimes may betray the person. For as Saint *Ambrose* saith: *He which makes profession of being a Christian, without conforming himselfe to the works of Christ, lieth, or is a liar*. As also that man doth, which makes a solemn promise to obserue Religion, and yet notwithstanding obserueth none at all. As much may we say of some vgly women, as black as faire diuels, who paint

& paint to get them better faces, and look thereby worse the euer they did: And foolish olde men, that would be young againe by fantastick meanes.

I remember an old man, of whom *Theophrastus* speaketh, who being of great authority and credite, and hauing some important businesse before the *Lacedæmon* Senate; was very much greeued, to appeare there in such antiquity of yeares as he was slept into; which made him to cut and shau his head and beard, hoping by this meanes to seeme much younger. As the cause was in debating, *Archidamus* (speaking for his Clyent, against him) declared to the Senate, that no credit ought to be giuen to the words of him, that apparently carried lying in his head & face. So that, according to *Archidamus*, such aged fooles can lye, without speaking any words.

Of such liars
there are no
meane floore
in the world.

A pleasant
history of an
villie-headed
olde man, be-
fore the Se-
nate of Lace-
dæmon.

CHAP. XXX.

Of the twelue Moneths in the yeare; how both Ancients and Moderne men vied to figure them: And of some mysteries represented by them.



NO great mystery consisteth in knowing the signification of the twelue Moneths by their figures. Neuertheless, considering that few or none haue written of them, in our vulgar tongue: I am the more willing to take a little paines, in acquainting some particular friends, that by looking vpon their portraictures, they may the better reach to their interpretation.

First of all then, beginning with *January*, it was presented by a man seated at a Table, holding a Glasse of *WV* in his hand, as being ready to drinke. Whereby was intended, that in this Moneth, all creatures haue better appetite and desire to eate and drinke, then at any other time: because heat is retired inward, & strengtheneth the stomacke in such sort, that it is capable of the easier digestion.

February, was a mā heating his hands about his own body: for in this month, fire

An argument
discovered by
few or none.

January.

February.

Chap. 30. Of the twelue Moneths.

is very requisite, in regard of the great coldes in *WV*inter, caused by the absence of the Sunne.

March, was figured in form of a Gardiner: because (in this Moneth) the pores and spiracles of the earth, do open themselves, in such, that the moisture of the earth commeth (of it owne accord) to all the Trees, Hearbs and Plants. In which respect, all superfluities are to bee cut away, that the nutritiue humour may extend it selfe to the liuing Branches, for bearing the fairer fruite.

April, was made in the shape of a young man, holding a Nosegay of flowers in his hand: for in this Moneth, the earth hauing communicated his vertue to Trees and Hearbs, maketh euery thing to flourish, and bring forth Flowers.

For *May*, a yong gallant Gentleman was portraied, being mounted on horsebacke, and brauely apparelled, bearing a Hawke vpon his Fist. Considering, that in this Moneth, the Trees commonly begin to beare fruite. Birds flye abroad merrily, and all creatures strue to haue their best pleasures, and make loue to one another.

June, was painted, carrying a Scythe on his backe; because in this Moneth, the Meadows must be mowed downe.

July, carried a Sickle in his hand, where-with to reape downe the ripened Corne.

And because these Fruites are commonly to bee gathered in *August*, and then they are to be laide and lockt vp in Barnes and Garners: *August* was figured like to a Country Carter, standing by his laden Cart, with a whip in his hand, as hastening homeward with his sheaves of Corne.

September, was in the habite of a Vintager; as the cyb signifying, that the beginning of Vintage is to bee in this Moneth.

October, was figured like a husbandman, carrying a Sack vpon his shoulders, and sowing Corne as hee passeth along. Meaning thereby, that as this Moneth is colde and dry, so is it very apt and conuenient, for the sowing of Seede.

November stood in the shape of a Thrasher, labouring his Flayle vpon the Corne in the sheaves. He had another companion standing by him, who with a pole did beate downe the *ACornes* from

the Trees, because in this Month, *ACornes* serue best to fatten Swine, and then also they ordinarily kill Swine, for making Bacon.

December stood in the likenesse of a Butcher, with a knife in his hand, and killing a Hog. Thus were the twelue Moneths vually figured.

As for the yeare it selfe, they made the modell thereof, in the relemblance of a Serpent, withed into a rounde, & holding the tayle in the mouth: because the end of the yeare euermore is ioyned with the beginning.

CHAP. XXXI.

Of a strange Coniuration or Conspiracy, which happened in the goodly City of Florence, and of the slaughter which ensued thereon.



AL L The World is naturally delicious to heare and vnderstand the greatest enterprizes, and such strange accidentes as happen to men: to the ende, that they may the better defend themselves, from falling into such inconueniences, as waite vpon inconstant and mutable Fortune. And therefore I concluded with my selfe, to relate a very rare and admirable chauce, which happened in the wealthy City of *Florence*, and which (in mine opinion) is one that deserueth as much meruaile, as any other that euer I heard of.

In the yeare, 1478, the City of *Florence* was in great peace, abounding (day by day) in sumptuousnesse and riches, and the affayres of the Common-wealth holding on such a prosperous course, that no imagination was so idle, as to thinke; that any misfortune had the power to alter this happinesse. In those Sun-shine dayes, the illustrious house of *Medici* (of whom the Duke was *Cosimo*, and all the Dukes of *Florence* to this day are descended) gouerned the said State and Common-wealth: so that all affaires passed through the hands and intelligence of the two Lords, *Juliano* and *Laurentio de Medici*.

December.

The Yeare.

It is the common
eff, thin
of all men
to like after
nouelties.

The sumptuous
and flourish-
ing estate
of Florence
in those times

Juliano and
Laurentio de
Medices, both
Brethren.

sis, Brethren; who were highly esteemed among the people; in regard of their Ancestours, and especially for *Cosimo de Medici* their Grand-father, who had beene the onely and richest Merchant of Italy; although that in *Florence* were very wealthy Merchants beside.

Now there were (at this time) in the saide City, many other Gentlemen and rich Merchants, who thought themselves euery way as sufficient, to manage and order the Common-wealths affaires; as those that were of the house of *Medici*. Neuertheless, the *Medici* still had the great opinion, being euery day respected, hayled and louingly entertained of the people. In the ende, the house of the *Pazzi*, *Saluati*, and many other, issued of Noble and ancient Families in *Florence* (being moued by passion and particular affection (coupled with innatred enuy, which they bare to them of the *Medici*) contriued a secret complot, whereby to take the Common-wealths government from the *Medici*. And this their intent could not be accomplished, without the death of *Iuliano* and *Laurentio de Medici*, because they were rich and potent Lords.

Francesco and *Giovanni de Pazzi*, Cousins-germaine to *Giuliano de Pazzi*, and cheefest men of that house, undertooke to kill the said Brethren of the *Medici*, and joyned with them the Family of the *Saluati*, especially Signior *Francesco Saluati*; Archbishop of *Pisa*, and they undertooke to kill Pope *Sixtus* the fourth, Vncle to them of the *Medici*, & likewise *Ferdinando*, King of *Naples*, whom they had constrained into their league! all verily perswaded, that being rid of them, they should not meete with any resistance in the execution of their purpose.

This complot fully agreed vpon, and all things provided to fit their enterprize accordingly; the Archbishoppe of *Pisa* came to *Florence*, where (vnder another colour) they entred into roule a number of Soldiours, all well knowne; yet without discovering to any one, what was to be done. The Archbishop of *Pisa*, of whom neuer any doubt was conceived, practised such means, that a young Cardinal, Nephew to Pope *Sixtus* (who then studied at *Bologna*) should come to passe the time a while at *Florence*, to fitt their turne (in the action) with him and his peo-

ple, yet neuer acquainting him with a thought of the intention.

Order being taken for all occasions, and euery thing kept close in the bowels of the principall conspirators, the conclusion was thus; that the two Brethren of *Medici* should be slaine together, eyther in the great Church, or else where the Cardinall should heare Masse. *Francesco de Pazzi*, and *Bernardo Bandino*, tooke charge of killing the Lord *Iuliano de Medici*; but the death of the Lord *Laurentio*, was committed to *Antonio de Volterra*, and to another, called *Stephano*, being a Priest. The houre or moment, assigned by *Giuliano de Pazzi*, for the execution of these two murders, was at such time, as the Priests should be at the elevation in Masse, holding the Host or Sacrifice aloft about his head, although the two brethren then were in diuers places.

Vpon the Sunday following, which was the third of May, 1478, this conclusion tooke effect thus. The Cardinall came to heare Masse, and with him the Lord *Laurentio de Medici*, without his brother. For they vfed to walke (as men suspecting ambushes) sildome or neuer together in the City, for feare of falling into any disallter together: knowing right well, that no man durst make an attempt offensively vpon them, if one of the two were left aloue. The conspirators perceiuing that Lord *Iuliano* came not at all; *Francesco de Pazzi*, and *Bernardo Bandino* (who had sworne his death) vnder the shadow of Courty attendance, went to come along with him from his house, and bestowed so many embarrasadoes vpon him, that they brought him vnto the Church where his Brother was, and yet hee then sawe farre enough off from his Brother. Conspiring eyes were still fixed on them both, enuying that they should sitte so farre asunder: but yet the time and place gaue the courage, that they might easily accomplish the acte; and yet not be prosecuted by any, for few or none tooke notice of them.

The point for performance being come, *Francesco de Pazzi* gaue a stabbe with his poniard to the Lord *Iuliano*, which thwarted the stomacke, and issued forth at his shoulder, so that immediately he fel down dead; and *Bernardo Bandino*, by making haste (least Lord *Iuliano* should not be thoroughly sped) wounded himselfe with his

The appointment how the usaface should be performed, & by what persons,

The signal for the deed to be done.

A care in the two brethren, to prevent mischief.

Ceremonious Courtship, many times make way to dissuallish practices.

Lord Iuliano slaine by Francesco de Pazzi.

owne Dagger in the stomacke, albeit hee saw the Lord *Iuliano* lye dead before him. There dyed also *Francesco Nori*, slaine by *Bernardo Bandino*, because he laid hand on his weapon, in the defence of Lord *Iuliano*. *Antonio Volterra*, and *Stephano* the Priest, sharply assayed the Lord *Laurentio de Medici*, but yet with such slender dexterity; that vifing his owne courageous defence, hee was wounded a litle in the mouth, and (in despite of all they could do) by meanes of certaine friends, he got into the Sacrifistia or Vestrie, and there saued himselfe from their fury.

Lord Laurentio saved his life in the Vestrie.

The young Cardinall hardly saved himselfe.

The whole Seignury runs halfe to the pallace.

The Arch-Bishop of Pisa with to the Pallace, to conferre with the Seignury.

This assault was so sudden, that it had speedier execution, then any knowledge could be had of them that acted it: for such was the cry of the people, as if the Church had fallen to the earth. The Cardinall had worke enough to doe, to get himselfe free, and in safety to the high Altar. All the City was vp in a furious vpror; for some cryed out, that the two Brethren of *Medici* were slaine, & others saide no, putting themselves presently in Armes. They of the houses of *Pazzi* and *Saluati*, began aloud to cry Liberty, so that the Seignury resorted to the great Pallace with all diligence, where the *Gonfaloniero* ioyning with them, they fortified themselves with armed men in the house. The Councillors of the Citie, and such as tooke part with the *Medici*, went to seeke part with the Lord *Laurentio*; conducing him home to his own house, where stood readily prepared, about eight thousand armed men.

As for the Archbishop of *Pisa*, hee pursuing on still the point with the *Saluati*, being accompanied with many of their league, and such as were the Cardinals followers; rode directly vnto the Pallace, with intent to make their meaning well liking to the Seignury. The Lords of the Seignury, although they tooke part with the house of *Medici*; yet notwithstanding they were so pressed, as they had not any leysure, for making any Armed prouision, nor to appoint a Garrison for the Pallace. Yet they knew well enough, that Lord *Laurentio* was not much hurt, and that hee had men about him valiant & hardy.

The Archbishop perceiuing, that the Seignury had no leysure to take a resolution, in some matters that he would haue

propounded to them: diuided the traine of his followers into two Companies, appointing one part of them to keep possession of the Pallace Gates. Hee, with the other company, ascended vp into the Pallace, and made it knowne to the Seignury, that hee had some what to acquaint them withall, for general benefit of the Common-wealth. Whereupon, he being admitted in, with some few of his people, that knew no part of his vile purpose: the Gates of the Pallace were made so strongly fast; that the Archbishop could haue no succor of his followers, nor the Lords of the Seignury themselves haue any assistance. So loudly did the Archbishop deliuer his minde, speaking of matters in such vnorderly manner; that the Seignurie (well vnderstanding his bad intention) commanded the *Gonfaloniero* to take hold of him, as also of *Giuliano Saluati*, and *Giuliano*, the sonne of *Meister Poggio de Pazzi*. And so vnuly grew the tumult, that all their attendants were instantly slaine in the fury, and thirty dead bodies throwne out of the Pallace windowes, vpon the heads of them that were beneath in the Court.

The Arch-Bishop admitted to speake with the Seignury.

The Arch-Bishop seized on, and his followers most of them slaine.

The other part of the Archbishops attendants slaine, & himselfe hanged.

Within a while after, the common people, who greatly fauoured them of the *Medici*, ranne in huge heapes and crowds to the Pallace: where all the other part of the Archbishops men (that had the trust of keeping the Pallace Gates) were taken and slaine presently, without any respect vfed towards them. As for the Arch-Bishop, and his two friends with him; they were hanged in the Market-place, to cause more terrour in the rest. *Giuliano de Pazzi*, and diuers other of the Conspirators, rode vp and downe through the City, crying Liberty, Liberty: but perceiuing none to make them answer, as leaning rather to the part of Lord *Laurentio*; they thought to saue themselves by flight. Only *Bernardo Bandino* excepted, who lay in his bed very sicke, by paine of the wound which hee had giuen himselfe; so that hee was not able to sit on horsebacke, or come come abroad out of his Chamber.

By this time the whole City was vp in Armes, to defend the cause of the Lord *Laurentio*, who extremely grieved for the death of Lord *Iuliano* his Brother: causing seuerer pursuite after the Conspirators, so that many, who were but meere-ly suspected

The whole City maintained the cause of Lord Laurentio de Medici.

Emulation & hate-burning in some against the Medici, in regard of their authority.

The death of Iuliano & Laurentio de Medici.

The combination for a most horrible murder.

A list of Soldiours prepared for the purpose.

suspected in the case, could not escape, although no matter was proved against them; but no known offender could any way be spared. The young Cardinall, Nephew to the Pope, was kept prisoner in the Pallace, with very great perill of his life: but at length, his innocence being truly knowne, he was acquitted; continuing (neuertheless) long time prisoner. *Bernardo Bandino*, was ledde stark naked to the Pallace, and so hanged vp, next to the Archbishop. As for *Antonio de Paltarra*, and *Stephano* the Priest, who should haue slaine the Lord *Laurentio*: they were trodden to death among the rude multitude, that ranne every where in the City, crying *Medici, Medici*, burning and pulling downe all their houses, whom they knew to be of the contrary Faction. In briefe, the disorder was such, and so confused, as it exceeded the capacity of writing; especially the furies and cruelties, committed in this horrid tempest.

Giacomo de Pazzi, was taken in his flight, & brought back to *Florence*: where he was hanged or fringed, and his body being cut in peeces, was after buried in prophane ground; all his lands & goods (which being of great value) were confiscated, and adjudged to the Seigneuries possession. And after condigne punishment inflicted vpon the malefactors, the body of Lord *Juliano* was most honourably buried, and with very solemne Funerall pompe.

Such issue had the Coniuration of the *Pazzi*, which was a matter very strange. For, in lesse then three houres, the Lord *Juliano de Medicis* (an extraordinary rich man) was slaine; the Archbishop of *Pisa* hanged, with some other of his confederates, and the houses of the aduerser part utterly destroyed. Pope *Sixtus*, and *Ferdinando*, King of *Naples*, conceived such a spleene against this action at *Florence*: that they (together) leuyed a powerfull Army against the *Florentines*, who (with the aid of their friends) defended themselves so well, that no other advantage was due to the disturbers, but that the war was long, and very cruell, great effusion of blood happening on eyther side. Behold the poore and vnfortunate issue of these conspirators, who thinking to winne honour, and high degrees by indiscreete meanes: lost their liues, disioynted the peace and

unity of their Country, and made their enemy much mightier then before, for Lord *Laurentio de Medicis* gouerned *Florence* so long as he liued.

CHAP. XXXII.

A very remarkable and worthy History, deliuering in true and briefe discourse; the life and memorable actions of that famous Capitaine, commonly called, Castruccio Castracagnio.



Astruccio Castracagnio, a Capitaine of much fame and merit, in my poore opinion, may be ranked among the greatest and most renowned

Captaines of the world: considering the poverty of his originally, and the slender meanes he had, without the fauours of any, compared also with those strange traueles, which Fortune put vpon him. Wherein I may well say, that very few Captaines or Generals are to be found, who with so poore & imperfect furnishment; did euer reach to those honours and estates, as this our *Castruccio Castracagnio* attained. Wherefore, I thought it no disparagement vnto our precedent best subjects, that his History should make one among them: not purposing to vse any larger dilation therein, then already I haue obserued in the rest, because it shall suffice me, summarily to report the courage of this Capitaine.

Beginning then with his originally, which was very strange, you are to vnderstand, that in *Luca*, a City of no meane fame in *Italy*, there was a Chanon belonging to the Church of *S. Michael*, named *Messire Antonio Castracagnio*, who had a sister (of his owne) liuing with him, being a very honest and vertuous woman. Close ioyning to this Chanons house, was a little Close or Field of *Antines*, which was plentifully furnished with variety of fruitfull Trees, as is the manner vied in *Italy*. The sister to this Chanon (by fortune) going one morning into this Close, to gather some Herbs for her vse, without dreaming on any such matter as after happened: as she was gathering Herbs heere

It is not poetry of birth that hindere the merite of any well-deserving man.

Here the Author briefly discourseth the originall of Castruccio Castracagnio, & in what manner he was found.

*They are Vines talke- ned to Trees, according to the manner in Italy.

and there, heard a small voyce, as if it were of some new borne babe. And walking that way where she heard the cry; among the leaues and young bourgeons of the Vines, was an infant laide, appearing to bee very lately before borne, tenderly crying, as desiring aide in that wofull distresse.

The good widow, somewhat sadly moved at the beginning of this aduenture, yet prouoked by a womans louing compassion: carried in the tender childe, & shewed it to the Chanon her brother, who being amazed at so strange an accident, and yet overcome with Christianlike pity, determined to prouide nursing for the Babe. And in regard that it was a manchilde, hee gaue it the name of his owne Father, calling him *Castruccio*. When the Nurse was come, he caused it to be nourished as if it had bene his owne: & after growing to a great boy, sent him to schoole, with full intention of surrendring his Chansons place to him. But when the Lad grew to 14. yeares of age, Learning and Bookes was the least part of his care, for he was no way addicted to letters, but rather delighted in handling of a sword, and in regard that he was very active of body, he gaue himselfe greatly to leaping, dancing, & wrastling with other strong Lads like himself. Speaking al in a word, he was so dexterious in whatsoever he did; as none of his companions could equall him, but *Castruccio* became respected in euery eye.

It so fortuned, that Capitaine *Francesco Guinigo*, a man much renowned, for worthy actions of Armes performed by him in *Lombardy*, was then at *Luca*. He hearing such report of young *Castruccio*, & seeing him bold & brauely spirited; found meanes to haue him in his seruice. And *Castruccio* being now where he best desired, became (in lesse then five yeares) so expert a Soldier, as his like was not to be found, as well on horse as foot: for he could so cunningly manage any horse, that *Cannalcadore of Italie* hardly came neere him.

Being come to the age of 18. yeares, Capitaine *Guinigo*, his Master, departed thence for *Milaine*, in aide of the *Piscontiners*, who were in Armes against the *Thurians*, and many other *Milaine* Gentlemen. He tooke *Castruccio* along with him, who caried him selfe so valiant and wisely in this war; that hee bare away the fame from all the Soldiers in the Campe. This war lasted five or six yeares, which being ended by peace

or truce; Capitaine *Guinigo* returned to *Luca*, with his *Castruccio*, where he was most kindly embraced by euery one, as well in general as particular, in regard of the good report noised euery where of him. So that more account was made of him, then of *Guinigo* his Master; for hee was so humane and courteous to euery man, that affection increased towards him daily more & more.

Within a short while after, Capitaine *Guinigo* feeling himselfe sicke, & in some danger of death; gaue the tutelage & gouernement of *Pagola* his sonne, to his maner himselfe so faithfully, that so long as he liued, he had at his command the affairs of *Pagola*, even as if hee had bene his owne sonne. After the decease of Capitaine *Guinigo*, the credite and reputation of *Castruccio* wonderfully augmented. Neuertheless, because he was very fiery, impatient and vindicative, when any wrong had bene done vnto him: the men of *Luca* began to grow suspicious, that he purposed to make himselfe Lord of *Luca*, and not without some pregnant occasion; in which respect, the Seignrey commanded him to auoid the City. Which disgrace *Castruccio* so much distasted, that hee resolved to be reuenged, even with the ruine and confusion of his head-strong enemies. At this very time, the Factions of the *Guelphes* and *Gibelines* reigned powerfully in *Italy*; and euery the also, the lord *Hugo Fagnola* was in some command, who being possessed of the Seignrey of *Pisa*; *Castruccio* practised (by insinuation) to compass grace & fauour with this Lord *Fagnola*, & therefore plotted with the *Gibelines*, to make *Fagnola* Lord of *Luca*. Working this traine on secretly, hee preuailed so well with some of his friends in the City: that (at an appointed instant) he won a Port of *Luca*. By meanes whereof, the *Gibelines* entred, with such succor as the Lord *Fagnola* had giuen them, expelling thence the *Guelphes*, after they had done their very uttermost they could.

Castruccio was now in greater esteeme the euer, & in such fort, as he was held to be the Lord of *Luca*, although he was inferior to the lord *Fagnola*, to who hee made recourse in times of necessity. The *Florentines*, who deadly despighted *Castruccio*, vnderstanding the successe of his affaires; leuyed a great Army, by helpe of such as were in league with the, purposing to ouer-run *Castruccio*.

A a a

But

The widow brought the Babe to her Brother the Chanon.

He called the childe after the name of his owne Father.

Young Castruccio not addicted to learning, but comonly ex-ercises only

The first en-agement of young Castruccio in Luice.

Castruccio his first going with his Master to warre-rence at Milaine.

Castruccio credited with the guardianship of his Masters sonne

He is commended by the Seignrey to auoid *Luca*.

Castruccio plotted against the City of *Luca*, by meanes of the difference betweene the *Guelphes* and *Gibelines*.

Castruccio re- uered the Lord of *Luca*.

The *Florentines* sought the death of Castruccio.

Bernardo Bandino hanged stark naked by the Archbishop.

Severity of law inflicted on the bloody offenders.

A briefe survey of the conspiracy, & the maine actors therein, with some of their accidents that followed thereon.

But Lord *Fagiola* and *Castruccio*, disposed so well for the meeting with them, that the warre grew to be very cruell & bloody. Concerning men of name in the *Florentines* Campe, there was among them *Don Pedro*, Brother to *Robert*, King of *Naples*, accompanied with *Don Carolo* his Nephew, sonne to *Phillip*. But the vertue of Lord *Fagiola* and *Castruccio*, serued wel to counterpoise the greatnes of the other. After that this war had continued for some space of time, the Lord *Fagiola* receiued intelligence, that there had happened a great commotion at *Pisa*, in redresse whereof, Lord *Fagiola* was faine to leaue the Armies conduct wholly to *Castruccio*, who behaued himselfe so wisely and valiantly in this great trust, that after many sallies and light skirmishes, hee came to battaile with the *Florentines*. *Castruccio* maintained the fight with such good order and iudgement, that (although he was the most obdurate ma that euer was born in *Italy*) yet notwithstanding, the victory remained to him, and the slaughter was so great, that there were slaine about tenne thousand *Florentines*, among whom, *Don Pedro* and *Don Carolo* his Nephew, were found in number with the dead. Which victory, assured to the Lord *Fagiola*, all those estates (held by him) in faire better security, and enlarged the credite and reputation of *Castruccio*, beyond all common expectation.

Winter being come, *Castruccio* returned to *Luca*, by the command of Lord *Fagiola*, towards whom he shewed himselfe very obedient. But as it is a customary case, that wealth and great honors doe cause feare and enuy: so the Lord *Fagiola*, perceiving the credite of *Castruccio* to encrease daily more and more: determined his death, in recompence of all the worthy seruices he had done him. To effect this dishonourable businesse, he sent one of his sonnes to *Luca*, who caused *Castruccio* to be committed prisoner, vnder pretence, of some secret blame imposed vpon him. But the imprisonment of *Castruccio* was so offensive to the *Lucanes*; that the people began to mutiny against their Lord *Fagiola*: who hauing aduertisement thereof, left *Pisa*, and marched thither with a potent Army.

But there hapned to him a very strange accident, and yet no more then hee iustly

deserued for his vnmanly dealing. When the *Pisanes* were aduertised, that *Castruccio* was deteined as a prisoner; they began so to stomacke the matter, that they slew the Gouernor, whom Lord *Fagiola* had left as his Deputy, and all such as were to do him any seruice; so that they enfranchized themselves from the tyranny of *Fagiola*. He receiuing intelligence of this mishap, and that (by this meanes) his returne to *Pisa* was bard vp against him: pursued on his purpose, to make all sure and safe at *Luca*. But therein he proued likewise as vnfortunate as at *Pisa*, for the *Pisanes* had informed the *Lucanes* of their affaires, and with such speedy diligence; that the Poste fro the *Pisanes* arrived at *Luca*, much sooner then the Lord *Fagiola* could do.

Hereupon, the *Lucanes* put thei selues in Armes, so that they expulsed the sonne of *Fagiola* out of *Luca*, with absolute purpose, of allowing no entrance to the Father; but gaue freedom to *Castruccio*, in mere despight of him. Yet some say, that *Fagiola* entred *Luca*, & very quickly was expelled thence; when losing all hope of recouering his estates, he was glad to saue himselfe by flight into *Lombardy*. But he it howeouer, this I am sure of, that hee lost his dominion ouer both the Cities in one day: which he might safely haue enjoyed still, if he had but kept faire friendship with *Castruccio*: who being thus set at liberty, was elected Capitaine and General of the *Lucanes*, by free consent of the whole Seignury. In which authority he being loath to liue idle, leuyed a great Army, where-with hee recouered many strong Holds from the *Florentines*, which they had long vnrped from the *Lucanes*: taking diuers other of their owne beside, in despight of their best Forces, albeit they were strong indeed. *Castruccio* returning then to *Luca*, was there most honourably welcomed in regard of his worthy victories obtained, and created absolute Lord of *Luca*. From which time forward, hee became much feared of the neighbours round about, especially the *Florentines*, who were the most powerfull in all *Tuscany*: For, he had many wars against them, and tooke many Forts and Castles from them, yea, and ouerthrew them in a plaine field of Battaille, equally appointed on either side.

As thus the fortunes of *Castruccio* grew daily better and better, the Emperor *Fre-*

The Gouernor of Pisa slaine by the people, and intelligence sent by them to the *Lucanes*

The *Lucanes* rise in Armes against *Fagiola*, and exclude his son

Castruccio made General of the *Lucanes* by common consent.

He was created sole Lord of *Luca*, and became much dreaded.

The Emperor Frederick desired to haue the seruice of *Castruccio*.

Castruccio chosen Prince of Pisa, and enuied by the King of Naples.

The King of Naples & the *Florentines* foyled by *Castruccio*.

* A City in the midde of *Tulcia*.

An Army of forty thousand men leuied by the *Florentines* against *Castruccio*.

rick came into *Italy*, to be crowned Emperor there: when being entrusted of the many good parts remaining in *Castruccio*, he laboured greatly to win him to his seruice. *Castruccio* then leauing *Pagolo Guingano* (of whom he had thus long bene Tutor) as his Lieutenant to gouern *Luca*: went to see the Emperor *Frederick*, whom he followed so far as *Rome*. Some hold, that he came thither before the Coronation; but, after the Emperors return into *Germany*, *Castruccio* preuailed so well by good means, that they of *Pisa* chose him to be their Prince. Which newes being brought to *Rene*, King of *Naples* (his old heauy enemy) he began to grow doubtfull of *Castruccio*, and perceiving his power to encrease so greatly: hee made a league with the *Florentines* against *Castruccio*, intending now to see the utter ruine of him, and recouery of all the honors appertaining to him.

Hereupon, the King of *Naples* & the *Florentines* prepared a strong army, which was so manfully encountered by *Castruccio*; that euermore he had the better of the, although with great expence of blood, and recouery of many places from them: so that the *Florentines* were meerey enforced, to craue a truce for certaine time; during which respite, *Castruccio* largely increased his power. For, as they of * *Pistorium* were in difference one with another within the Towne: *Castruccio* shouldred in (during their ciuill dissention) and possessed himselfe of *Pistorium*, and all other places subiect to that City.

The *Florentines* seeing themselves more and more in daily dangers, endenoured by al the best meanes they could deuise, to gather people from all parts, onely to breake the Forces of *Castruccio*, or else to drine him out of *Pistorium*. In which respect, the supplies which came to them, as well from the Kingdome of *Naples*, as other places more remote, were so great; that vpon the musters account, they were numbred to be 40000. men. Seeing then, that they had so goodly an Army, they began their march directly towards *Pistorium*, where *Castruccio* had his Campe, consisting of far fewer people then the *Florentines*. Neuertheless, he guided his war so wisely, vsing so many surprizals, skirmishes and encounters, that successe attended vpon him continually.

In the end, coming to the day of battaile, he proceeded therein with such good order, that he vanquished the *Florentines*: in which overthrow was great slaughter

made, and store of rich booty taken, for all the chiefeest of the *Florentines* were eyther slaine, or taken prisoners. *Castruccio* himselfe being wounded, and a great number of his men slaine; yet all this could not a iote daunt his courage, but still he pursued vpon his victory, marching in all haste with his Army against * *Partum*, which he tooke very speedily, as also all the Castles and Townes thereof. So that (without any resistance) he went and placed his Campe within two miles of *Florence*, wher at the *Florentines* were not a little amazed.

As hee was essaying all meanes for his entrance into *Florence*, hee receiued aduertisement, that the *Pisanes* were practising some matter to his disadvantage: so that, leauing his intent for *Florence*, he returned to *Pisa* a triumphant Conqueror. After he had inflicted punishment vpon the mutiners, he went to visite all the neighbouring parts, taking order for all needfull occasions befeening warre: because he was well assured, neuer to continue long in peace, without some employment for warre.

The *Florentines*, mightily confounded by their peoples ouerthrow, and losse beside of so many Towns: freely gaue themselves to the King of *Naples*, promising him a yearly tribute of two hundred thousand Crownes. The King of *Naples* accepted the *Florentines* offer, and sent *Don Carolo* his sonne to their assistance, with the most part of the Caualery and Infanterie that hee could command; and the like did some other Cities of *Italy*, who stood all in feare of *Castruccio*'s Forces: so that now the Army of the *Florentines* consisted of tenne thousand horse, and thirty thousand foote. With this powerfull preparation (persuading themselves, that *Castruccio* durst not come into the field) they intended to besiege *Pisa*; but *Castruccio*, who was one of the most valiant & politike Generals, that the whole world then afforded, went forth to meete them, attended only with 4000. horse, and 20000. foote, but all in excellent Military order. As these two Camps began to draw neere each other, there passed diuers skirmishes in the plaine field, wherein continually *Castruccio* had the best. Finally, *Castruccio* seeking opportunity, to deliuer battaile to the *Florentines*: passed ouer the Foord at the Riuer of * *Arno*, and found the *Florentines* in such disorder, as he compelled the to accept the battell, wherein was a great slaughter.

The *Florentines* ouerthrowne in a day of see battaile, by *Castruccio*.

* A faire town in *Tulcany*.

He encamped within two miles of *Florence*, & was called thence by a mutiny at *Pisa*.

The *Florentines* gaue themselves in subiection to the King of *Naples*.

Another great Army raised by the *Florentines*, against *Castruccio*.

* A goodly Riuer in *Italy*

The Army left wholly to *Castruccio*'s government

Castruccio winneth the victory gainst the *Florentines*, *Don Pedro* & *Don Carolo* slaine

Lord *Fagiola* concludes the death of *Castruccio* dishonourably

The *Lucanes* revolt from Lord *Fagiola*.

CHAP. XXXIII.

A Discourse concerning the Windes: And of their severall names, as well Ancient, as Moderne.



THE Windes, according as *Seneca* faith, are very meete and necessary for the spacious Vniuerse; to conferue the temperature of Heauen and Earth; to disperse and scatter raines and mylts; and to helpe the Trees in producing their Fruits. Nature also gaue them creation, to be the meanes of mens Nauigation, whereby they might communicate together the goods of the earth: so that Regions which are fertile in some particular things, may impart them to other that are not so well provided. In briefe, the Windes do cause an infinity of commerces among men, which my intended breuery will not spare me to speake of.

Onely I haue propounded to my selfe, to shew how many Windes there are, what they are, whence they come, and how they are: wherein I am perswaded, that some benefit will redound to diuers persons, especially to such as profess to sayling on the Seas. To vnderstand then, what the Windes is, I will not relye on diuersity of opinions, in such as haue written thereon: but following *Aristotle*, and the most common judgment of the wise; I say, that the Wind is a vapour and exhalation hot and dry, drawne vp into the Ayre by vertue of the Sunne. And being driven aloft by his heate and lightnesse, proceeding on into the middle Region of the Ayre, which is alwayes coldest, cometh to be repulled by that contrary quality. So that being vnable to mount any higher, it breaketh forth into blasts whither it can go, & being hindered of descending downe, in regard of lightnesse is constrained to toss and tumble here & there in the Ayre; eyther more or lesse, according to the strength of the matter wherof it is caused. So that the definition of *Seneca* is not warrantable, who saith, *That the Wind is nothing else, but the Ayre moued, without any other matter*: because these are the exhalations and vapours, which stir and moue the Ayre; for, after they are consumed, the wind ceaseth.

As

The opinion of *Seneca*, concerning the Windes, and of what necessary vantage they are.

The Arguments introduced to be counted in this Chapter.

The windes vapour or exhalation hot and dry.

Thereof the Windes building in the Ayre.

Exhalations and vapours mouing the Ayre to spend themselves.

As concerning their names, our reuerend Ancients imposed such vpon them, as corresponded with the parts and Regions of the world, from whence they came. Neuertheless, Antiquitie neuer acknowledged for many windes, as haue bene since those times. For, according as *Plinie*, *Anlus Gellius*, *Vegetius*, *Homer* and other ancient Poets say, no other mention was made, but of foure windes onely, which came from the foure parts or quarters of the world, viz. East, West, North and South; those are the parts or quarters most remarkable that can be observed throughout the world. For, as *David* and *Lucan* say; Hence cometh day, and thence cometh night.

According then vnto this proportion, our ancient Latines termed *Subsolanus*, the wind that came from the East Equinoctiall: The Greekes called it *Apeliotes*, or *Eurus*: In Italy and Spaine, they call it *Leuante*; and French Marriners terme it *Est*. Now, for the right wind belonging to Sunne-setting, which is opposite and contrary to the precedent: the Greekes called it *Zephyrus*, that is, *Purifying*: for it makes all plants to flourish: The Latines named it *Fauonius*: And the Italians and Spaniards call it *Ponente*: But our French Marriners call it *Ouest*. And yet some others say, that the word *Zephyrus* signifieth couching or setting. The third wind was called by the Latines *Septentrio*, in regard of the North-Starre. By the same reason the Greekes called it *Apparetas*, or *Boreas*; the Italians terme it *Tramontana*; the Spaniards *Nort-e-brisa*; and the French do give it the title of *Nort*. The fourth wind, which is opposite to the North, the Latines termed *Auster*, even as if they would haue called it a Water driuer, for that this wind is often rainy; which made the Greekes to call it *Notus*, that is, watrish, or moist. The Italians name it *Mezzodi*; the Spaniards *Abrego sur*, and *Vendaval*; and the French, *Sud*.

Thus you see as concerning the foure windes, whereof only *Seneca*, *Homer*, and *Osid* in his Metamorphosis. But (with much more respect and reuerence) let vs yet say, that our blessed Lord and Saviour makes mention of the foure windes, speaking of the last day of Iudgement, both in *Saint Matthew* and *Saint Marke*, where he

sayth: *That hee will send his Angells with troupes, to assemble his Elect from the foure windes.*

Now, as touching the qualitie of the foure windes, we will make some relation thereof, in discoursing on other subalternate windes. Since the time of *Homer*, we find an addition of foure other windes to the former, as assigning (between the Leuant or East, and the *Mezzodi*, or South) a wind which the Latines call *Eurus*, because this wind whisteth like the wing of a Vulture, when he dislodgeth. The Greekes do terme it *Eurus*; and some call it vulgarly in Italian *Leuante*, or *Siroc*, or *Suef*.

The other wind which rayseth it selfe from the place, where the Sunne mounteth at mid Iune, hath no name amongst the Latines. Notwithstanding, some call it *Ardant*, or *Helleponticus*, because it cometh from the coast of the *Helleponticke* Sea. Our Marriners call it *Grec*, or *Nordeff*. *Gellius* and *Vegetius*, attribute thereto the name of *Aquila*, which neuertheless is the name of another wind.

The other wind is iustly betweene the North and the West, and cometh from that Region, where the Sunne setteth in winter, and is called by the Latines *Africus*, because (in regard of *Rome*) this wind cometh directly from *Africa*. The Greekes called it *Lybia*, because they entitle *Gyneya* to be *Lybia*: Our Italians terme it *Lybechio*, the French and Spaniards *Su-ouest*, or *Garbin*.

The other wind is iustly betweene the North and the West, and cometh from the place where the Sunne coucheth him selfe in broad day. Some call it *Austo*, or *Candro*. The Greekes called it *Argelles*, as much to say, as full of rayes. His impetuoussesse is called *Apix*, because it cometh from a quarter of Italy, so called: Others give it the name of *Olympick*. Our Italians stile it *Mesfrall*, the French & Spaniards doe terme it *Nort-ouest*. These are the eight severall winds, whereof *Anlus Gellius* and *Petrus*, maketh mention of.

Moreover, *Andronicus* the *Athenian* Philosopher, builded a Tower at *Athens*, with eight angles or corners of Marble, & at euery angle was figured the Image of a Wind, which blew against the faide angle. On the top of the same Tower, was

Aaaa 3 fixed

Of the qualitie of the windes.

The North-Est wind.

The North-West wind.

The South-East wind.

The South-West wind.

Castruccio his victory ouer the Florentines, and eke meane to haue made a further conquest.

Castruccio fell sick of a quotidian Feauer, and dyed within seauen dayes following.

The Authors farewell to the endless memory of Castruccio Castagnio.

Christ himselfe spake of the foure windes.

Matth. 24. 21
Marke 13. 27

Andronicus the Philosopher, and his erected Tower at Athens

fixed a Triton of gold (reputed to be the God of the Sea) holding a Rodde in his hand. And this Triton was composed in such artificiall fort, that he turned still with every winde; like as the Vaynes or weather-flags vpon Castles or stately houses now adays do; shewing, or pointing still with his Rod, from whence the winde came, and where it reigned or domineered.

Ouer and beside the forenamed eight windes, there were yet added foure more, to make vp iust the number of twelue: placing two windes on this side, and beyond the North, which is the high North, and two other on both sides of the South, which is the right winde for the South. That on the right side of the *Tramontana* or North, betweene that and the winde *Cassias*, they called *Aquilo*; in regard of his impetuous blustering, which is more sudden, then the wing of the fleetest Faulcon that is or can bee. The *Greekes* also called it *Boreas*, in respect of the great noise it maketh when it bloweth: some other terme it *Mefes*. The other winde, which is on the side of the couchant or Sun-setting, betweene the *Tramontana* & the winde *Cancro*, was cald by the *Greekes* *Thrafsias*. *Seneca* giueth it no name at all in *Latine*; neuertheless, there are some who name it *Circius*, or *Cirrus*: the *Chabillians* call it *Galego*.

The other two windes are also opposite to these heere related, whereof the one cometh from the entrance to the right winde of the South, and the Region where the Sunne hideth himselfe in Winter, which also is called *Euro-auster*, or *Euronorus*. *Aristotle* reporteth, that (in his time) in *Africa* they vsed to call it *Phe-nicius*. The other winde plainly is betweene the direct winde of the South and the *Garbin* or *Su-West*: in which respect they call it *Lybonorus*, or *Lybonufter*. And these are the twelue Windes, according to the foure Regions of the World.

Aristotle in his Booke of Heauen & the World, and in his *Meteors*, maketh mention of the Windes; but he neyther assigneth to them any names or number. *Pliny* notwithstanding, *Seneca* and *Vegetius* doe make mention of twelue; as the like also is done by our moderne Astrologers and Cosmographers, as namely *Orotius*, *Appianus*, *Gemma-Frisius*, *Henri-*

cus Glareanus, *Stapherinus*, *Ioannes Beronius*, *Ioannes Fernellius*, *Robertus Valturinus*, and many more beside. *Vitruuius* neuertheless, after he hath assigned the eight principall Windes to their Regions: doth yet giue two subalternate Windes to each of the other Windes; so that (by his account) there should be foure and twenty Windes.

Notwithstanding, to enstruct our better apprehension of the Windes, he presupposeth three Circles, whereof one serueth for the opinion of foure Windes, the other is for that of eight, and the last for that of twelue. Hee setteth downe (beside) the names of the Windes, according as Marriners (and especially the *Spaniards*) haue vsed them. Yet (in the mean while) it is to be obserued, that the windes are alwayes conformed, to the qualities of the Regions from whence they come.

For the three Orientall or East-windes, that is to say, *Subsolannus*, *Cassias*, and *Vulturinus*, are hot and dry: whereas contrariwise, *Zephyrus* and his neighbours, which come from the West or Sun-set, are colde and moist: because the absence of the Sunne, maketh the Regions colde where those windes blow. As is easily discerned by the night time, which is euermore colde, as also by places subiect to shades, that are (ordinarily) coole and fresh. From the same cause proceedeth humidity; for, as heate in the day time dryeth the Easterne windes: so on the contrary, moisture encreaseth in the nights coolenesse.

As for the three *Septentrional* or Northern Windes, they are cold and dry; because they come from colde Regions, & they haue their rayes writhed and wrinkled. Their coldnes also causeth drinefesse, which they borrow of the eastern windes, that are their neighbours: and yet they can take no moisture from the Occidentall or Westerne windes, because their drought and humidity are directly contrary.

Come we now to the Meridional or Southerly Windes, they are hot & moist: because they deriue their warmth from hot Regions, coming from where the Sunne heateh downe right: with this addition moreouer, that they are neighbors to the East windes, which are hot. Concerning their humidity, they draw it from

Foure & twelue windes granted by Vitruuius.

Three Circles allotted to the windes.

The conformity of the windes to their Regions.

The difference betweene day and night time.

Of the Northernly windes.

Of the Meridional or Southerly windes.

Foure windes more, added to the former eight, and in what eueral places they are described to be.

Two other windes opposite to the former. A South and by East winde.

A South and by West winde.

Aristotle, Celsius, Mand.

Moderne Astrologers & Cosmographers.

the Westerne windes, and vapours both of the Sea and Land. In Mountainy Regions, charged with Snowes, the Southerly winde may there get his moisture, as the like hee doth in fenny and muddy places: euen as drinefesse may be caused by Plaines and champaigne grounds, so that they may be charged in the occurrences, according to the qualities of the windes. Here we are to obserue, that in euery Region, the three windes coming thence, are all of one quality, & produce the same effects, which cause other effects (great or small) according to such as they happen to meete withall.

It resteth now to speake of the particular qualitie belonging to each winde. Beginne wee then with the right East winde, which is the most healthfull of all. For, it is subtle and pure, and partaketh more with choller, then his companions. His neighbour, blowing against the South, is more moist; and farre more furious then the former, and chargeth the ayre with cloudes. *Aristotle* sayth, that when this winde bloweth, all things do seeme more great and grosse, then they are indeede. The right winde of the South, causeth raines and tempests, it troubleth the ayre with cloudes, procuring penitence and corruption. The winde *Carbin*, which is neighbor to the right West, is very tempestiue, according vnto *Virgil*. But the *Ouest* or West wind, encreaseth fleugme, and procureth thunders: it beginneth to blow, at the first appearing of the Spring. The direct *Tramontana*, which we call the right North winde, causeth colde and frost, it burneth floures and fruites, and purifieth a corrupted ayre. Now, in regard it shutteth and locketh vp the pores in mens bodies; this winde is helde very apt for healk. As much may be sayde of

the other Septentrional windes, which are his comforts or companions.

It is to be held then for a conclusion, that these windes proceede from vapours and hore exhalations, and that (in all) there are twelue: without depending vpon other allegories, assigned to some infant windes. The *Spaniards* hold for principall winds, those foure which come from the foure parts of the world, to wit, East, West, North and South. As for the other foure, they tooke their names from their precedent: for the North-east is betweene the North and East wind: that which is betweene the Sunne-set and the South, is also called South-west, and the other betweene the East and South, is also termed South-east; these are their seuerall nominations.

Afterward, eight other were talked of, which are equally bi-parted betweene the former eight, being termed Collateral, side or middle windes. As that which is betweene the North and the North-east, was called North-North-east: The other which is betwixt the East and the North, is called by the *Spaniards* *Zefur-deli*, and by French Marriners, North-east; that which is betweene the South and South-east, is called South-South-east; and the other betweene East and South-east, is named East-South-east. The other betweene South-west and East, is termed West-South-West; and so of the other in the same distinguishing: so that fixe-teene Windes are equally distributed ouer the Earth. Some adde other fixe-teene Windes beside, which they tearme Quarter windes, by which allowance, wee should then haue two and thirty windes: but these latter borrowe all their names of their neighbours. Thus much therefore may serue for all the Windes.

The full conclusion for the number of the windes, & them that are allowed to be between each of them.

The windes of interposition, & their appellations.

Sixteene windes called Quarter Windes.

The end of the eight Booke.



The Ninth Booke.

Of the Great Prouince of Moscouia: As also the Manners, Religion, and Power, of the Prince there Ruling. Divided into five several Tractes.

CHAP. I.

In this first Tract, is contained a Cosmographical description of the whole Countrey; the Climate and Soyle. Also what Soires or Regions are therein contained. What Commodities the severall parts of the Land yeeldeth: And then a briefe Collection, of the principall Citties and Townes in Moscouia or Rusfia.



Moscouia or Rusfia, is a great northerly Region, containing more then five hundred leagues in length. The principall Cittie thereof, being called Mosca, or Moscuua, greater then the City Paris in France, and seated on the River Mosqua. I read also, that this Countrey was (sometimes) called Sarmatia, and came to vary or change from the name, by calling it selfe Rusfia, as being parted or divided into sundry finally, yet absolute Regiments, neyther depending, or being in subiection one to another.

Some of their Writers doe affirme, that the North partes of the Countrey, chanced to bee divided betwene foure Brethren, whose names were Trubor, Xurico, Sincee, and Varimus, and in that coun-

trei Language, when they speak the word Russe, it implyeth as much, as to part or divide. They avouch likewise, that foure other persons made the like partition of the South parts, as Kio, Scieko, Chovamus, and a Sister of theirs, named Libella; and every one teimed his Prouince or Territory, according vnto his owne particular name: and so from this their division, the Countrey came to be called Rusfia, about the yeare of our Lord eight hundred and sixty.

At such time as it was called Sarmatia, it consisted of two peculiar Divisions: Namely, the Blacke and White. White Sarmatia contained all that portion that lyeth towards the North, and on the side of Liceland, which Prouinces are now termed Dvyna, Vagha, Vologda, Cargopolia, Novogradia, &c. Novogradia being the chief and Metropolitane City of them all. The Blacke Sarmatia contained all the country Southward, towards the black or Euxine Sea, with the Dukedome of Volodomer of Mosca, Resan, &c. It is bounded Northward by the Lappes and the north Ocean: On the Southside by the Tartars, called Chrimes: Eastward they have the Nagai Tartar, who possesseth all the country of the East side of the Volgha, toward the Caspian Sea: On the west and South-west border, lye Lithuania, Livonia, and Polonia.

All the Countrey being brought to the obedience of one Governour, do comprehend these cheefe Shires or Prouin-

ces.

Division of the South parts.

Of the White and black bar maces in their distinct divisions.

The borders and bounding of Moscouia.

Chap. I.

Of Muscouia or Rusfia.

The shires & Prouinces contained in Moscouia much greater in the shires of England.

Prouinces won by force or Conquest, and breught in subiection to the same countrey Lawes.

The Kingdomes of Casan and Astracan.

Terriditions or tetrarchies

The longitudes and latitudes of the whole countrey

The Kingdomes of Sweden and Denmarke: Townes adjacent to the Rusfia.

ces. Volodomer (which beareth the first place in the Emperors stile, because their house came first of the Dukes of that Countrey) Mosko, Nisnougrad, Flesko, Smolensko, Novograd Velica (or Novograd of the Low counties) Kofone, Tarsulane, Bealozera, Resan, Dvyna, Cargopolia, Mefchora, Vagha, Vtuga, Ghiletsa. There are the shires naturally belonging to Moscouia or Rusfia; but farre greater and larger then the Shires of England; albeit I cannot say that they are so well peopled. The other Countreyes or Prouinces, which the Emperors have wonne by power, and more lately annexed to their former Dominion, follow by these names. Twerra, Tougboria, Permia, Vadska, Boughoria, Mefnizo, Ovdoria, Obdoria, Condora, beside a great part of Siberia, where the people, (though they are not naturall Rusfians) obey the Emperor of Rusfia or Moscouia, being governed by his Countrey Lawes; paying Taxes and Customes, even as his owne people doe. Over and beside all which, the Kingdomes of Casan and Astracan (not long since obtained by conquest) are vnder his command.

Concerning all his possessions in Lithuania (to the number of thirte great Townes, and more) with Narve & Dorp in Livonia: they are quite gone from him, being (of late yeares) surprized by the Kings of Poland and Sweden. The fore-named Prouinces or Shires, are all reduced into foure Iurisdiccions, tearmed by them Chetfyrds, as much to say, as Tetrarchies or fourth-parts, whereof wee shall have more occasion to speake hereafter.

The whole countrey is of great length and breadth: for, from the North vnto the South (measuring from Cola to Astracan, leaning somewhat Eastward) containeth in length about foure thousand two hundred sixty miles, which they terme verst. And yet the Emperor hath more extensure Northward, farre beyond Cola, even to the Riuet of Tromchua, which runneth a thousand verst or miles beyond Peching, neere to Wardouffe, yet not intire nor clearly limited, because the kings of Sweden and Denmarke, having diuers Townes there, as well as the Russe; are plotted together, the one with the other, all of them laying claime to those whole North-parts as their owne peculiar right. As for the Countreyes bredth, from that part of the

Territory lying furthest Westward on the Narue side, to the Eastward parts of Siberia, where the Emperors Garrisons are kept, is counted forty four thousand verst or miles, or thereabout. They holde a Verst to be a thousand paces, yet lesse (by a quarter) then an English Mile. If the whole Dominion of the Russian Emperour were all habitable, and peopled in all places; he would either hardly hold it all within one Gouvernement, or bee too potent for all his neighboring Princes.

To speake somewhat of the Soile and Climate, for the most part it consisteth of a slight sandy mould, yet differing farre in one place from another; for yeelding such things as the earth affordeth. Concerning the Countrey Northward, vnto the parts of Saint Nicholas and Cola, and North-East towards Siberia; it is all verie barren, and full of desert woodes, by reason of the Clymate, and extremite of the cold in winter.

In like manner, along the river Volgha, betweene the Countreyes of Casan and Astracan, where, though the soyle is fruitful, yet it is vn-inhabited: except on the west side of the river Volgha, where the Emperour hath some few Castellis, and garrisons in them. But this is occasioned by the Chrim Tartar, who will neyther him selfe plant Townes to dwell there (as delighting in an extravagant and wilde kinde of life) nor yet suffer the Russe (who is farre off with the strength of his Countrey) to people those parts.

From Vologda, which lieth well-neare seauen thousand verst from the Port of Saint Nicholas, downe toward Mosko, and so towards the South Port, bordering vpon the Chrim, containeth the like space of 1700. verst: it is a very pleasant and fruitful Countrey, yeelding pasture and corne, with woods and waters in great plenty. The like is betweene Resan (lying South-east from Mosko) to Novograd and Pobsko, the which reacheth furthest towards the mountaines: So betweene Mosko and Smolensko (lying South-west towards Lithuania, is a very pleasant and fruitful soyle.

To observe the whole Countrey, maketh a great difference from it selfe, in regard of the yeares course; vrging a strange alteration, betweene Winter and Summer in Rusfia. All the Countrey lyeth in Winter,

The Emperors dominion not all habitable.

Of the soyle and Climate in Moscouia.

Barren soyle and desert woods.

The savage & extravagant kind of life of the Chrim Tartar.

A very fruitful and pleasant countrey

A strange in-
equality of
the country
in winter and
Summer.

Mighty deepe
snowes and i-
ces in Mosco-
uia.

The extre-
me freezing cold
of the country

Diuers frozen
to death with
cold in Mar-
kets and fre-
quented streets
and travellers
on their Sleds

An admirable
summer time
in Moscouia.

Winter vnder snow, which falleth there continually, containyng (sometime) two yardes in thickenesse, and yet farre greater towards the North: the Riueres and Waters being all frozen ouer a yard and more in depth of crust, how broad or swift in current fouer they bee, continuing so commonly for the space of sixe months; as from the beginning of November, vntill it draw towards the end of March, and then the Snowes begin to melt.

Well may we iudge of the ayres sharpnesse there; because Water dropping downe, or throwne vp into the Aire, freezeth to Ice before it can fall to the ground. And let a man hold a dish or pot of pewter in his hand, during the extremitie of Winter (except in some chamber where the warme Stouaes are) and his fingers will freeze fast vnto it, euen to tearing the skin off at the parting with it. And let a man go out of a warme room into a cold, he shall sensibly feeble his breath to grow starke, euen as fishing with the cold, drawing it in, and vrging it forth.

Many haue bene noted, not onely such as trauaile abroad, but others in the frequented Markets, and common streetes of Townes, to bee mortally pinched, and meerey killed with cold. So that diuers haue bene seene to droppe downe dead in the streetes, and many traualyers are brought into the Townes, sitting stiffe and dead in their Sleds: yea, some haue lost their noses, the tips of their eares, the balles of their cheekes, their v. rie Toes, feete, &c. Many times, when Winter is very hard and violent, Beares & Wolves haue come (by hugetroopes) out of the woods, as enforced thereto by meere hunger, and entering into Townes and Villages, haue rent and torne whatsoever they could finde or meete withall, whereby the inhabitants were enforced to flight, onely for safety of their liues.

But when the Sommer is come, neuer was seene a more fresh and delicate countrey, the woods (consisting most of Firre and Birch) being so sweet and louely; the Pastures and Meddowes so Greene and well growne, yea and vpon a sodaine, such variety of Flowers, such harmonic of Birdes (chiefly of Nightingales, whose notes seeme more loud and variable, then in other countries) that no man can light-

ly trauaile in a more delightfull countrey. From the fresh and speedy growth of the Spring there, the slow giuech no meane reason of opinion, because all winter time it seemeth as mantled in a white Liuerie, which keepeth it warme clothed all winter while, till Spring time, and then the Suns heat dissolueth it to water. All which, do so sweetly sympathize with the ground, bestowing on it such sufficient drenching and soaking (being of a slight and fandie mould, chearing it againe with the sunnes reuterberating brightnesse) that it produceth quickly all hearbes and plants in extraordinary abundance. So that as winter there superaboundeth in colde, Sommer answers it with so much the more heate: chiefly in Iune, Iuly, and August, it equalling then the best ayres in any other Countrey.

Commeng nowe to speake of the Riueres, the first is the famous *Volga*, whose head or Spring ariseth at an Alder-trees roote, some two hundred Verst beyonde *Tarusskoe*. It entrench into such bigynes by the entercourse of other riueres gyryng into it; that in some places it extendeth in breadth a mile and more, till at length it falleth into the *Caspian* sea, by estimation neere 2800. Verst or miles in length. *Borissenes* is the second, called now *Neper*: diuiding the country from *Lismania*, and thence hauing his course into the *Euxine* Sea. *Tanais*, otherwise termed *Don* (bounding anciently betweene *Asia* and *Europ*) seemeth to haue his rising out of the *Rezan* Oзера, passing thorough the *Chym* *Tartares* Countrey, till hee makes his fall into the Sea-lake, or great Meare, neere to the Cittie of *Azon*, called *Maotis*. Report runneth among the *Russes*, that from their cheefe City of *Moscou*, euen to *Constantinople*, and so into all those parts of the world; men may easily make passage by this Riuer. But then the conuoy Boate must bee drawne ouer a little *Istmus*, some fewe Verstes thwart-wile, as prooue was not long since made of.

Dunya, being many hundred Miles in length, must bee remembered amongst the rest, falling North into the Bay of Saint *Nicholas*, and on the Sea-side it hath great Rockes of Alabastrer vpon each banke. *Duna* emptieth it selfe into the Balticke Sea, neere to the town of *Riga*. And then

The reason of
the sodaine &
fresh spring in
the Countrey

The Winter
not so colde,
but summer is
as violently hot.

Of the princi-
pal Riueres in
Moscouia,
Volga the
chiefte.

Borissenes.

Tanais.

Rezan Ozer.

Maotis.

An excellent
passage also
made by the
riuer.

Dunya:

Duna.

is

Omega.

Volock.

Suchana

Otko.

Moscou.

Wichida.

Such fruites as
Moscouia af-
fordeth.

What Corne
and Graine
the Countrey
yeldeth, and
at what rate it
is sold.

Their seasons
for sowing
their Graine.

The commo-
dities which
inbell manner
the Countrey
affordeth.

is *Omega*, which some ninetie Verst from the port of Saint *Nicholas* hath his down-fall into the Bay at *Solouefco*. Not far beneath *Cargopolia*, this riuer meeteth with another, called *Volocke*, which by *Tama* (a small Towne, droppeth into the *Finland* sea. Into which Sea, from Saint *Nicholas* port, and so into the Sound, the *Russes* easily passe by water.

Suchana is another, which flowing into *Dunya*, runneth on into the North sea. As for *Otko*, his head commeth from the *Chyrms* borders, streeming on into *Volgha*. And *Moscou* glideth thorough the Cittie *Moscou*, borrowing his name thereof. *Wichida* likewise is a very long and spacious riuer, rising out of *Permia*, and falling into the *Volgha*. So much for these memorabile riueres in this country.

We come now to speak of those fruites as *Moscouia* yeldeth, which are in diuers kinds; as Apples, Peares, Plums, Cherries red and blacke, but the black ones are wilde. Then haue they a Deene, which is like to a Musk Mellon, but much more sweete and delicious. Also Cucumbers, Gourdes (which they tearme *Arbouze*), Raspes, Straw-berries, and Hurtleberries, beside many other in great plenty; for euerie Woodde and hedge is well stored with them.

But if you demand of their Corne and Graine, they haue Wheate, Rye, Barley, Oates, Pease, Buckwheat, Phlytha, which resembleth Rice in taste. The Countrey is so rebounding in these Graines, that it can allow a large ouer-plus quantity: for Wheate is sometime there folde for two *Alcens* the *Chet* first, valewing ten pence sterling, and the measure amounteth well neere to three Bushels.

Concerning seasons of Husbandrie, Rye is there sown before Winter, and all other graine in the Spring time. Such as dwell farre off in the North, and desert places, as the *Permians*; the partes more Southward do furnish them: being constrained yet (sometimes) to make Bread of a Roote called *Vaghnay*, and of the middle rind of the Firre tree, when any dearth hapneth.

Natiue commodities yelded by the Countrey are many, and of good worth, for seruice of the peoples best expectati- on, and benefitting the Emperor, by venting them abroad in the World: for the

cold of the Climate (being a naturall inconuenience) by Gods great goodnesse, is therein much remedied. Their cheefe Furres are Blacke Fox, Sables, Lufenes, Dun-fox, Martrones, Gurnalles or Armines, Lats or Mineuer, Beuer, Wuluerins, being the skine of a great water-Rat, that fuxelleth naturally like Muske; *Calaber* or gray Squirrell, redde Squirrell, red and white Fox, what plentie of these are spent in the Countrey (because the people weare Furres all the winter time) is almost incredible. And yet the Merchants some yeares, transport thence, to the valew of foure or fise hundred thousand Rubbles, to *Turkie*, *Perfia*, *Southeria*, *Georgia*, *Armenia*, with some other of Christendome.

In the Countreyes of *Pechora*, *Mongoforia*, *Cbarskey*, and other places, do the best Sable furres growe; and the worser in *Siberia*, *Perm*, and such like places. The blacke Foxe and red come from *Siberia*, as from *Pechora* the white and Dun: the Wolves and Beares skins (both being white) come also thence. *Perm* yeldeth the choyest Wuluerin, and the best Martrones come from *Siberia*, *Cadam*, *Morum*, *Perm*, and *Cazan*. *Gilletts* & *Onglites* send out the best Lufenes, Miniuer, and Ermines: yet some come from *Novogrod* and *Perm*; and *Murmonsky* by *Colah* hath the best breed of Beauers. Common Furres (with some of these fore-named) are in euery part of the Countrey.

A second commoditie is waxe, which hath bene shipt thence into far remote Countreyes yearlye, the valew of 50000. Pood. Honey also is there in great quantity, spent dayly in their ordinarie drinckes, which is Mead of all sorts: and yet carried out of the Countrey in great abundance. *Mordua* and *Cadam* nere vnto *Cheremissen* *Tartar*, yeldeth the greatest encrease of Honey: but good store also cometh out of *Senerikoy*, *Rezan*, *Morum*, *Cazan*, *Dorogobofe*, and *Vasma*.

Tallow is yelded in great weight for transportation, by reason of much good ground for feeding Cattle; as also manie Lents obserued among them. Partly beside, because the greatest personnes vse waxe Lights: as the poorer and meaner sort do Byrch, dried in their stoues, being cut into long slices, called these *Luchine*.

The principal
lures yemed
thence in
merchandise

The places
that afford the
very best furs
in all their se-
uerall kindes.

Wax, whereof
euery Poode
containeth
fortie pounce
weight.

Hony.

Tallow.
Many Lents
vied in Mos-
couia.

os. Some yeares haue sent away by Shipping, above an hundred thousand Poode yearly, which hath come out of the parts and Territories of *Smolensko, Taruflaue, Ouglitz, Novograd, Volozda, Ofter* and *Gorodetsky*.

Another principal commodity is *Loth* and *Cow-hides*: their *Loth* and *Buffe* being very faire. Their *Bull* and *Cow-hide* is but small of size, for *Oxen* they make none, nor of weather. *Strange* Merchants haue transported thence some yeares about an hundred thousand hides, beside great store of *Goats* skines, shipt also thence in large number. The breede for the fairest *Loth* or *Buffe*, is about *Rafone, Wichida, Novograd, Morum* and *Perm*, as the lesser sort are in the kingdom of *Cazan*.

Traine Oyle, being made or drawne out of the *Seale-fish*, is no mean commodity there. And because we are speaking of the *Seale-fish*, it shall not much dissent from our matter, to report in what manner they hunt the *Seale*, whereof afterward this *Oyle* is made. When the end of Summer draweth neere, and the frosts are not (as yet) begun; they defend with their boats into *S. Nicholas Baye*, to the Cape called *Cusconesse* or *Founesse*, where they leave their boats till the next spring tide. When the Sunne waxeth warme towards the spring, and yet the ice not melted in the Bay; they return thither again, and drawing their Boats ouer the ice, vse them as houses to lodge and rest in. Commonly, there are about seauenteene or eightene flecte of them, being diuided into diuers companies, five or fixe boates alwayes conforthing together.

Such as light first vpon the fishes haunt or resort, do fire a Beacon, carryed with them for the same purpose, and certaine are appointed, to obserue when the Beacon shall be fired; whereof report being made to the other Companies, they resort all together, compassing the Seals round in a ring, as they ly Sunning themselves together vpon the lees, being commonly foure or five thousand in a shoale. Then euery man, hauing a Clubbe in his hand, enters stoutly vpon them; & if they hit them on the nose, then they are soone kilde. But if on the backe or sides, they beate out the blowes stiffly, and manie times catch the club so fast, and holde it

downe with their teeth so strongly, that the party is forced to call for helpe to his fellows.

The manner of the Seales is, when they perceiue themselves beset round about; to gather all close together, as in a throng or heape, to sway and beate downe the Ice, and to break it if they can: which bending of the Ice, brings vp such a Sea-water vpon it, that the Hunters are faine to wade a foote or more deepe. When they haue killed what they can, & intend no further slaughter at that time: the hunters fall to sharing, euery boat his part by equal portions. And so they flay them, taking off the skine from the bodie, and the Lard or fat withall that cleaueth vnto the skine, which they beare thence with them, going to the shore, leauing the bodies behind. Pits they dig in the ground, of a fathome & a halfe in depth, and hauing taken off the Fat or Lard from the skin, cast it into the pits, and then hurle in hot burning coales to melt it withall. The vppermost and purest is fold, and vfed to oyle wooll for cloth: but the grossest, being red of colour, they sell to make Soap.

Great quantity also of *Ickary* or *Cauetery*, is made vpon the river of *Volga*, out of a Fish called *Bellouzina*, the *Sturgeon*, the *Seweriga*, and the *Sterledy*: most part whereof is shipt thence by French & Netherland Merchants for *Italy, Spaine*, and *England*.

Flaxe and Hempe is another commodity, whereof hath bene shipt at the Port of *Narue*, the more part of an hundred Ships small and great yearly. But great abatement is in these and other commodities, by shutting vp the Port of *Narue* towards the *Finland* Sea, which is now in possession of the *Sweden*. The stop of passage also ouer land, by the way of *Smolensko* and *Plotsko* in regard of warre with the *Poland*: which causeth the people to be lesse careful in providing these and other commodities, because they want sale. For growth of Flax, the Prouince of *Volosko* and country thereabout is chief: like as *Smolensko, Dorogoboffe*, and *Rafma* is for Hempe.

Great store of Salt the Country maketh, whereof the best is at *Stararouffe* in very great quantity, hauing store of Salt wells, some two hundred fifty nine Verst from

The Seales naturally beate out their own defence,

The hunters diuide the spoile among them,

Ickary or Cauetery made of Sturgeon.

Flax & Hemp

Great hindrance in weaving their commodities

Salt, whereof some is made naturally of the sea water

from the Sea. But at *Astracan*, Salt is naturally made by the Sea-water, which causteth it vp in great hilles, from whence it is digged downe, and carryed away by Merchants, or any that will fetch of it. Three pence *Ruffe* is payed to the Emperour vpon euery hundred weight of Salt, which is likewise made in many other places, as in *Berm, Wichida, Totina, Kenisfma, Sanoletskey, &c.* all out of Salt-pits, except at *Solouetskey*, which lyeth neare vnto the Sea.

Tarre also they make great store of, out of Firre trees in the Country of *Dynma* and *Smolensko*, sending no meane plenty thereof abroad. To these before remembered, there are many more (natural to the country) though of meane estimation: As the fish-tooth, which they call *Ribaznos*, vfed both amongst themselves, and the *Perjans* and *Bongbarians*, who fetch it thence for Beades, Knives and Sword-handles for Noblemen and Gentlemen, and diuerse other vses.

Some doe vse the powder of it against poyson; like to *Vnicornes* horn, and the fish that oweith it, is called a *Morse*, being caught about *Pechora*: Some of these teeth are well-neare two foote in length, and do weigh cleauen or twelue pounds each tooth.

There is a soft Rocke, which they doe cutte into peeces or into thinne flakes, and are naturally to be vsed and employed as Glasse, for Lant-hornes and such like: but yet yet is not so brittle in breaking as Glasse, yet it dooth giue a farre clearer light. They doe tearme it *Slude*, and it groweth in the Prouince of *Corelia*, and about the River *Dynna*, towards the North Sea.

Besides, they make Salt-peter in many places, as at *Ouglitz, Taruflaue*, and *Vitig*; with some meane store of *Brimstone* vpon the River *Volga*; but they want skill to refine it.

As for their Iron, it is but brittle; yet much thereof is made in *Corelia, Cargapolsia*, and *Vitig Thelma*, for other mines they haue none growing within the kingdom.

As for Beasts of strange kinds, they haue the *Loth*, the *Ollen*, the wilde Horse, the *Wulvering* or *Wood-dogge*, the *Lyserne*, the *Beauer*, the *Sable*, the *Martroun*, the blacke and dunne Fox, the

white Beare, towards the Sea-coast of *Pechora*, the *Gurnfall*, and the *Lafet* or *Minuer*. Likewise, there is a kinde of *Squirrell*, hauing growing on the pinion of his shoulder bone, a long tuft of haire, much like vnto feathers, with a farre broader taile then other *Squirrells* haue, which they doe moue and shake, as they moue from tree to tree, like to a Wing in resemblance, and seeming as if they flew thereby, whereby they were called, *Zetach vechshe*, that is to say, flying *Squirrells*. In the Summer their Hares and *Squirrells* are of the same colour as other; but in Winter, the Hare changeth her coate into milke-white, and the *Squirrell* into grey, and thereof is it that the *Calaber* commeth.

Fallow Deere likewise they haue, the *Roe Bucke*, and great plenty and store of *Goates*. Their horses are but small, yet swift and hard, and both in Winter and Summer, they trauell them vnfold, vying no respect at all of pace. Small are their sheepe, bearing harsh and course wooll, not so apt and conuenient for the making of Cloath, as is afforded in diuers other Countries, nor of so good a wearing.

Of Fowles they haue of the principall kinds; and great store of *Hawkes*, as also the *Eagle*, the *Ger-falcon*, the *Slight-falcon*, the *Gof hawke*, the *Tassell*, the *Spar-hawke*. But the principall Hawke breeding in the Country is counted the *Ger-falcon*. We may not forget other chiefe Fowles, as the *Swanne* wilde and tame in great plenty; the *Storke*, the *Crane*, the *Tedder*, resembling a *Fa-fant* in colour, but much bigger, and liueth in the Firre woods. Of *Pheazant* and *Partridge* they haue great plenty; and an *Owle*, so great and ougly to beholde, as few countries afforde the like, with a huge broad face, and eares much like to a man.

We come now to speake of fresh-water Fish, besides the common sort; as *Carpes*, *Pikes*, *Pearch*, *Tench*, *Roach*, &c. they haue diuerse kinds very good and delicate. As the *Bellouga* or *Bellouzina*, of foure or foue elles in length; the *Ostrima* or *Sturgeon*, the *Seweriga* and *Sterledy*, somewhat in fashion and in taste like vnto the *Sturgeon*, but not so thicke, nor so long.

A strange Squirrell.

Hares milke white.

Fallow deere, Roe Bucks, and Goats.

Fowles of diuers kinds both wilde and tame.

Variety of fresh-water Fish and other beside.

These foure Kindes of Fish breed in the *Volgha*, and are there catcht in great abundance, seruing generally (as a great food) to the whole kingdom. And of the roes of these foure fishes, are made very great store of *lary* or *Casery*.

Besides these breeding in the *Volgha*, they haue a Fish called *Ribabela*, or white Salmon, which they hold to be more delicate then the red Salmon, hauing also great plenty of them in the Riues northward, as in *Dunya* and *Cela*, &c. In the *Ozera*, or Lake neare to *Perisslaue*, they haue a small Fish, which they call the freiherring, of the same fashion, and tasting also like a Sea herring. From the trades of fishing the Emperor hath an yearely large custome, which they practise in the Summer: but send it frozen in the Winter into all parts of the Realme.

Now, because wee aymed at a formalitie in the description, wee enter into a relation of the chiefe and principall Cities in *Moscouia* or *Rufsia*, and as our direction guideth vs, these are their names.

- 1 *Mosko.*
- 2 *Nowograd.*
- 3 *Rosoue.*
- 4 *Volodomer.*
- 5 *Plesko.*
- 6 *Smolensko.*
- 7 *Iaruslaue.*
- 8 *Perisslaue.*
- 9 *Nysnowograd.*
- 10 *Pologda.*
- 11 *Vstuck.*
- 12 *Galmigrae.*
- 13 *Cazan.*
- 14 *Astracan.*
- 15 *Cargapolia.*
- 16 *Columna.*

The City of *Mosko* is supposed to bee of great antiquitie, though the first founder thereof be vnkowne to the *Moscouites* or *Russe*. It seemeth to deriue the name from the riuer, running on the one side thereof. *Berosus* the *Chaldean* telleth vs, that *Nimrod* (in other profane Stories called *Saturne*) sent *Assyrius*, *Medus*, *Mofcus* and *Mages* into *Asia*, to plant Colonies there, and that *Mofcus* planted both in *Asia* and *Europe*. Which may make some probability, that the City, or rather the Riuer whereon it is built, tooke the

denomination from this *Mofcus*. And so much the rather, because of the Climate or situation, which is in the very furthest part and lift of *Europe*, bordering vpon *Asia*.

It appeareth, that this Citie was much enlarged by one *Euan* or *Iohn* sonne vnto *Daniel*, the first that changed his Title of Duke into King; though that honor continued not to his posteritie, the rather, because hee was inuelted into it by the Popes Legate, who at that time was *Innocentius* the fourth, about the yere 1246. which was much milkt by the *Russe* people, being then a part of the Easterne or Greeke Church. Since that time, the name of that Citie hath growne more famous, and much better knowne to the world. In somuch, that not only the province, but the whole country of *Moscouia* or *Rufsia*, is termed by some, by the name of *Moscouia* the Metropolit Citie.

The forme of this City is (in a maner) round, with three strong walles, circuling the one within the other, and streetes lying betweene, whereof the in-most wall, and the buildings closed within it, lying so fast (as the heart within the body) fenced and warded with the Riuer *Moskua*, which runneth close by it; is all accounted the Emperours Castell. The number of houses through the whole City (being reckoned a litle before it was fiered by the *Chirims*) were 41500. Since the *Tartar* besieged and fiered it (which was in the yere 1571.) there doth lye waste of it a great breadth of ground, which before was wel set and planted with buildings; especially that part on the South side of *Moskua*, built (not long before) by *Basilus* the Emperour for his garrison of Souldiours, to whom he gaue priuilege to drinke Mead and Beere, at the drie or prohibited times. And for that cause called his new Citie *Naloi*, that is to say, *Skinke* or *paure in*. So that now the Citie of *Mosko* is not much bigger then the City of *London* in *England*.

The next in greatnesse, and (in a maner) as large, is the City *Nowograd*, where happened (as the *Russe* sayth) the memorable warre, so much spoken of in Histories, of the *Scythian* seruants, that tooke vppon Armes against their Maisters, which they haue reported to be after this manner.

The first changing the title of Duke into King.

Moscouia the Metropolit Citie.

The modelle forme of the citie.

The number of houses before the Citie fiering.

When the *Chirims* Tartars fiered the Citie.

A name giuen to the new citie.

Nowograd the next great city to Mosko.

The

Chap. 1. Of the Country, Climate and People.

The *Boiardiens* or Gentle men of *Nowograd*, and the adiacent territories (that onely are Souldiers after the discipline of those countries) had warre with the *Tartars*. Which being well performed and ended by them, they returned homewards. Where they vnderstoode by the way, that their *Choloppy*, or Bondslaves whom they left at home, had (in their absence) possessed their townes, lands, houses, wines and all. At which newes being somewhat amazed, and yet disdayning the villanie of their seruants; they made the more speed home, and so, not farre from *Nowograd*, mette them in warrelike maner marching against them.

Whereupon, aduising what was best to be done, they all agreed, to set vpon them with no other shew of weapons, but with their horse whippes (which as their manner is, every man rideth withall) to put them in remembrance of their seruile condition, thereby to terrifie them and abate their courage. And so marching on, lashing all together with their whips in their hands, they gaue the on-falls, which seemed so terrible in the eares of the villaines, and strooke such a fence into them of the whips smart (whereof they had sharply tasted before) that they all fled together, euen like sheepe before their driuers. In memorie of which victorie, the *Nowogradians* (euer since) haue stamped their Coine, which they call a *Dingoe* *Nowogradskoy*, currant through all *Rufsia*: with the figure of a man on horsebacke, shaking a whip aloft in his hand. These two Citties exceede the rest in greatnesse.

For strength, their chiefe Citties are *Yobsko*, *Smolensko*, *Cazan* and *Astracan*, as all lying vpon the borders; but for situation, *Iaruslaue* farre exceedeth all the rest. Because, beside those commodities yielded by pasturage and corne, it lieth vpon the famous riuer *Volgha*, and lookes ouer it, from a banke most faire and statelily to beholde, whereof the Towne taketh

name. For *Iaruslaue* (in that language) signifieth a faire and famous banke. In this Citie (as may be well imagined by that name) dwelt the *Moscouian* or *Russe* King *Yladimir*, surnamed *Iaruslaue*: that married the daughter to *Harold* King of *England*, by mediation of *Sueno* the *Dane*, as the *Danish* historie testifieth, about the yere of our Lord God, one thousand sixty seauen.

Nothing greatly memorable, is to be spoken of the other Citties and Townes, but onely ruines within their walles: which declareth the peoples decreafe vnder this gouernement. In stead of paving, the streetes (in their Townes and Citties) are plankt with Firre trees, plained and layd euen close one to another. Their houses are of wood, without any Lime or Stone, built very close and warme, with Firre trees playned, and layd one vpon another, being fastened together with dents or notches at euery corner, and so clapped fast together. Betwixt the trees of timber, they thrust in Mosse, whereof they gather plenty in the woods, to keepe out the ayre: And euery house hath a paire of staires, which leade vpp into the chambers out of the yard or streete, after the Scottish maner. This building appeareth farre better for their Country, then that of Stone and Bricke; because they are darker and more colde, then those wooden houses; especially them of Firre, which is a verie drie and warme kinde of wood: whereof God hath provided them such store, that a faire house may be built for twenty or thirty Rubbels, or litle more where wood is scant.

Onely the greatest inconvenience of their wooden building, is the aptnesse for fiering, which happeneth there verie often, and in as fearefull sort, by reason of the drienesse and famesse of the Firre, that being once fiered, it burneth like voto a Torch, and is hardly quenched, till all be quite consumed.

A Moscouian King married the King of Englands daughter.

Paving of the streetes.

The Moscouian manner of building their houses.

Bricke and stone is no convenient building in Moscouia.

The danger of their wooden houses.

Bbbb 2

CHAP.

The Ribabela or white Salmon.

The Moscouia freiherring.

The names of the chiefe Cities in Moscouia or Rufsia.

The Citie of Mosko very ancient.

Berosus the Chaldean telleth vs, that Nimrod in other profane Stories called Saturne sent Assyrius, Medus, Mofcus and Mages into Asia, to plant Colonies there, and that Mofcus planted both in Asia and Europe. Which may make some probability, that the City, or rather the Riuer whereon it is built, tooke the

CHAP. II.

Our second Tract, relateth of what Linage or house the great Emperours are descended: And a view of their entailment or Inauguration in that supreme dignitie: with the form of publike Government, & order observed in holding their Parliaments. Then, of the Nobility dignifying the state, with the regiment of their Provinces and Councell attending upon the Emperour: His Customs, Renewalls & Sophismes, and a breife relation of the Communitie, in their obedience and service.



HE surname of the Imperial house of Moscouia or Russia, is called Beala, receiving Originall (as is supposed) from the kings of Hungaria, which may appeare the more probable; because the Hungarian Kings (many years since) have borne that name, as is noted by Bonfinius, and other Histories written of that Countrey. For, about the yeare, 1059. mention is made of one Beala, that succeeded his brother Andreas, who reduced the Hungarians to the Christian Faith, from which they were falsly by Turkish perswasion before. The second of that name was called Beala the Blinde, after whome succeeded diuers of the same name.

That their Ancestours came not of the Russe Nation, Iuan Vasiliowich (Father to this Emperour) would many times boast, disdaining (as it should seeme) to haue his progeny deriued from the Russian blood. As namely, to an English-man his Goldsmith, that had receiued Bullion of him to make certaine Plate: whome the Emperour commanded, to looke wel to his weight. For my Russe (said he) are all Theeues. Whereat the workman, looking stedfastly vpon the Emperour, began to smile.

The Emperour being of verie quicke conceite, charged him to tell, what hee

smiled at. If your Maiesty will pardon me (quoth the Gold-smith) I will tell you. Your Highnesse sayde, that all the Russes were Theeues, and forgotte (in the meane while) that your selfe was a Russe. I thought so sayde the Emperour, but thou art deceyued, for I am no Russe: my Ancestours were Germaines (for so they account the Hungarians, to bee part of the Germaine Nation) although (indeede) they come of the Hunnes, who mollest and invaded that country, and rested in those partes of Pannonia, now called Hungary.

How they aspired to the Dukedome of Volodemer (which was their first degree, and ingrafting into Moscouia.) And whether it were by Conquest, or by Marriage, or by what other meanes; no certainty is to be learned among them. But from these beginnings, of a small Dukedom (which bare notwithstanding an absolute government with it, as at that time did all the other Shires or Provinces of Moscouia) this house of Beala spread it selfe forth, and aspired (by degrees) vnto the Monarchie of the whole Countrey, as it is a thing well knowne, and but of late memory.

The cheefe of that house, that aduanced the Stocke, and enlarged their Dominions: were the three last that reigned before this Emperour, to witte, Iuan Basilien, and Iuan, Father to the other that reigneth at this time. Whereof the first that tooke vnto him the Name and Title of Emperour, was Basilien, Father to Iuan, and Grandfather vnto this man. For (before that time) they onely were contented, to bee called by the Name of Great Dukes of Mosco or Moscouia.

What hath beene done by eyther of these three, and how much they haue added vnto their first estate, eyther by Conquest, or otherwise; wee shall shew more at large, when we come to speake of their Colonies, or purchases perforce. For the continuance of the race, this House of Beala at this present, is in like case, as are many of the greatest Houses of Christendome, (Viz:) the whole Stocke and Race, concluded in one, two, or some fewe of the blood. For, besides the Emperour that now is, who hath no childe (neyther is like euer

How first they came to the Dukedome of Volodemer not knowne.

The aduancement of the house of Beala.

Reference to a place of better consequence.

to

no hope of issue by the Emperour.

A great mishap & much lamented, costing also the Fathers life.

to haue, for ought that can bee conieured by the constitution of his bodye, and barrenesse of his wife, after so many yeares marriage) there is but one more, which is a Childe of fixe or seauen yeares olde, in whom resteth all the hope of succession, and posteritie of that house.

As for the other Brother, that was eldest of the three, and of the best towardnesse: hee dyed of a blow giuen him by his Father vpon the head (in furie) with his walking Staffe, or (as some say) of a thrust with the prong of it, driuen deep into his head. That hee meant him no such mortall harme, when hee gaue him the blowe, appeared by his wonderfull great mourning and passion after his Sonnes vntimely death; which neuer left him, vntill it brought him to his Graue. Wherein may bee noted the Iustice of God, that punished his delight in shedding of blood, with this murder of his Sonne by his owne hand. And so ended his dayes and tyranny together, with the murdering of himselfe by extreame grief, for this his vnhappy, and most vnnatural facte.

The Emperours younger Brother, of fixe or seauen yeares olde (as was said before) is kept in a remote place from the Mosko, vnder the tuition and government of his Mother, and her Kindred, of the house of the Nagaias: yet not safe (as I haue heard) from attempts of making away, by practise of some that would aspire vnto the Crowne, if the Emperour dye without any yssue. For, the Nurf that tasted before him of certaine meate, (as I haue heard reported) dyed immediately.

That he is the Naturall Sonne vnto Iuan Vasiliowich, the Russe people warrant it, by the fathers qualities, which appear already in his tender yeeres. He delights to see Sheepe and other Cattle kilde, and to looke on their throates, while they are bleeding (which commonly, children are affrayde to beholde) and to beate Geese and Hennes with a Staffe, till hee see them dead.

Besides these of the masse kinde, there is a Widow, that hath right in the succession, Sister to the olde Emperour, and Aunt to him liuing; sometime wife vnto Magnus, Duke of Holst. Brother to the

King of Denmarke, by whom she had one daughter.

This Woman, since the death of her Husband, hath beene allured againe into Russia, by some that loue the succession better then her selfe, which appeareth by the sequelle. For her selfe, with her daughter, so soone as they were returned againe into Russia, were thrust into a Nunnery, where her daughter dyed this last yeare, but of no naturall disease, as was supposed.

The Mother remaineth still in the Nunnery, bewailing her selfe, and cursing the time when shee returned into Russia, enticed with the hope of Marriage, and many other fayre promises in the Emperours name. And thus it standeth with the Imperiall stocke of Russia, of the House of Beala, which is like to determine in those that now are, and to make a conuersion of the Russe Estate. If it bee into a Government of some better temper, and milder constitution; it will bee happy for the people, that are nowe oppressed with intollerable seruitude.

Our next Discourse, must extend it selfe, to report such solemnities, as are commonly vsed at the Russe Emperours Coronation, which followeth in this manner.

Of the manner of Crowning or Inauguration of the Russe Emperours.



HE solemnities vsed at the Russe Emperours Coronation, are on this manner. In the great Church of Preb. He (or our Ladie) within the Emperours Castle, is erected a stage, whereon standeth a Screene, that beareth vpon it the Imperiall Cappe and Robe, of exceeding rich stuffe. When the day of Inauguration is come, there resorteth thither, first the Patriarche with the Metropolitanes, Arch-bishops, Bishoppes, Abbots, and Priors, alrichly clad in their Pontificalibus. Then enter the Deacons, with the Quier of singers: who so soon as the Emperour setteth foot into the church

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begin

The daughter dying in the Nunnery, the Mother liueth in no meane anguish.

The ecclesiastical attendants.

Originall of the Moscouian Imperiall house from the kings of Hungary.

The house Beala not naturally Moscouian or Russe.

Familiar talk betwene the Emperour, and an English Goldsmith.

Treachery attempted against the young princes life.

Qualities of no great commendation.

Another title of inheritance by the Dukes of Holst.

begin to sing: *Many yeeres may line noble Theodore Iuanowich, &c.* Whereunto the Patriarch and Metropolit, with the reit of the Cleargy, answer with a certaine Hymne, in forme of a prayer, singing it all together, with a great noise. The Hymne being ended, the Patriarch with the Emperor mount vp the stage, where standeth a feat ready for the Emperour. Whereon the Patriarch willeth him to sit down, and then placing himselfe by him, vpon another feat provided for that purpose, boweth down his head toward the ground, and saith this prayer.

The prayer uttered by the Patriarch, before the Coronation.

Oh Lord God, King of Kinges, Lord of Lords, which by the Prophet Samuel diddest chuse thy seruant David, and anoint him for King ouer thy people Israel; heare nowe our Prayers, and looke from thy Sanctuarie vpon this thy seruant Theodore, whom thou hast chosen, and exalted for King, ouer the thy holy Nations. Annoint him with the Oyle of gladnesse, protect him by thy power, put vpon his head a Crowne of Gold & precious stones, giue him length of dayes, place him in the seat of Iustice, strengthen his arme, make subiect vnto him all the barbarous Nations. Let thy feare be in his whole heart; turne him from an euill Faith, and from all error, and shew him the saluation of thy holie & vniuersall Church; that he may iudge thy people with Iustice, and protect the children of the poore; and finally attaine euerslasting life. This prayer he speaketh with a low voyce, and then pronounceth aloud: All praise and power to God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost.

The Ceremonies to be performed in order.

The prayer being ended, he commandeth certaine Abbots to reach the Imperiall Robe and Cap; which is done verie decently, and with great solemnitie, the Patriarch withall pronouncing alowde; *Peace be vnto all.* And so he beginneth another prayer to this effect: *Now your selues together with vs, and pray to him that reigneth ouer all. Preserve him (O Lord) vnder thy protection, keepe him that he may do good and holy things, let iustice shine forth in his dayes, that we may liue quietly without strife and malice.*

This is pronounced somewhat softly by the Patriarch, whereto he addeth againe alowd: *Thou art the King of the whole world, and the Saviour of our soules, to thee the Father, Sonne, and Holy Ghost, be all praise for euer and euer, Amen.* Then putting on the

Robe and the Cap, he blesteth the Emperor with the signe of the Crosse: saying withall; *In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost.* The like is done by the Metropolit, Arch-bishops, and Bishops: who all in their order come to the Chaire, and one after another, doe blesteth the Emperor with their two fore-fingers.

Then is saide by the Patriarch another prayer, that beginneth, *O most holy Virgin, mother of God, &c.* After which, a Deacon pronounceth with an high lowde voyce: *Many yeeres to Noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodemer of Mosko, Emperour, and Monarch of all Rusfia, &c.* Whereto the other priests and Deacons, that stand somewhat far off by the Altar or Table, answer singing: *Many yeeres, many yeeres to the noble Theodore.* The same note is taken vppe by the Priests and Deacons, that are placed at the right and left side of the Church, and then all together they chaunt and thunder out, singing; *Many yeeres to the noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, Emperour, of all Rusfia, &c.*

These solemnities being ended, first cometh the Patriarch with the Metropolit, Arch-bishops, and Bishops; then the Nobility, and the whole companie in their order, to doe homage vnto the Emperour, bending downe theyr heades, and knocking them at his feete vnto the very ground.

According to their ancient custome

Homage and obeyance done to the Emperour.

The Stile wherewith hee is

inuest at his Coronation, runneth after this manner.

Theodore Iuanowich, by the Grace of God, great Lord and Emperour of all Rusfia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosko, and Novograd, King of Casan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesko, and great Duke of Smolensko, of Tuveria, Touzhoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others. Lord and great Duke of Novograd of the Low Countreies, of Chermigo, Rezan, Polotskoj, Rostou, Tarsuslawej, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condens: Commander of all Siberia, and of the North partes, and Lorde of many other Countreies, &c.

This

The Emperor proud of his many Titles.

This stile containeth in it all the Emperors Prouinces, and setteth forth his greatnesse. And therefore they haue a very great delight and pride in it, forcing not onely their owne people, but likewise strangers (that haue any matter to deliuer to the Emperor by speech or writing) to repeat the whole forme from the beginning to the end. Which breedeth much caull, and sometimes quarrell, betwixt them and the Tatar, and Poland Ambassadors; who refuse to call him *Czar*, that is Emperour, and to repeat the other parts of his long stile.

The State or forme of their gouernment.

The manner of their Gouernment, is much after the Turkish fashion: which they doe seeme to imitate as neere as the Countrey, and reach of their capacities (in politick affayres) will giue them leaue to doe.

The Russe gouernment tyrannical.

The State and forme of their Gouernment is plaine tyrannicall, as applying all to the behoofe of the Prince, and that after a most open and barbarous manner; as may appear by the *Sophismata*, or secrets of their Gouernment alterward set down, aswell for the keeping of the Nobility and Commons in an vnder proportion, and farre vneuen balance in their seuerall degrees; as also in their impositions and exactions, wherein they exceed all iust measure, without any regard of Nobilitie or people.

Exaction in Nobilitie ouer the meaner sort.

Furthermore, it giueth the Nobilitie a kinde of iniust, and vnmeasured liberty, to command and exact vpon the Commons and baser sort of people, in all parts of the Realme wherefoeuer they come, especially in the place where theyr Lands lye, or where they are appointed by the Emperor to gouerne vnder him. Allo to the Commons some small contentment, in that they passe ouer their lands (by descent of inheritance) to whither son they will: which commonly they do after our *Caual kinde*, and dispose of their goodes by gift or Testament, without any controulment. Wherein notwithstanding, both Nobility and Commons are but flouers for the Prince, all running in the end into the Emperors Coffers: as may appear by the practise of enriching his treasure, and the manner of Exactions sette downe in the title of his Customes and Reuennewes.

The Nobilitie and Commons, flouers for the Prince.

Concerning the principall points and

matters of State, wherein the Soueraignty consisteth (as the making and amending of publike Lawes, the making of Magistrats, power to make warre or league with any foraine State, to execute or to pardon life, with the right of appeal in all matters, both ciuill and criminall) they doe so wholly and absolutely pertaine to the Emperor and his Councell vnder him; as that hee may be saide to be the Soueraigne Commander, and the executioner of all these. For, as touching any Law or publike order of the Realme, it is euer determined of, before any publike Assembly or Parliament bee summoned, Where besides his Councell, he hath none other to consult with him of such matters as are concluded before had but onely a few Bishops, Abbots, and Friars: to no other end, then to make advantage of the peoples superstitions, euen against themselves which think to be holy and iust, that passeth with consent of their Bishops and Cleargy men, whatsoever it bee.

Of Soueraign power.

For which purpose, the Emperors are content to make much of the corrupt state of the Church, as now it is among them, and to nourish the same by extraordinary fauours and immunities to the Bishops, Seas, Abbeyes, and Fryaries: as knowing, superstition and false Religion best to agree with a tyrannicall State, and to be a speciall meanes to vphold and maintaine the same.

Benefit made by corruption

Secondly, as touching the publike Offices and Magistracies of the Realme, there is none Hereditarie, neyther any so great nor so little in that Countrey, but the bestowing of it, is done immediately by the Emperour himselfe. Inomuch, that the very Diakes or Clerkes in euery head Towne, are (for the most part) assigned by himselfe. Notwithstanding, the Emperor that now is (the better to encrease his Deuotions) referreth all such matters pertaining to the State, wholly to the ordering of his Wiues brother, the Lord *Boris Federowich Godoune*.

Officers giuen by the Emperour himselfe.

Thirdly, the like is to be saide of the Iurisdiction, concerning matters iudiciall, specially such as concerne life and death. Wherein there is none that hath any authority, or publike Iurisdiction that goeth by descent, or is held by Charter; but all at the appointment and pleasure of the Emperour.

Of iudiciall matters concerning life & death.

And

And the same practised by the Judges with such awe and restraint; as that they dare not determine vpon any special matter, but must referre the same wholly, vpon the *Moske* to the Emperours Councell. To thew his Soueraignty ouer the liues of his Subiects, the late Emperour *Iuan Paskilovich* (in his walkes or progresses) if he had misliked the face or person of any man whom hee met by the way, or that looked vpon him; would command his head to be strook off. Which was presently done, and the head cast before him.

The Emperours power or iurisdiction.

Of appeales and pardons in criminal causes.

The Emperours free pardon.

The manner of holding their Parliaments.

No commons in Parliament.

The order of the summons or assembling.

begin. Which commonly is vpon Friday, for the religion of that day.

When the day is come, the Cleargymen assemble before, at the time & place appointed, which is called the *Stolby*. And when the Emperour cometh attended by his Nobility, they arise all, and meete him in an out-roome, following their Patriarch, who blesteth the Emperour with his two fore-fingers, laying them on his forehead, and the sides of his face; & then kisseth him on the right side of his breast. So they passe on into their Parliament house, where they sit in this order. The Emperour is enthronized on the one side of the Chamber. In the next place, not farre from him, at a small square Table (that giueh room to twelue persons or thereabouts) sitteth the Patriarch, with the Metropolitans and Bishops, & certaine of the principall Nobility of the Emperours Councell, together with two Deacons or Secretaries (called *Dumny Dyakey*) that enact that which passeth. The rest place themselves on Benches round about the Roome, euery man in his rank after his degree. Then is there propounded by one of the Secretaries (who representeth the Speaker) the cause of their assembly, and the principall matters that they are to consider of. For, to propound bills, what euery man thinketh good for the publike benefit (as in other Countries is vsed) the *Russe* Parliament alloweth no such custome, nor liberty to subiects.

The place of meeting for the assembly.

The manner of sitting in Parliament.

Their discourse at Parliament.

The effect of the speech propounded.

The points being opened, the Patriarch (with his Cleargymen) haue the prerogative, to be first asked their vote, or opinion, what they thinke of the points propounded by the Secretary. Whereto they answer in order, according to their degrees, but all in one forme, without any discourse: as hauing learned their Lesson before, that serueth their turnes at all Parliaments alike, whatsoeuer is propounded. Commonly it is to this effect. *That the Emperour and his Councell are of great wisdom, and experience, touching the policies and publike affaires of the Realme, and farre better able to iudge what is profitable for the Common-wealth, then they are, which attend vpon the service of God only, and matters of Religion. And therefore it may please them to proceede. That in stead of their aduise, they will aide them with their prayers, as their duties*

ties

ties and vocations do require, &c. To this or like effect, hauing made their answers euery man in his course, vpon standeth some Abbot or Fryar, more bold then the rest (yet appointed before hand, as a matter of forme) and desired the Emperour it would please his Maiesty, to command to be deliuered vnto them, what his Maiesties owne iudgement, and determinate pleasure is, as touching those matters propounded by his *Deake*?

The forme of the Emperours answer.

Whereto is replied by the saide Secretary, in the Emperours name. *That his Highnesse, with those of his Noble Councell (vpon good and sound aduise) haue found the matters proposed, to be very good and necessary for the Common-wealth of his Realme. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as they are religious men, and know what is right; his Maiesty requireth their godly opinions, yea and their censures too, for the approving or correcting of the saide propositions. And therefore desired them againe, to speake their mindes freely. And if they shall like to giue their consents, that then the matters may passe to a full conclusion.*

Hereunto, when the Cleargymen haue giuen their consents (which they vse to do without any great pausing) they take their leaues, with blessing of the Emperour: who bringeth the Patriarch on his way so farre as the next Roome, and so returneth to his seate, till all be made ready for his returne homeward. The Actes that thus are passed by the *Zabore* or Parliament, the *Deakeis* or Secretaries draw into a forme of Proclamation, which they send abroad into euery Prouince, & head-towne of the Realme, to be published there, by the Dukes & *Deakeis*, or Secretaries of those places. The Session of Parliament being fully ended; the Emperour inuitheth the Cleargymen to a solemne Dinner. And so they depart euery man to his home.

Of the Nobility, and by what means it is kept in vnder proportion, as is creeble to that State.

The degrees of persons or estates of *Russia* (besides the Soueraigne State or Emperour himselfe) are these in order. First, the Nobility which is of four sorts. Whercof the chiefe for birth, authority, and reuennue, are called the *Vdelney Knazey*, that is, the exempt or priuiledged Dukes. These held sometime a fewerall iurisdiction, and absolute authority within their Precincts, much like vnto the States or Nobles of *Germany*. But after-

wards (referring their rights vpon composition) they yielded themselves to this house of *Beals*, when it began to waxe mighty, and to enlarge it selfe by ouermatching their neighbours. Only they were bound to serue the Emperour in his warres, with a certaine number of horse. But the late Emperour *Iuan Paskilovich*, Father to this Prince, beeing a man of high spirit, and subtile in his kinde, meaning to reduce his gouernement into a more strickt forme; began by degrees to clip off their greatnesse, and to bring it downe to a lesser proportion: till in the ende, he made them not only his vassals, but his *Kolopey*, that is, his very villains or bond-slaves. For so they terme & write themselves, in any publike instrument or priuate petition which they make to the Emperour. So that now they hold their authorities, lands, liues and all at the Emperours pleasure, as the rest do.

The cunning of the late Emperour.

The meanes and practise whereby he wrought this to effect, against those, and other of the Nobility (so well as I could note out of the report of his doings) were these, and such like. First, he cast priuate emulations among them, about prerogative of their Titles and Dignities. Wher-in he vied to set on the Inferiours, to preferre or equalle themselves to those, that were accounted to be of the Nobler houses. Where hee made his advantage of their mallice and contentions, the one against the other, by receiuing deuiised matter, and accusations of secret practise and conspiracies, to be intended against his person and state. And so, hauing singled out the greatest of them, and cut them off, with the good liking of the rest; hee fell at last to open practise, by forcing of the other to yield their rights vnto him.

2. He diuided his subiects into two parts or Factions by a generall schisme. The one part he called the *Oppressini* or *Seleit men*. These were such of the Nobility and Gentry, as hee tooke to his owne part, to protect, and maintaine them as his faithfull subiects. The other hee called *Zemsky*, or the *Commons*. The *Zemsky* contained the base and vulgar sort, with such Noblemen and Gentlemen as he meant to cut off, as suspected to mislike his gouernement, and to haue a meaning to practise against him. Wherein hee provided that the *Oppressini*, for number

The Emperours practise and proceeding against both the Factions.

The Faction of *Orbelsini* and *Zemsky*, deuiued by the Emperour.

ber and quality of valour, money, armor, &c. far exceeded the other of the *Zemsky* side, whom hee put (as it were) from vnder his protection: so that if any of the were spoyled or killed by those of the *Oppressimi* (which he accounted of his owne part) there was no amends to bee sought for, by way of publike iustice, or by complaint to the Emperor.

The distinguishing of the *Oppressimi* & *Zemsky* each from others.

The reason of this cruell practise.

The whole number of both parts was orderly registred and kept in a Booke: so that euery man knew, who was a *Zemsky* man, and who of the *Oppressimi*. And this liberty of the one part, to spoyle and kill the other, without any helpe of Magistrate, or law (that continued seven years) enriched that side and the Emperors treasury, and wrought that withall, which hee intended by this practise, viz. to take out of the way such of the Nobility, as himselfe misliked: whereof were flaine (within one weeke) to the number of three hundred within the City of *Mosko*. This tyrannicall practise, of making a generall Schisme, and publike diuision among the subiects of his whole Realme, proceeded (as should seeme) from an extreme doubt, and desperate feare, which he had conceiued of most of his Nobility, and Gentlemen of his Realme, in his warres with the *Polonian* and *Chrim Tartar*. What time he grew into a vehement suspicion (conceiued of the ill successe of his affaires) that they practised treason with the *Polonian* and *Chrim*. Whereupon he executed some, and deuised this way to be rid of the rest.

And this wicked pollicy and tyrannous practise (though now it be ceased) hath so troubled that Country, and filled it so full of grudge and mortall hatred euersince, that it will not bee quenched (as it seemeth now) till it burne againe into a ciuill flame.

3 Having thus pulled them, and sealed all their inheritance, lands, priuiledges, &c. &c. &c. some very small part, which he left to their name; he gaue them other lands of the tenour of *Pomelino* (as they call it) that are held at the Emperors pleasure, lying farre off in another Country, and so removed them into another of his Provinces, where they might haue neither fauour, nor authority, not being native nor well knowne there. So that now cheefe of the cheefe Nobility (called *Vdel-*

ney Knazey) are equalled with the rest: saue that in the opinion and fauor of the people they are of more account, and keepe still the prerogative of their place, in all their publike meetings.

Their practise to keepe downe these houses from rising againe, and recouering their dignities, are these, & such like. First, many of their heyres are kept vnmarried perforce, that the stock may dye with the. Some are sent into *Siberia*, *Cazan* and *Astracan*, vnder pretence of seruice, & there eyther made away, or else fall clapped vp. Some are put into Abbeyes, and there themselves Fryars by pretence of a vow to be made voluntary, and of their owne accord, but indeed forced vnto it by feare, vpon some pretended crime objected against them. Where they are so guarded by some of speciall trust, and the Couent it selfe (vpon whose head it standeth, that they make no escape) as that they haue no other hope, but to end their liues there. Of this kinde, there are many of very great Nobility.

These and such like wayes (begun by the Emperor *Iuan Vasiliuich*) are still practised by the *Godonoes*, who being aduanced by the manage of the Empreesse their kinswoman, rule both the Emperor, and his Realme, (specially *Borris Federovich Godonoe*, brother to the Empreesse) & endeavour by all meanes to cut off, or keepe downe all of the best and ancientest Nobility. Whereof diuers already they haue taken away, whom they thought likelest to make head against them, and to hinder their purpose, as *Knes Andreas Guraken Bulgakoue*, a man of great birth and authority in the Country. The like they haue done with *Peter Gollanini* (who they put into a dungeon where he ended his life) with *Knes Vasiliu Vritich Gollanin*, with *Andriue Iannovich Suskoy*, accounted among them for a man of great wisdom. So this last yeare was killed in a Monastery (whether they had thrust him) on *Knes Iuan Petrovich Suskoy*, a man of great valour, and seruice in that Country: who about five or sixe yeares since, bare out the sledge of the City *Vobsko*, made by *Stepan Batore* King of *Polonia*, with one hundred thousand men, and repulsed him very valiantly, with great honour to himselfe and his Country, & disgrace to the *Polonian*. Also *Micheta Romanovich*

Houses kept downe from rising and recouering their Dignity.

Many of the Nobility are cruelly & treacherously made away.

Notrepe of persons made among them.

manovich, Vnckle to the Emperor by the Mothers side, was supposed to haue died of poyson, or some such like practise.

The names of these Families of greatest Nobility, are these in their order. The first is of *Cnes Volademer*, which reflect at this time in one daughter a widow, and without childre (mentioned before) sometime Wife to *Hartock Magnus*, brother to the King of *Denmarke*, now closed within a Nunnery. The second *Knez Melchioskey*, thrust into a Friery, and his onely sonne kept from marriage, to decay the house. The third *Glimskoy*: but one left of his house, and he without children, saue one daughter. The fourth *Suskoy*, whereof there are foure brethren young men, and vnmarried all. The fifth *Hubetskoy*. Of this house are foure liuing. The sixth *Bulgakoy*, now called *Guletskey* house, whereof are five liuing, but youths all. The seventh *Vorallinskoy*. Two left of that stock. The eighth *Odgoskey*. Two. The ninth *Telletskey*. One. The tenth *Taytoue*. Three. These are the names of the cheefe Families called *Vdelney Knazay*: that in effect haue lost all now, saue the very name it selfe, and fauour of the people, which is like one day to restore them againe, if any be left.

The second degree of Nobility.

The second degree of Nobility, is of the *Boiars*. These are such, as the Emperor honoureth (beside their Nobility) with the Title of Counsellors. The reuennue of these two sorts of Nobles, that rest out of their Lands assigned them by the Emperor, and held at his pleasure (for of their owne Inheritance there is little left them, as was said before) is about a thousand marks a yeare: besides a pension which they receiue of the Emperor, for their seruice in his wars, to the summe of seven hundred Rubbels a yeare, and none about that summe.

The authority of the Empreesse, Brothers, and his large Inheritance.

But in this number, the Lord *Borris Federovich Godonoe* is not to be reckoned, that is like a *Transendent*, and in no such predicament with the rest, being the Emperors brother in law, his Protectour for directions, for command and authority Emperor of *Russia*. His yearly reuennue (in land and pension) amounteth to the summe of 93700. Rubbels and more, as appeareth by the particulars. He hath of inheritance (which himselfe hath augmented in *Vasma Dorogoboe*, sixe thou-

sand Rubbels a yeare. For his Office of *Connick*, or Master of the Horse, twelue thousand Rubbels, or Markes, raised out of the *Cannishue Slobodoy*, or the liberties pertaining to that Office, which are certaine Lands and Townes neere about the *Mosko*. Besides, all the Meddow and Pasture ground on both sides the banke of the riuer *Mosko*, thirty versh up the streame, and forty versh downwards. For his pension of the Emperor (besides the other for his Office) fifty thousand Rubbels. Out of the Province or Shire of *Vaghta*, there is giuen him for a peculiar (exempted out of the *Cheerfuld* of *Pesolskoy*, two & thirty thousand Rubbels, beside a rent of Furs, Out of *Razan* and *Sauer*, (another peculiar) thirty thousand Rubbels. Out of *Ofser* and *Turtok*, another exempt place, eight thousand Rubbels. For rent of Bathhouses and Bathing-houses without the walles of *Mosko*, fifteen hundred Rubbels. Besides his pomeit, or lands which he holdeth at the Emperours pleasure, which farre exceedeth the proportion of land allotted to the rest of the Nobility.

Allowance for a simple Brother.

One other there is of the house of *Glimskoy*, that dependeth in land and pension, about forty thousand Rubbels yearly. Which he is suffered to enjoy, because he hath married *Borris* his Wives sister, being himselfe simple, and almost a Natural. The ordering of him & his Lands are committed to *Borris*.

The third sort of Nobility.

In the third rancke are the *Royanadey*, or such Nobles as are, or haue bene Generals in the Emperours warres. Which deliuer the honour of their Title to their posterities also: who take their place above the other Dukes and Nobles, that are not of the two former sorts, viz. of the *Vdelney Knazey*, nor of the *Boiars*.

These three degrees of their Nobility (to wit) the *Vdelney Knazey*, the *Boiars*, and the *Royanadey* haue the addition of *Vich*, put vnto their surname as *Borris Federovich*, &c. which is a note of honor, that the rest may not vlturpe. And in case it be not added in the naming of the; they may sue the *Bestheft*, or penalty of dishonour vpon them, that otherwise shall terme them.

The fourth and lowest degree of Nobility with them, is of such as beare the name of *Knazey* or Dukes, but come of the younger Brothers of those cheefe houses,

The fourth degree of Nobility.

ses, through many dissent, and have no inheritance of their owne, save the bare name or title of Duke only. For their order is, to delivier their names and titles of their dignities over to all their Children alike, whatsoever else they leave the. So that the sonnes of a *Voianodey*, or Generall in the fildes, are called *Voianodey*, though they never saw the fildes, and the sonnes of a *Knez* or Duke, are called *Knazez*, though they have not one groat of inheritance or livelyhood, to maintaine themselves withall. Of this sort there are so many, that the plenty maketh them cheape: so that you shall see Dukes glad to serve a meane man, for five or six rubbels or marks a year; and yet they will stand highly vpon their *Beshest* or reputation of their honours. And these are their severall degrees of Nobility.

The second degree of persons, is of their *Sina Boiarskey*, or the sons of Gentlemen: which all are preferred, & hold that name by their service in the Emperors wars, being Soldiours by their very stocke & birth. To which order are referred their *Diacks* or Secretaries, that serve the Emperor in every head towne, being ioyned in Commission with the Dukes of that place.

The last are their Commons, whom they call *Monicks*. In which number they reckon their Merchants, and their common Artificers. The very lowest & basest sort of this kinde (which are helde in no degree) are their Country people, whom they call *Christians*. Of the *Sina Boiarskey* (which are all Soldiours) we are to see in the description of their Forces, and Military prouisions. Concerning their *Monicks*, what their condition and behaviour is, expect them among the Common people.

The whole Country of *Russia* (as was saide before) is diuided into foure parts, which they call *Chefirds*, or *Tetrarchies*. Every *Chefird* containeth diuers Shires, and is annexed to a severall Office, whereof it takes the name.

The first *Chefird* or *Tetrarchy* beareth the name of *Foskoy Chefird*, or the Jurisdiction of the Office of *Ambassages*, and at this time is vnder the chiefe Secretary & Officer of the *Ambassages*, called *Andreas Shaleaque*. The standing fee or stipend that he receiue yearly of the Emperor for this service, is one hundred

rubbels or marks.

The second is called the *Roskradney Chefird*, because it is proper to the *Roskrade* or high Constable. At this time it pertaineth (by vertue of Office) to *Bassile Shalcalout*, brother to the Chancellors; but it is executed by one *Zapon Abramone*. His pension is an hundred rubbels yearly.

The third is the *Chefird of Pomejinoz*, as pertaining to that Office. This keepeth a Register of all Lands given by the Emperor for service, to his Noblemen, Gentlemen, & others, he giueth out & taketh in all assurances for them. The Officer at this time is called *Elezar welligine*. His stipend is 500. rubbels a year.

The fourth is called *Cassansky Dworetz*, as being appropriate to the Office that hath the iurisdiction of the kingdomes of *Cazan* and *Astracan*, with the other towns lying vpon the *Volga*, now ordered by one *Druzhine Penieleoue*, a man of very speciall account among the, for his wisdom, and promptnesse in matters of policy. His pension is 150. rubbels a year.

From these *Chefirds* or *Tetrarchies*, is exempted the Emperors inheritance or *Vochin* (as they call it) for that it pertained (from ancient time) to the house of *Bezia*, which is the sur-name of the Imperiall blood. This standeth of 36. Townes with their bounds or territories. Besides diuers peculiar iurisdiccions, which are likewise deducted out of those *Chefirds*, as the Shire of *Pogha* (belonging to the Lord *Borris Felerovich Godanoe*) and such like.

These are the chiefe Governours or Officers of the Prouinces, not resident at their charge abroad, but attending the Emperor wherefoever he goeth, and carrying their Offices about with the, which for the most part they hold at *Mosko*, as the Emperors chiefe Seare.

The parts and practise of these foure Offices, is to receiue all complaints and actions whatsoever, that are brought out of their severall *Chefirds* and quarters, & to informe them to the Emperors Counsell. Likewise to send direction againe to those that are vnder them in their saide Prouinces, for all matters giuen in charge by the Emperor and his Counsell, to be done or put in execution within their Precincts.

For the ordering of every particular Prouince of these foure *Chefirds*, there is appointed

The second.

The third.

The fourth.

Exemption on the Emperors behalf

The matter concerning the foure Offices.

Dukes there, is but a mean degree in Nobility.

The Commission of the Dukes or Presidents of Shires.

For criminall matters and such occasions.

Order for Proclamations and other matters.

appointed one of these Dukes, which were reckoned before in the lowest degree of their Nobility, and which are resident in the head townes of the said Prouinces. Whereof every one hath ioyned with him in Commission, a Dyack or Secretary, to assist him, or rather to direct him. For in the executing of their Commission, the Dyack doth all.

The parts of their Commission are these in effect. First, to heare and determine in all ciuill matters within their Precinct. To which purpose, they haue vnder them certaine Officers, as *Gubnoy Starets*, or Coroners, who, besides the tryall of selfe-murders, are to attach Fellons: as the *Soudia* or vnder-Iustices, who themselves also may heare and determine in all matters of the same nature, among the Country people of their owne Wards or Bayliwicks: but so, that in case either party dissent, they may appeale, and goe farther to the Duke & Dyack, that reside within the head towne. From whom also, they may remove the matter to the higher Court at *Mosko*, of the Emperors Counsell, where lie all appeales. They haue vnder them also *Sotskoy Starets*, that is, Aldermen or Bailiffes of the hundreds.

Secondly, in all criminall matters, as theft, murder, treason, &c. they haue authority to apprehend, to examine, and to imprison the malefactor, & so haue received perfect euidence and information of the cause, they are to send it (ready drawne and orderly digested) vp to the *Mosko*, to the officer of the *Chefird* wherevnto that Prouince is annexed: by whom it is referred and propounded to the Emperors Counsell. But to determine in any matter criminall, or to do execution vpon the party offending; is more then their Commission will allow them to do.

Thirdly, if there bee any publike seruice to be done within that Prouince, (as the publishing of any Law, or common order, by way of Proclamation, collecting of taxes, and impositions for the Emperor, mustering of Soldiours, and sending them forth at the day, and to the place assigned by the Emperour or his Counsell) all these and such like, pertaine vnto their charge.

These Dukes and Dyacks are appointed to their place by the Emperour himselfe, and are changed ordinarily at every

yeares ende; except vpon some speciall liking or suit, the time be prolonged for a year or two more. They are men of rich felices of no credite, nor fauour with the people, where they gouerne, being neither borne, nor brought vp among them, nor yet having inheritance of their owne there, or elsewhere. Only of the Emperor they haue for that seruice, an hundred Marks a yeare he that hath most, some 50. some but 30. Which maketh them more suspected and odious to the people, because being so bare, and committing fresh and hungry vpon them nightly every year, they racke and spoile the people, without all regard of iustice, or conscience. Which is easily tolerated by the chiefe Officers of the *Chefirds*, to the ende they may rob them againe, & haue a better booty when they call them to account: which commonly they do at the end of their seruice, making an aduantage of their iniustice, & oppression ouer the poore people. There are few of them, but they come to the *End-key* or whipe when their time is ended, which themselves (for the most part) do make account of. And therefore they furnish themselves, with all the spoile they can for the time of their gouernment; that they may haue for both turnes, as well for the Emperor, and Lord of the *Chefird*, as to reserve some good part for themselves.

They that are appointed to gouerne abroad, are men of this quality: saue that in the foure border Townes (that are of greatest importance) are set men of more speciall valor & trust, two in every towne. Whereof one is euer of the Emperors priuy Counsell. These 4. border Townes, are *Smolensko*, *Yabsko*, *Nouograd*, & *Cazan*, whereof three lie towards the *Polonian* & *Sweden*, one bordereth fast off vpon the *Chirm Tartar*. These haue larger Commission, then the other Dukes of the Prouinces that I spake of before, and may do execution in criminall matters. Which is thought behoouefull for the Commonwealth: for incident occasions that may happen vpon the borders, that are far off, and may not stay for direction, about euery occurrent and particular matter from the Emperor and his Counsell. They are changed every yeare (except as before) and haue for their stipend, 700. rubbels a yeare he that hath most: some haue but foure hundred rubbels. Many of these

Concerning the Dukes and Dyacks, and their credite.

Heere one theefe robbeth another, and careth for no punishment.

Officers for the foure border townes.

The foure border townes.

The yearly stipend of these Officers.

C c c c

places,

The second degree of persons.

The third degree.

Of the gouernment of their Prouinces & Shires.

The foure Chefirds and their Offices.

places, that are of greatest importance, and almost the whole Country, is managed (at this time) by the *Gadomes* & their Clerks.

The City of *Mosko* (that is the Emperors seat) is governed altogether by the Emperors Counsell. All matters there (both civill and criminall) are heard and determined in the severall Courts, helde by some of the said Counsell, that reside there all the yeare long.

Onely for their ordinary matters (as buildings, reparations, keeping of their streetes decent and cleane, collections, leuying of taxes, impositions & such like) are appointed two Gentlemen, and two Dyacks or Secretaries, who hold a Court together for the ording of such matters.

This is called the *Zemsky* house. If any towns-man suspect his servant of theft or like matter, hither he may bring him, to have him examined upon the *Pukky*, or other torture. Besides these two Gentlemen and Secretaries, that order the whole City, there are *Staruys* or Aldermen for every severall Company. The Alderman hath his *Sotsky* or Constable, & the Constable hath certaine *Deceksis* or Decurions vnder him, which have the oversight of ten households apeece, whereby every order is sooner spide, and the common service hath the quicker dispatch.

The whole number of Citizens (poore and rich) are reduced into Companies. The chiefe Officers (as the Dyacks & Gentlemen) are appointed by the Emperor himselfe, the *Staruys* by the Gentlemen & Dyacks, the *Sotsky* by the *Staruys* or Aldermen, & the *Deceksis* by the Constables.

This manner of government of their Prouinces and Townes, if it were aswell set for the giving of iustice indifferently to all sorts, as it is to prevent innovations, by keeping of the Nobility within order, and the Commons in subiection it might seeme (in that kinde) to bee no bad, nor vnpolitique way, for the containing of so large a Common-wealth, of that breadth and length as is the Kingdom of *Russia*. But the oppression and slavery is of open, and is great, that a man would marvel how the Nobility & people should suffer themselves to be brought vnder it; while they had any means to avoid and repulse it: or being so strengthened as it is at this present, how the Emperors themselves can

be content to practise the same, with so open iniustice & oppression of their subiects, being themselves of a Christian profession.

By this it appeareth, how hard a matter it were, to alter the state of the *Russe* Government, as now it standeth. First, because they have none of the Nobility able to make head. As for the Lords of the four *Chetfirds* or *Tetrarchies*, they are men of no Nobility, but Dyacks, advanced by the Emperour, depending on his fauour, & attending onely about his owne person. And for the Dukes that are appointed to gouerne vnder them, they are but men of a titular dignity (as was said before) of no power, authority, nor credit, save that which they haue out of the Office, for the time they enjoy it. Which doth purchase them no fauour, but rather hatred of the people, forasmuch as they see that they are set ouer the, not so much for any care to do them right and iustice; as to keep them vnder in a miserable subiection, and to take the sice from them, not once in the yeare (as the owner from the theep) but to poule and clip them all the yeare long. Besides, the authority and rule which they beare, is rent and diuided into many small pieces, being diuers of them in every great Shire, limited besides with a very short time: which giueth them no scope to make any strength, nor to contriue such an enterprize, if haply they intended any matter of innovation.

As for the common people (as may better appeare in the description of their state and quality afterwards set downe) besides their want of armour and practise of war (which they are kept from of purpose) they are robbed continually both of their hearts and money, (besides other meanes) sometimes by pretence of some service to bee done for the common defence, sometimes without any shew at all, of any necessity of Common-wealth or Prince. So that there is no meanes eyther for Nobility or people, to attempt any innovation, so long as the Military forces of the Emperour (which are the number of 8000. at the least in continuall pay) hold themselves fast and sure vnto him, & to the present state. Which needs they must do, being of the quality of Soldiers, and enjoying withall that free liberty, of wronging and spoiling the Commons at their pleasure, which is permitted them

An hard matter to alter the State of Russia.

Duke but a titular dignity

The common people kept from Armour and weapons.

Agreement of the Soldiers and Commons.

Of the Emperors counsell.

Boiarsen Counsellors to the Emperour, but differing from his priuy Counsell.

The number and names of the Council lors of State.

of purpose to make them have a liking of the present state. As for the agreement of the Soldiers and Commons, it is a thing not to be feared, being of so opposite & contrary practise much one to the other. This desperate state of things at home, maketh the people (for the most part) to wish for some forraigne inuasion, which they suppose to be the onely meanes, to rid them of the heavy yoke of this tyrannous government.

The Emperors of *Russia* giue the name of Counsellor, to diuers of their chiefe Nobility, rather for honours sake, the for any use they make of the about their matters of state. These are called *Boiarsen*, without any addition, and may be called Counsellors at large. For they are fildom or neuer called to any publike consultation. They which are of his special and priuy Counsell indeed (whom he lieth daily and ordinarily for all publike matters pertaining to the State) haue the addition of *Dumny*, and are named *Dumny Boiarsen*, or Lords of the Counsell, their Office or sitting, *Boarsua Dumna*.

Their names (at this present) are these in their order. First, *Knez Feodor Iuanowich Meshilosky*. 2. *Knez Iuan Michailowich Glimsky*. 3. *Knez Pafili Iuanowich Susky Scopin*. These three are accounted to be of greater birth then wisdom, taken in (as may seeme) for that ende, rather to furnish the place with their honours & presence, then with their aduice or Counsel. 4. *Knez Pafili Iuanowich Susky*, thought to bee more wise then the other of his name. 5. *Knez Feodor Michailowich Micheta Romanowich Trowbetsky*. 6. *Knez Timofey Romanowich Trowbetsky*. 7. *Knez Andriew Gregorowich Cwarkine*. 8. *Knez Demetrie Iuanowich Forefine*. 9. *Knez Feodor Iuanowich Forefine*. 10. *Knez Feodor Iuanowich Sabarone*. 11. *Knez Iuan Pafilowich*. 12. *Knez Iuan Pafilowich*. 13. *Knez Feodor Demetritowich Shefinow*. 14. *Knez Feodor Michailowich Trogoniow*. 15. *Iuan Buteriyuey*. 16. *Demetrie Iuanowich Godonoe*. 17. *Boris Federowich Godonoe*, brother to the Empreffe. 18. *Stephan Pafilowich Godonoe*. 19. *Gregorie Pafilowich Godonoe*. 20. *Iuan Pafilowich Godonoe*. 21. *Feodor Sheremitiow*. 22. *Andriew Petrowich Clefhenina*. 23. *Ignatie Petrowich Taisiow*. 24. *Romain Michailowich Peahy*. 25. *Demetrius Iuanowich Cheremissen*. 26. *Romain Pafilowich Alferiow*. 27. *Andriew Shalacelue*.

28. *Pafili Shalacelue*. 29. *Elexzar Wellisoin*. 30. *Drezheen Penieleone*. 31. *Zapon Abra moue*.

The foure last of these are called *Dumny Deiakey*, or Lord Secretaries. These are all of the Emperors priuy Counsell, though but few of them are called to any consultation, for that all matters are aduised and determined vpon by *Boris Federowich Godonoe*, Brother to the Empreffe, with some five or six more, whom it pleaseth him to call. If they come, they are rather to heare, then to giue counsell, and do lo demean themselves. The matters occurrent which are of state, done within the Realme, are informed them (at their sittings) by the Lords of the four *Chetfirds*, or *Tetrarchies*. Whereof mention is made in the Chapter concerning the Government of their Prouinces. Who bring in all such letters as they receive from the Dukes, Dyacks, Captaines, and other Officers of the Cities and Castles, pertaining to their severall quarter or *Chetfird*, with other aduertisements, and informe the Counsell of them.

The like is done by the chiefe Officer of every severall Office of Record: who may come into the Counsel Chamber, & informe them, as occasion incident to his Office doth require. Besides matters of State, they consider of many priuate causes, informed by way of supplication, in very great numbers. Whereof some they entertaine and determine, as the cause or meanes can procure fauour. Some they send to the Offices whereto they pertain, by common course of Law. Their ordinary daies for their sitting, are Mondaies, Wensdaies, and Fridaies. Their time of meeting, is commonly seven a clocke in the morning. If there be any extraordinary occasion, that requireth consultation on some other day, they haue warning by the Clarke of the Counsell, called *Dorofy Bulbew*, who receiveth order from the *Roferd* or high Constable of the Realm, to call them together at the time appointed.

For the receiuing of Customes, & other Rents belonging vnto the Crowne, they are appointed diuers vnder Officers, which deliuer over the same into the head Treasury. The first is the office of *Drezkerson* or Steward of the household. The second is the Office of the *Chetfirds*:

Cccc2 which

Four Secretaries.

All matters referred to the Empreffe Brother, and five or six more.

The Officers of Records.

Of the Emperors Customs and other Revenues.

which I comprehend vnder one, though it be diuided into foure feuerall parts, as was said before. The third is called *Bulsha Prechod*, or the great Income.

As touching the first, which is the Office of the Steward, it receiueh all the Rents of the Emperours Inheritance, or Crowne Land, which they call *Pochin*. The *Pochin* or Crowne land, containeth in it 36. Townes, with the Territories or Hundreds belonging vnto them. Whereof the chiefe that yeeld the greatest rents, are these: *Alexandrisca*, *Corelskey*, *Ofer*, *Slobodey*, *Danielska*, *Mosalskoy*, *Chara*, *Sametka*, *Srararoufe*, *Bransue*, &c. The Inhabitants or Tenants of these and the other Townes, pay some rent-money, some other rent duties (called *Obroky*) as certaine *Chetfirds*, or measures of Graine, Wheate, Rye, Barley, Oates, &c. or of other victuall, as Oxen, Sheepe, Swans, Geese, Hares, Hennes, wilde Fowle, Fish, Hay, Wood, Honey, &c. Some are bound to sowe for the Emperours prouision, certaine Akers of ground, and to make the Corne ready for his vse: hauing for it an allowance of certaine Akers of ground for their owne proper vse.

This prouision for the household, specially of graine ferued in by the Tenants, is a great deale more then is spent in his house, or in other allowance ferued out in liuery, or for the Emperours honour, called *Schalouany*: for which vse there is bestowed very much, both in graine, an lother victuall. This surplus of prouision is sold by the Steward to the best hand, and runneth into the Emperours treasury.

In the time of *Iuan Vasiliowich*, Father to this Emperour (who kept a more Princely and bountifull house then the Emperour now doth) this ouerplus of graine, and other Incomes into the Stewards Office, yeelded to his Treasury, nor past 60. thousand rubbels yearly; but rifeeth now by good husbanding of the Steward *Gregory Vasiliowich Godonoe*, to 230. thousand rubbels a year. And this by the means of the Emperesse, and her kindred, specially (*Boris Federowich Godonoe*) that account it all their owne, that runneth into the Emperours treasure. Much of this surplage that rifeeth out of the rent prouision, is employed to the payment of the wages of his household Officers, which are very many attending at home, and putuency

abroad.

The second Office of receipt called the *Chetfirds* (being diuided into four feuerall parts, as before was said) hath foure head Officers: which, besides the ordering & gouernement of the Shires, contained within their feuerall *Chetfirds*, haue this also as a part of their office, to receiue the *Tagla* and *Podat* belonging to the Emperour, that rifeeth out of the foure *Chetfirds* or Quarters. The *Tagla* is a yearly rent or imposition, raised vpon euery *Wite* or Measure of graine that groweth within the Land, gathered by Iworne men, and brought into the Office. The *Wite* containeth 60. *Chetfirds*. Euery *Chetfird* is three common buhels, or little lesse. The *Podat* is an ordinary rent of money, imposed vpon euery Soake, or Hundred within the whole Realme.

This *Tagla* and *Podat* bring in yearly to the Office of the *Chetfirds* a great sum of money: as may appeare by the particulars heere set downe. The Towne and Prouince of *Volsko*, pay yearly for *Tagla* and *Podat* about 18000. rubbels. *Nowogrod* 35000. rubbels. *Torfschoke* and *Ofer* 8000. rubbels. *Razan* 30000. rubbels. *Morom* 12000. rubbels. *Culmigroe* and *Dujna*, 8000. rubbels. *Pologda* 12000. rubbels. *Cazan* 18000. rubbels. *Vsiug* 30000. rubbels. *Rosfoue* 50000. rubbels. The City of *Mosko*, forty thousand Rubbels. *Siluerskey*, twenty thousand Rubbels. *Castrume* twelve thousand Rubbels. The total amounteth to foure hundred thousand Rubbels or Markes a year, which is brought in yearly the first day of September, that is reckoned by them the first day of the year.

The third (that is called the *Bulsha Prechod*, or great Income) receiueh all the Customes that are gathered out of all the principall Townes and Cities within the whole Realme. Besides the fees & other duties, which rise out of diuers smaller Offices, which are all brought into this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*. The townes of most trade, that do yeeld greatest Customes, are these heere set downe. *Mosko*, *Smolensko*, *Volsko*, *Nowogrod Velica*, *Srararoufe*, *Torfschoke*, *Ofer*, *Taruslaua*, *Castrume*, *Nefna* *Nowogrod*, *Cazan*, *Pologda*. This Customes out of the great townes is therefore more certaine and easie to be reckned, because it is set and

The Office of Chetfird.

Tagla & Podat, and how they are distributed.

Sum of money raised by Tagla and Podat yearly.

The Office of Bulsha Prechod, or great Income.

rated precisely, what they shall pay for the custome of the year. Which needs must be paid into the said Office, though they receiue not so much. If it fall out to be more, it runneth all into the Emperours aduantage.

The custome at *Mosko* for euery year, is 12000. rubbels. The custome of *Smolensko*, 8000. rubbels. *Volsko*, 12000. rubbels. *Nowogrod Velica*, 6000. rubbels. *Srararoufe*, by salt and other commodities, 18000. rubbels. *Torfschoke* 800. rubbels. *Ofer* 700. rubbels. *Taruslaua* 1200. rubbels. *Castrume* 1800. rubbels. *Nefna* *Nowogrod*, 7000. rubbels. *Cazan* 11000. rubbels. *Pologda* 2000. rubbels. The custome of the rest that are Townes of trade, is sometimes more, sometimes lesse, as their traffike and dealings with commodities too and fro, falleth out for the year.

This may be said for certaine, that the three tables of receipts, belonging to this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, whē they receiue least, account for thus much, viz. The first table 160000. rubbels. The second table 90000. rubbels. The third 70000. rubbels. So that there cometh into the Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, at the least reckoning (as appeareth by their Bookes of Customes) out of these and other Townes, & maketh the sum of 340000. rubbels a year. Besides this custome out of the townes of trade, there is receiued by this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, the yearly rent of the common Bath-houses, and Cabacks or drinking houses, which pertaine to the Emperour. Which (though it be vncertaine for the iust summe, yet because it is certaine and an ordinary matter, that the *Rasse* will bathe himselfe aswell within as without) yeeldeth a large Rent to the Emperours Treasury.

There is besides, a certaine mulct or penalty, that groweth to the Emperour out of euery iudgement, or sentence that passeth in any of his Courts of Record in all ciuill matters. This penalty, or mulct is twenty *Dingoes* or pence, vpon euery rubble or make, and so tenne in the hundred. Which is paid by the party that is conuict by law. Hee hath besides for euery name, contained in the *Writts* that passe out of these Courts, five *Alteens*. An *Alteen* is five pence sterling, or thereabouts. This is made good out of the Office, whence the *Writ* is taken forth.

Thence it goeth to the Office that keepeth the lesser seale; where againe it payeth as much more to the Emperours vse. This rifeeth commonly to three thousand rubbels a year, or thereabouts. Further also, out of the Office of *Roisbonia*, where all Felonies are tried, is receiued for the Emperour the halfe part of Felons goods, the other halfe goeth the one part to the Informer, the other to the Officers.

All this is brought into the Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, or great Income. Besides the ouerplus or remainder, that is faued out of the Land Rents, allotted to diuers other Offices: as namely to the Office called *Rosferade*, which hath Lands and Rents assigned vnto it, to pay the yearly salaries of the Souldiours, or horsemen, that are kept still in pay. Which in time of peace when they rest at home, not employed in any seruice, is commonly cut off, and paid them by halves, sometimes not the halfe: so that the remainder out of the *Rosferade* Office, that is laid into the Emperours Treasury, cometh (for the most part) euery year to two hundred and fifty thousand rubbels.

In like sort (though not so much) is brought in the surplus out of the *Sirellerskey* Offices, which hath proper Lands for the payment of the *Sirellers* men or Gunners, as well those at *Mosko*, that are of the Emperours guard (twelve thousand in ordinary) as on the borders, and other garrison Townes and Castles. Likewise out of the Office of *Prechase*, *Shifunoy* *Nomfloy*, which hath set allowance of Lands to maintain the forraie mercenary Souldiours, as *Poles*, *Swedens*, *Danches*, *Scots*, &c. So out of the Office of *Pusharskoy*, (which hath Lands and Rents allowed for the prouision of munition, great Ordnance, Powder, Shot, Saltpeter, Brimstone, Lead, and such like) there is left somewhat at the yeares ende, that runneth into the Treasury. All these bring into the Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, that which remaineth in their hand at the yeares ende. Whence it is deliuered into the Emperours Treasury. So that the whole sum that groweth to this Office of *Bulsha Prechod*, or the great Income (as appeareth by the Bookes of the said Office) amounteth to 800000. rubbels a year, or thereabouts.

The Office of Roisbonia.

The Rosferade Office for Souldiours pay.

The Sirellerskey Office for the flor at Mosko, &c.

For mercenary Souldiours, & prouision of munition.

The Emperors treasure-house within his Castle of Mosko.

All these Offices, to wit, the Office of the Steward, the foure *Chetfirds*, and the *Bulsha Prechod*, deliver in their receipts to the head treasury, that lyeth within the Emperors house or Castle at the *Mosko*. Where lyeth all his monies, jewels, crowns, scepters, plate, and such like, the chests, hutches, and bagges being signed by the Emperours themselves with their owne Seale. Though (at this time) the Lord *Borris Federowich Godonoe*, his Seale and oversight supplieth for the Emperour, as in all other things. The vnder-Officer at this time, is one *Stepan Vasilowich Godonoe*, Cousin-germane to the said *Borris*, who hath two Clerks allowed to serue vnder him in the Office.

The sum of the Emperors rent-money.

1. Out of the Steward's Office about the expence of his house 230000. Rubbels.
2. Out of the foure *Chetfirds* for sake and head money, 4000000 Rubbels.
3. Out of the *Bulsha Prechod* Office, or great Income, for custome, and other rents, 8000000 Rubbels.

Summe

1430000.

Rubbels

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charged.

His yearly benefite by Furs and other duties.

But besides this reuennue, that is paid all in money to the Emperours Treasury, he receiueth yearly in Furs, and other duties to a great value, out of *Siberia*, *Pechora*, *Perma*, and other places, which are sold or batted away for some forraigne commodities, to the *Turkish*, *Persian*, *Armenian*, *Georgian* and *Bongharian* Merchants, that trade within his Countries, besides others of Christendome. What it maketh in the whole (though the value cannot be set downe precisely, as being a thing casuall, as the commodity may be got) it may be guessed, by that which was gathered the last year out of *Siberia* for the Emperors custome, viz. 466. timber of Sables, fine timber of Matrones, 180. blacke Foxes, besides other commodities.

Of seizures, confiscations, & impositions on Monasteries, &c.

To these may be added their seizures, and confiscations vpon such as are in displeasure, which riseth to a great summe. Besides other their extraordinary im-

positions, and exactions done vpon their Officers, Monasteries, &c. not for any apparent necessity or vse of the Prince or Common-wealth, but of will and custome: yet with some pretence of a *Scythian*, that is, grosse and barbarous pollicy (as may appeare) by these few *Sophismata*, or counterfeit pollicies, put in practise by the Emperours of *Russia*, all tending to this ende, to rob their people, and to enrich their Treasury. To this purpose this by-word was vsed by the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*: *That his people were like to his beard. The finer shauen, the thicker it would grow. Or like sheepe, that must needs bee shorne once a year at the least: to keepe them from being ouer-laden with their Woolle.*

Meanes used to draw the wealth of the Land into the Emperors Treasury.

First.

Of preuent no extortions, exactions, or briberies whatsoever, done vpon the Commons by their Dukes, Diacks, or other Officers in their Prouinces: but to suffer them to go on till their time be expired, and to sucke themselves full. Then to call them to the *Prauenish* (or whip) for their behavior, and to beate out of them all, or the most part of the booty, (as the Hony from the Bee) which they haue wrung from the Commons, and to turne it into the Emperors Treasury, but neuer any thing back againe to the right owners, how great or euident fouler the injury be. To this end the needy Dukes, and Diacks, that are sent into their Prouinces, serue the turne very well, being changed so often (to wit) once a year: where, in respect of their owne, and the quality of the people (as before was saide) they might bee continued for some longer time, without all feare of in-nouation. For comming still fresh vpon the Commons, they sucke more eagerly: like *Tiberius* the Emperours flies, that came new still vpon all olde sores. To whom he was wont to compare his *Prætors*, and other prouinciall Officers.

Secondly,

The whip or dayned for all denyers or contemners.

Secondly.

To make of these Officers (that haue robbed their people) sometimes a publique example, if any be more notorious then the rest; that the Emperour may seeme to dislike the oppressions done to his people, and transerre the fault to his ill Officers.

A Goose ready dressed full of money for a bribe.

As among diuers other, was done by the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*, to a Diack in one of his Prouinces; that besides many other extortions and briberies had taken a Goose ready dressed full of money. The man was brought to the market place in *Mosko*. The Emperour himselfe present, made an Oration: *These good people are they, that would eate you uppe like bread, &c.* Then asked he his *Polachies* or executioners, who could cut vp a Goose? and commanded one of them first to cut off his legges, about the middest of the shinne, then his armes about his elbows (demanding of him still, if Goose flesh were good meate) in the end to choppe off his head: that he might haue the right fashion of a Goose ready dressed. This might seeme to haue beene a tollerable peece of Iustice (as Iustice goeth in *Russia*) except his subtil end, to couer his owne oppressions.

Cutting vp of a Goose.

Accunning colour for taxations.

Thirdly.

To make an open shew of want, when any great taxe, or imposition is to wardes. As was done by this Emperour *Theodore Iuanowich*, by the aduise of some about him, euen at the beginning of his reigne: when being left very rich (as it was thought) by his father, he sold the most of his plate, and stamped some into coyns; that he might seeme to want money. Whereupon presently out came a taxation.

Fourthly.

Superstitious charitie and bountie giuen to Monasteries to a politique end.

To suffer their subiects to giue freely to the Monasteries (which for their superstition very many do especially in their last Wills) and to lay vp their money and substance in them, to keepe it more safe. Which all is permitted them without any restraint or prouiso, as was and is in some Countries of Christendome. Whereby their Monasteries grow to exceeding great wealth. This they doe, to

haue the money of the Realme better stored together, and more ready for their hand, when they list to take it. Which many times is doone without any noyfe: the Fryers being content, rather to part from somewhat (as the encrease groweth) then to loose all at once. Which they were made to doubt of in the other Emperours dayes.

A strange practise to get money.

To this end *Iuan Vasilowich*, late Emperour vsed a very strange practise, that few Princes would haue doone in their greatest extremities. Hee resigned his kingdome to one *Felica Knez Simeon*, the Emperours sonne of *Cazan*: as though he meant to draw himselfe from all publique doings, to a quiet priuate life. Towards the end of the year, he caused this new King to call in all Charters graunted to Bishopricks and Monasteries, which they had enioyed many hundred yeares before. Which were all cancelled. This doone, (as in dislike of the fact, and of the misgouerment of the new King) he resumed his Scepter, and so was content (as in fauour vnto the Church and Religious men) that they should renew their Charters, and take them of himselfe: reseruing and annexing to the Crowne so much of their Lands, as himselfe thought good.

Such a practise as hath beene seldom heard of.

By this practise, he wrung from the Bishopricks, and Monasteries (besides the lands which he annexed to the Crowne) an huge masse of money; from some forty, from some fifty, from some an hundred thousand rubbels. And this, as well for the increafe of his treasure, as to abate the euill opinion of his hard gouernment, by a shew of worse in another man. Wherein his strange spirit is to be noted, that being hated of his Subiects (as himselfe knew well enough) yet would aduence such a practise, to set an other in his saddle, that might haue ride away with his horse, whilst himselfe walked by on foote.

Fifthly.

To send their messengers into the prouinces, or Shires where the speciall commodities of their country grow, as furs, waxe, hony, &c. There to forefall and ingrosse, sometime one whole commodity, sometime two, or more, taking them at small prices what themselves list, and selling them againe at an exorbitant

Forefalling and engrossing commodities in a strange manner.

rate

rate to their owne marchants, and vnto Marchants strangers. If they shall refuse to buy them, then to enforce them vnto it.

The like is doone when any commodity, eyther native, or forreine (as cloth of golde, broad-cloth, &c.) thus engrossed by the Emperour, and receiued into his Treasurie, chaunceth to decay, or marre by long lying, or some other casualty. Which is forced vpon the marchants, to bee bought by them at the Emperours price, whether they will, or no.

Not long since was engrossed all the Waxe of the Country; so that no man might deale with that commoditie, but the Emperour only.

Sixtly.

TO take vp and engrosse (in like sort) sometime forreine commodities (as Silkes, Cloth, Lead, Pearle, &c.) brought into his kingdome by Turkish marchants, Armenians, Bougharians, Poles, English, and others. And then to force his Marchants, to buy them of his Officers at his owne price.

Seauenthly.

TO make a Monopolly (for the time) of such commodities as are payed him for Rent, or Custome, and to inhaunce the price of them, as Furrer, Corne, Wood, &c. What time, none must sell of the same kinde of commodity, vntill the Emperours be all sold. By this meanes hee maketh of his Rent, Corne, and other prouision of victuall (as before was sayd) about two hundred thousand rubbells or maketh a year. Of his Rent, Wood, Hay &c. thirrie thousand rubbells, or thereabouts.

Eightly.

IN euery great Towne of his Realme, he hath a Caback, or drinking house, where *Aqua vita* is sold (which they call *Russvine, Mead, Beere, &c.*) Out of these he receiueh Rent, that amounteth to a great summe of money. Some yeeld eight hundred, some nine hundred, some a thousand, some two thousand, or three thousand rubbells a year. Wherein, besides the base and dishonorable meanes to encrease his Treasurie; many foule faultes are committed.

The poore labouring man and Artificer, many times spends all from his wife, and children. Some vie to lay in twenty, thirty, forty rubbells, or more into the *Caback*, and vowe themselves to the pot, till all that be spent. And all this (as hee will say) is for the honour of *Hospitalitie*, or the Emperour. You shall haue many there, that haue drunke all away euen to the very skinn, and so walke naked (whome they call *Naga*.) While they are in the *Caback*, none may call them forth, whatsoeuer cause there be; because he hindereth the Emperours reuenue.

Ninthly.

TO cause some of his *Boiars*, or Nobles of his Court, (whom he vseth vpon trust) that haue houses in the *Mosco*, to faime themselves robbed. Then to fend for the *Zemski* men, or Aldermen of the City, and to command them to finde out the robbery. In default of not finding it, to prauce or seale the Cittie for their misgouernement in eight thousand, nine thousand, or tenne thousand rubbells at a time. This many times is and hath beene practized.

Tenthly.

IN these exactions, to shew their souldierie, sometime they vie very plaine, and yet strange cauillations. As was that of *Iuan Vassilovich*, father to this Emperour, after this sort. He sent into *Permia* for certaine loads of Cedar wood, whereof he knew right well, that none grew in that Countrey. The Inhabitants returned answere, they could find none there. Whereupon he ceased their Country in twelue thousand rubbells, as if they concealed the commoditie of purpose. Againe, he sent to the Citie of *Astglo*, to prouide for him a *Colpacke*, or measure full of liue Fleas, for a medicine. They returned answer, that the thing was impossible. And if they could get them, yet they could not measure them, for leaping out of their shinnes, seven thousand rubbells for a mule.

By like cauillation, hee extorted from his Nobilitie thirrie thousand rubbells, because he missed of his game, when hee went a hunting for the Hare: as if they hunting and murdering of Hares had bin

Drinking for the Emperours honour.

Presence of robbery to an other end.

Exactions countenanced by power and authority

A bushell of liue Fleas.

the cause of it. Which the Nobilitie (as the manner is) praued presently againe vpon the *Mousicks*, or common people of the Country. This may seem a strange kinde of extortion, by such pleasant cauls, to seee his poore subiects in good fadnesse: but that it agreeth with the qualitie of those Emperours, and the miserable subiection of that poore Countrey.

These, and such like meanes are practised by the Emperours of *Russia*, to encrease their Treasurie.

The condition of the Commons and vulgar sort of people, may partly be vnderstoode by that which hath already bin sayd, concerning the manner of their gouernement, and the state of the Nobilitie in their owne degrees and places with the ordering of their Prouinces, and chiefe townes of the land. And first touching their libertie, how it standeth with them, it may appeare by this: that they are reckoned in no degree at all, nor haue anie suffrage nor place in their *Zabore*, or high Court of Parliament, where their lawes and publique orders are concluded vpon. Which commonly tend to the oppression of the commons. For the other two degrees, that is to say, of the Nobilitie, and Cleargie, which haue a vote in the Parliaments (though farre from that libertie, that ought to be in common consultations for the publike benefite, according vnto the measure and proportion of their degrees) are well contented, that the whole burthen shall light vpon the commons, so that they may ease their owne shoulders by laying all vpon them.

Againe, into what seruile condition their libertie is brought, not onely to the Prince but to the Nobles and Gentlemen of the Country (who themselves also are but seruile, specially of late yeares) it may farther appeare by their owne acknowledgements in their supplications, and other writings to any of the Nobles or chiefe officers of the Emperours. Where in they name and subscribe themselves *Kolophy*, that is to say, their villaines or bondslaves; as they of the Nobilitie doe vnto the Emperour. This may truly be sayd of them, that there is no seruant of bondslave more awed by his Master, nor kept downe in a more seruile subiection, then the poore people are, and that vniuersally, not onely by the Emperour, but

by his Nobilitie, chiefe Officers, and Soldiours. So that when a poore *Mousicke* meeteth with any of them vpon the high way; hee must turne himselfe about, as not daring to looke him on the face, and fall downe, with knocking of his head to the very ground, as hee doth vnto his Idoll.

Secondly, as concerning the lands, goods, and other possessions of the commons, they answer the name, and lie common in deede, without any fence against the rapine, and spoyle, not onely of the highest, but of his Nobilitie, Officers and Souldiers. Besides, the taxes, customes, seizures, and other publike exactions, doone vpon them by the Emperour: they are so racked and polled by the Nobles, Officers and Messengers sent abroad by the Emperour in his publike affaires, especially in the *Tammes* (as they terme them) and that thorow-fare townes, that you shall haue many villages and townes of halfe a mile, and a mile long, stand all vn-inhabited: the people being fled all into other places, by reason of the extreame vjage, and exactions on them done. So that in the way towards *Mosco*, betwixt *Vologda* and *Tarnoslavsky*, (which is two nineties, after they reckoning, little more then an hundred miles) there are in sight fiftie *Darientes* or Villages at the least, some halfe a mile, some a mile long (that stand vacant) and desolate without any Inhabitant. The like is in all other places of the Realme, as they that haue trauelled the Countrey, well can report.

The greater oppression ouer the poore Commons, maketh them to haue no courage in following their trades: for that the more they haue, the more danger they are in, not onely of their goods, but of their liues also. And if they haue anie thing, they conceale it all they can, sometimes conveying it into Monasteries, sometimes hiding it vnder the ground, and in woods; as men are wont to doe, where they are in feare of forreine inuasion. Infomuch, that (many times) you shall see them afraid to be knownde to any *Bakaren* or *Gendeian*, of such commodities as they haue to sell. They haue become fene sometimes; when they haue layed open their commodities for a liking (as they principall Furrer and such like) to looke

Goods, lands, and possessions of the Commons.

Yammes are thorow-fare Townes.

Townes empty of Inhabitants through oppression.

A miserable condition of poore men.

still

An engrossing of Waxe.

Engrossing forren commodities.

Monopolizing of Rents and Customes.

His Cabacks or drinking houses in euery town.

Of the state of the Commonwealth, or vulgar sort of people, in the Countrey of Russia.

The seruile & miserable estate of the Russe people.

Kolophy are villaines or bondslaves, and so the Commons people terme themselves in waiting.

still behinde them, and towards euerie doore: as men in some feare, that looked to be fet vpon, and surprized by some enemy. Whereof being asked the cause, it was found to be this, that they haue doubted, least some Nobleman or *Sinaboiarsky* of the Emperour, had bene in company, and so laide a traine for them, to pray vpon their commodities perforce.

This maketh the people (thogh otherwise hardned to beare any toyle) to giue themselves much to idleness and drinking: as caring for no more, then from hand to mouth. And herof it commeth that the commodities of *Russia* (as vvas sayde before) as Waxe, Tallow, Hydes, Flax, Hempe, &c.) grow and goe abroad in farre lesse plenty then they were wont to doe: because the people being oppressed and spoyled of theyr gettings, are discouraged from their Labours. Yet this one thing is much to be noted, that in all this oppression, there were three Brethren Marchants of late, that traded together with one stocke in common, that were found to be worth 300000 rubbels in mony, beside lands, cattels, and other commodities. Which may partly be imputed to their dwellings far off from the cite of the Court, viz. in *Wichida*, a thousand miles from *Mosko*, and more. The same men were said (by those that knewe them) to haue set on worke all the yeare long, ten thousand men in making of salt, carriages by Cart and Boate, hewing of Wood, and such like; besides five thousand bondslaves at the least, to inhabit & Till their land.

They had also their Physitions, Chirurgions, Apothecaries, and all manner of Artificers of *Doutches* and others, belonging vnto them. They were said to haue payed to the Emperour (for Custome) to the summe of three and twenty thousand Rubbles a yeare (for which cause they were suffered to enioy their trade) besides the maintaining of certaine Garrisons on the borders of *Siberia*, which were nere vnto them. Wherein the Emperour was content to vse their purse, till such time as they had gotten ground in *Siberia*, and made it habitable, by burning & cutting downe woodes from *Wichida* to *Permo*, a boue a thousand Verst, and thenooke it all away from them perforce.

But this in the end being enuiud, and

disdained, as a matter not standing with their policie, to haue any so great, specially a *Mousick*: the Emperour beganne first to pull from them by peeces, sometimes twenty thousand rubbels at a time; till in the end, their sonnes that followed were well eased of their stocke, & had but small part of their Fathers substance: the rest being drawne all into the Emperours Treasury. Their names were *Iacone*, *Gregory*, and *Simon*, the sonnes of *Onyka*.

For the quality of their people otherwise, though there seemeth to be in them some aptnesse to receiue any Art (as appeareth by the naturall wits in the men, and very children) yet they excell in no kinde of common Art, much lesse in any Learning, or littell kinde of knowledge: which they are kept from of purpose, as they are also from all Military practise: that they may be fitter for the seruile condition wherein still they are, & haue neither reason, nor valor to attempt inuouation.

For this purpose also, they are kepte from trauieling, that they may learne nothing, nor see the fashions of other countreies abroad. You shall seldome see a *Russe* a Traveller, except he be with some Ambassador, or that he make a scape out of his Countrey. Which hardly hee can do, by reason of the borders that are watched so narrowly, and the punishment for any such attempt, which is death if he be taken, and all his goods confiscate. Onely they learne to write, and to reade, and that verie few of them. Neyther doe they suffer any stranger willingly to come into their Realme out of any ciuil Countrey, for the same cause; farther then necessity of vttering their commodities, and taking in of forraigne, doeth enforce them to do.

And therefore not long since, they consulted, about the removing of all Marchants strangers to the border townes, to abide and haue their residency there, and to be more wary, in admitting other strangers (hereafter) into the In-land parts of the Realme; for feare of infection vviith better manners and qualities, then they haue of their owne.

For the same purpose also, they are kept within the bounds of theyr degree, by the Law of their Countrey: so that the sonne of a *Mousick*, Artificer, or Husbandman,

Fleeing the three brethren

The tiranie & oppression a. ues theyr very minds and wits

The tirallouge of the Emperour concerning this State

man, is euer a *Mousick*, Artificer, &c. and hath no meanes to aspire any higher: except (hauing learned to write and reade) he attaine to the preferment of a Priest or Dyacke.

Their Language is all one with the *Slauonian*, which is thought to haue bene deriued from the *Russe* tongue, rather then the *Russe* from the *Slauonian*. For the people called *Selani*, are knowne to haue had their beginning out of *Sarmatia*, and to haue reamed themselves of their conquest *Selanos* (that is) famous or Glorious, of the word *Selana*, which in the *Russe* and *Slauonian* tongue, significth as much as Glory, or Fame. Though afterwards, being subdued and trod vpon by diuers Nations, the *Italians* (their Neighbours) haue turned the word to a contrary signification, and teame euery seruant or pezzant, by the name of *Selane*; as did the *Romans* by the *Getes* and *Syrians*, for the same reason. The *Russe* Character or Letter, is no other then the Greeke, somewhat distorted.

And because we were speaking of *Sarmatia*, whence this people seeme to deriue themselves: Some haue thought, that the name of *Sarmatia*, was first taken from one *Sarmates*, whom *Moses* and *Iosephus* call *Afarmathes*, sonne to *Iocktan*, and Nephew to *Heber*, of the posterity of *Sem*. But this seemeth to be nothing, but a coniecture, taken from the likeness of the name *Afarmathes*. For, the dwelling of *Iocktans* posterity is described by *Moses*, to haue been betwixt *Melcha* or *Mafius* (an hill of the *Ammonites*) & *Sephace*, neere to the River *Euphrates*. Which maketh it very vnlkely, that *Afarmathes* should plant any Colonies so farre off, in the North, and North-West Countreies.

Concerning their Trades, Diet, Apparel, and such like, it is to be noted where we speake of their priuate behaviour. This order, that bindeth euerie man to keepe his ranke and seuerall degree wherein his forefathers liued before him, is more meete to keepe the subiects in a seruile subiection, and so apt for this and like Common wealths; then to aduance any vertue, or to breed any rare or excellent quality in Nobility or Commons. As hauing no farther reward nor preferment, whereunto they may bend their endea-

uours, and employ themselves to aduance their estate: but rather procuring more danger to themselves, the more they excell in any noble or principall quality.

CHAP. III.

Thirdly, we discourse on their Politicke and Iudiciall proceeding. Also the Emperours powers for war, and their Salaries: with their Musterling, Munition, and Military prouision. Their Colonies, bordering Friends or Enemies, either in Peace or warre.



Heir Courts of Ciuill Iustice, for matters of Contract, and other of like sort, are of three kinds, the one being subiect vnto the other by way of Appeal. The lowest court (that seemeth to be appointed for some ease to the subiects) is the Office of the *Gubny Starust*, that significth an Alderman, and of the *Sotsky Starust*, or Bayliffe of the soake or hundred, whereof I spake before in the ordering of the Prouinces. These may end matters among their Neighbours, within their Soake, or seuerall Hundred, where they are appointed vnder the Dukes and Dyackes of the Prouinces, to whome the parties may remouue their matter, if they cannot be agreed by the said *Gubny*, or *Sotsky Starust*.

The second is kept in the head townes of euery Prouince or Shire, by the sayde Dukes and Dyackes, that are deputies to the four Lords of the *Chetfrids*, as before was sayde. From these foure Courts, they may appeale, and remouue theyr suites to the cheefe Court, that is kept at *Mosko*, where are resident the officers of the foure *Chetfrids*. These are the chiefe Iustices or Iudges, euery of them in all ciuill matters that growe within their seuerall *Chetfrid* or quarter, and may bee either commenced originally before them, or prosecuted out of the inferior Courts of the Shires, by way of appeale.

Their commencing and proceeding in ciuill actions, is on this manner. First,

The Aldermans Court.

The Dukes & Dyacks Court

The high Court of Mosko.

Of their Language answered to the Slauonian.

Genes. 10. 2. 5. Ioseph. in Antiquit. Iud. lib. 1. cap. 14.

Subiects kept in seruile subiection.

The people made ydle against theyr wills.

Of three brethren Marchants.

Not many other suchmen in the whole Countrey

the plaintiffe putteth vp his supplication, wherein hee declareth the effecte of his cause, or wrong done vnto him. Whereupon is granted vnto him *arrestis* or warrant, which he deliuereth to the *Prasfinc* or Sergeant, to doe the arrest vpon the party whom hee meaneth to impleade. Who vpon the Arrest, is to put in sureties to answere at the day appointed, or els if indeth at the Sergeants deuotion, to be kept safe by such means as he thinketh good.

The Sergeants are many, & excell for their hard and cruell dealing toward their prisoners; commonly they clappe Irons vpon them, as many as they can beare, to winge out from them some larger Fees. Though it be but for fise pence, you shal see them go with chains on their legges, armes, and necke. When they come before the Iudge, the Plaintiffe beginneth to declare his matter, alter the content of his supplication. As for Attorneys, Counsellors, Procurators and aduocates to plead their cause for them, they haue no such order; but eacrie man is to tell his owne Tale, and pleade for himselfe so well as he can.

If they haue any witnesse or other euidence, they produce it before the Iudge. If they haue none, or if the truth of the cause cannot so well be discerned by the plea, or euidence on both parts; then the Iudge asketh either party (which he thinketh good, Plaintiffe or Defendant) whether he will kisse the Crosse, vpon that which he aougeth, or denieth. He that taketh the Crosse (being so offered by the Iudge) is accounted cleare, and carryeth away the matter. This Ceremonie is not done within the Court or Office, but the party is carried to the Church by an Officer, and there the Ceremonie is done: the money in the meane while hanging vpon a nayle, or else lying at the Idoles feete, ready to be deliuered to the party so soon as he hath kist the Crosse, before the saide Idoll.

This kissing of the Crosse (called *Orenjima Chelauania*) is as their corporal oath; and accounted (with them) a verie holie thing, which no man will dare to violate, or prophane with a false Allegation. If both parties offer to kisse the Crosse in a contradictory matter, then they drawe lottes.

The better Lotte is supposed to haue the right, and beareth away the matter. So the party convicted is adiudged to pay the debt or penalty whatsoeuer, and withall, to pay the Emperours fees, which is twenty pence vpon enery Mark, as before hath bene noted.

When the matter is thus ended, the party convicted, is deliuered to the Sergeant, who hath a VV rit for his warrant, out of the office, to carry him to the *Prasfinc* or Righter of Iustice, if presently he pay not the money, nor content not the party.

This *Prasfinc* or Righter, is a place neere vnto the Office where such as haue sentence passed against them, and refuse to pay that which is adiudged; are beaten with great Cudgels on the shins, and calves of the legges. Euery fornoone from eight to eleauen, they are let on the *Prasfinc*, and beate in this sort till the monie be payed. The afternoone & night time, they are kept in Chains by the Sergeant: except they put in sufficient sureties, for their appearance at the *Prasfinc* at the houre appointed. You shal see ffortie or fiftie stand together on the *Prasfinc*: all on a rowe, and their shins thus beuadged and beasted euery morning, with a pittous cry.

If after a years standing on the *Prasfinc* the party will not, or lacke wherewithall to pay his Creditour, it is lawfull for him to sell his Wife and Children, either outright, or for a certaine rearme of yeares. And if the price of them doe not amount to the full payment, the Creditour may take them to be his bondslaves for yeares, or for euer, according as the valew of the debt requireth.

Such kinde of suites as lack direct euidence, or stand vpon coniectures and circumstances, to bee weighed by the Iudge, draw of great length, and yelde great aduantage vnto the Iudge and Officers. If the suite be vpon a bonde or bill, they haue for the most part good & speedy iustice. Their Bondes or Billes, are drawne in a very plaine sort, after this tenour.

I Iuan Vasile, haue borrowed of Alpha-nasse Demento, the summe of one hundred Rubbles of goine money of Mosko from the Krossenes (or hallowing of the Water) *until the Saburney Vassilshenes* (or com-

The order of the *Prasfinc* or Righter.

Selling wife and children to pay debts.

The faine of Souldiers as they are bound by a common man.

sell Sunday) without interest. And if this money rest vnpayed after that day, then hee shall giue interest vpon the saide money, after the common rate, as it goeth among the people, viz: for euery fise the first rubbell vpon this there are witnesse, Micheta Sydronef-koy, &c. Subscribed. This bill haue I written Gabriel Iacouesin, in the yeare 7096. The witnesse and debter (if he can write) endorse their names on the back side of the Bill. Other signing or sealing haue they none.

When any is taken for a matter of crime (as treason, murder, theft, and the like) he is first brought to the Duke and Diacke, that are for the Prouince where the party is attached, by whom he is examined. The manner of examination in such cases, is all by torture, as scourging with whips made of sinnewes or whieleather (called the *Pudkey*) as big as a mans finger, which giueth a fore lath, and entereth into the flesh; Or by tying vnto a spitte, and roasting at the Fire. Sometimes, by breaking and wresting one of their ribs with a payre of hot Tonges, or cutting their flesh vnder the nayles, and such like.

The examination thus taken, withall the proofes and euidences that can be alledged against the party, it is sent vppe to the *Mosko*, to the Lord of the Chetfird or Fourth part, vnder whome the Prouince is, and by him is presented vnto the Councell Table, to be read and sentenced there, where onely iudgement is giuen in matter of life and death, and that by euidence vpon information, though they neuer saw nor heard the party, who is kept still in prison where the Facte was committed, & neuer sent vp to the place where he is tried. If they find the partie guilty, they giue sentence of death according to the quality of the facte, which is sent downe by the Lord of the Chetfird, to the Duke and Diacke to be put in execution. The prisoner is carried vnto the place of execution, with his hands bound and a wax candle burning held betwene his fingers.

Their capitall punishments, are hanging, heading, knocking on the head, drawing, putting vnder the sic, setting on a stake, and such like. But (for the most part) the prisoners that are condemned in summer, are kept for the winter, to be knocked

on the head, and put vnder the Ice. This is to be understood of common persons. For theft and murder, if they be committed vpon a poore *Mosk* by one of Nobilitie, it is not lightly punnished, nor yet is he called to any account for it. Their reason is, because they are accounted their *Kolophey* or bond-slaves.

If by some *Sinaboirskoy*, or Gentleman Souldiour, a murder or theft bee committed, peradventure he shall be imprisoned at the Emperours pleasure. If the manner of the fact bee very notorious, hee is whipped punishment, and this is commonly all the punishment that is inflicted vpon them.

If a man kill his owne seruanc, little or nothing is saide vnto him, for the aforesaid reason: because he is accounted to be his *Kolophey* or bondslave, & so to haue right ouer his very head. The vtmost is some small mulct to the Emperour, if the party be rich: and so the quarrell is made rather against the purse, then against the iniustice. They haue no Written Law, saue onely a small booke; that containeth the time and manner of their sitting; order in proceeding, and such other iudiciall formes and circumstances, but nothing to direct them, to giue sentence on right or wrong. Their onely Law is their Speaking Law, and that is the pleasure of the Prince, and of his Magistrates & officers. Which sheweth the miserable condition of this poore people, that are forced to haue them for their Law and direction of Iustice; against whose iniustice & extreme oppression, they had neede to bee armed with many good and strong lawes.

The Souldiers of Rufsia are called *Sinaboirskoy*, or the sonnes of Gentlemen, because they are all of that degree, by vertue of their Military profession. For euery souldier is a Gentleman, and none are gentlemen, but onely the foldiers, that take it by descent from their Ancestors; so that the son of a Gentleman (which is borne a souldier) is euer a Gentleman, and a Souldier withall, and professeth nothing els but Military matters. When they are of yeares able to beare Armes, they come to the office of *Rasfede*, or great Constable, and there present themselves, who entereth their names; and alloteth them certayne lands to maintain their charges; for the most part, the same that their fathers enjoyed.

D d d d For

On gentlem and souldiers.

No written Law among them.

Speaking law

Their forces for the wars, with the chief officers, and their salaries.

Souldiers by birth and inheritance.

The dealing of Sergeants in their offices.

No Counsel: for our Attorneys, loades causes.

Ending of controversies by kissing the Crosse.

Judgment by lot, where both parties kisse the Crosse.

Proceeding in criminal matters.

Order after examination.

Men are sentenced without personall appearance.

The order of their cheefest punishments in common persons.

For the Lands assigned to maintaine the Army, are ever certaine, annexed to this office without improoving, or detracting one foot. But that if the Emperour haue sufficient in wages, the rooms being full so farre as the land doth extend alreadie; they are many times deferred, and haue nothing allowed them, except some one portion of the land be diuided into two. Which is a cause of great disorder within that country: when a souldier that hath many children, shall haue sometimes but one entertained in the Emperours pay. So that the rest having nothing, are forced to liue by vniust and wicked thiftes, that tend vnto the hurt and oppression of the *Moniſick* or common sort of people. This inconuenience groweth, by maintaining his forces in a continuall succession. The whole number of his souldiers in continuall pay, is this. First, he hath of his *Dwaraney*, that is, Pensioners, or garde of his person, to the number of 15000. horsemen, with their Captaines and other officers, that are alwayes in a readinesse.

Of these 15000. horsemen, there are three sorts or degrees, which differ alwel in estimation; as in wages, one degree from another. The first sort of them, is called *Dwaraney Bulshay*, or the company of head Pensioners, that haue some an hundred, some fourscore Rubbels a yeare, & none vnder seventy. The second sort are called *Serdancy Dwaraney*, or the middle ranke of Pensioners. These haue sixty, or fifty rubbels by the yeare, none vnder forty. The third and lowest sort are the *Dyat Botanskey*, that is, the lowest Pensioners. Their salary is thirty rubbels a yeare for him that hath most, some haue but siue and twenty, some twenty, none vnder twelue. Whereof the halfe part is paid them at the *Mosko*, the other halfe in the felds by the Generall, when they haue any warres, and are employed in seruice. When they receiue their whole pay, it amounteth to 55000. rubbels yearly.

And to this their wages, besides Lands allotted to euery one of them, both to the greater and the lesse, according vnto their degrees. Whereof he that hath least, hath to yeeld him twenty Rubbels or Markes by the yeare. Besides these 15000. horsemen that are of better choise (as beeing the Emperour owne gard, when himselfe goeth to the wars, not vnlike the Roman

souldiers cald *Prastoriani*) are an hundred & ten men of speciall account for their Nobility and trust, which are chosen by the Emperour, and haue their names registered, that find among them for the Emperours warres, to the number of 65000. horsemen, with all necessaries meete for the wars, after the Russe manner.

To this end they haue yearly allowance made by the Emperour for themselves, & their companies, to the summe of 40000 rubbels. And these 65000. are to repaire to the field every year on the borders towards the *Chrim Tartar* (except they be appointed for some other seruice) whether there be warres with the Tartars, or not.

This might seeme (peraduenture) somewhat dangerous for some state, to haue so great forces vnder the command of Noblemen, to assemble euery yeare vnto one certaine place. But the matter is so framed, as that no danger can growe to the Emperour, or his state by this means. First, because these Noblemen are many, to wit, an hundred and ten in all, & changed by the Emperour, so oft as he thinks good. Secondly, because they haue their liuings of the Emperour, being otherwise but of very small renenue, and receiue this yearly pay of 40000. rubbels, when it is presently to be paid forth againe vnto the souldiers that are vnder them. Thirdly, because (for the most part) they are about the Emperours person, being of his counsell either speciall, or at large. Fourthly, they are rather as paymasters then Captaines to their companies, themselves not going forth ordinarily to the warres, save when some of them are appointed, by speciall order from the Emperour himselfe: so the whole number of horsemen that are cuer in a readines, and in continuall pay, are 80000. a few more or lesse.

If he haue neede of a greater number, (which seldom falleth out) then he entertaineth of those *Sindobarskey*, that are out of pay, so many as he needeth: and if yet he want of his number, hee giueth charge to his Noblemen (that hold lands of him) to bring into the felds (euery man) a proportionable number of his Seruants, (called *Kolophey*) such as Till his Lands, with their Furniture, according vnto the full and iust number, that hee intendeth to make vpp. The which seruice beeing done,

Two other
troops, to the
number of
65000.

Footmen in
continuall pay
12000.

Strangers
mercenarys
in pay, 4300.

The chiefe
Captaines or
Leaders, First,
the *Voiaud*
or Generall.

Horsemen in
continuall pay
80000.

done, presently lay in their Weapons, and returne to their seuerall occupations againe.

Of Footmen that are in continuall pay, he hath to the number of 12000. all Gunners, called *Strefley*. Whereof 5000 are to attend about the City of *Mosko*, or any other place where the Emperour shall abide, and 2000. (which are called *Stremney*, *Strefley*, or Gunners at the stirrop) about his owne person, at the very Court or house where himselfe lodgeth. The rest are placed in his garrison towns, till there be occasion to haue them in the field, and receiue for their fallery or stipend euery man seven rubbels a yeare, besides twelue measures, a piece of Rye, and Oates. Of mercenary Souldiours, that are strangers (whom they call *Nimſchoy*) they haue at this time, 4300. of *Poloniens*: of *Chirchaffes* (that are vnder the *Poloniens*) about foure thousand, whereof 3500. are abroad in his garrisons: of *Doutches* Scots about 150. of *Greekes*, *Turkes*, *Danes* and *Sweadens*, all in one band, an 100. or thereabouts. But these they vse onely vpon the Tartar side, and against the *Siberians*: as they doe the Tartar Souldiours (whom they hire sometimes but onely for the present) on the other side against the *Polonian* and *Sweden*: thinking it best policie, so to vse their seruice vpon the contrary border.

The chiefe Captaines or Leaders of these Forces, according to their names and degrees, are these which follow. First, the *Voiaud* or *Bulshait*, that is, the Great Captaine, or Lieutenant Generall vnder the Emperour. This commonly is one of the four houses of the chiefe Nobility of the Land: but so chosen otherwise, as that he is of small valour, or practise in Martiall matters, being thought to serue that turne so much the better, if he bring no other parts with him, save the countenance of his Nobility, to be liked of by the Souldiours for that, and nothing else. For in this point they are very wary, that these two (to wit) Nobility, and power meete not both in one, specially if they see wisdom with all, or aptnesse for policy.

Their great *Voiaud* or Generall at this present in their warres, is commonly one of these foure: *Knez Feodor Iuanovich Methiskosky*, *Knez Iuan Michailo-*

wich Glinskoy, *Cherechaskoy*, and *Trombetskoy*, all of great Nobility, but of very simple quality otherwise: though in *Glinskoy* (as they say) there is somewhat more then in the rest. To make vp this defect in the *Voiaud* or Generall, there is some other ioynd with him as Lieutenant Generall, of farre lesse Nobility, but of more valour and experience in the warres then he, who ordereth all things that the other countenanceth. At this time their principall man, and most viued in their warres, is one *Knez Demetrie Iuanovich Forſkine*, an ancient and expert Captaine, and one that hath done great seruice (as they say) against the Tartar and *Polonian*. Next, vnder the *Voiaud* and his Lieutenant Generall, are foure other, that haue the Marſhalling of the whole Army diuided among them, and may be called the Marſhalles of the field.

Euery man hath his quarter or fourth part vnder him. Whereof the first is called the *Prava Polsky*, or right wing. The second is the *Leuy Polsky*, or left wing. The third is *Rafſny Polsky*, or the broken band, because out of this there are chosen to send abroad vpon any suddaine exploit, or to make a refuse or supply, as occasion doth require. The fourth is *Storeſhonoy Patsky*, or the warding band. Euery one of these foure Marſhals haue two other vnder them (eight in all) that twice euery weeke at the least, must muster and traine their seuerall wings or bands, and hold and giue iustice for all faults, and disorders committed in the Campe.

And these eight are commonly chosen out of the 110. (which I spake of before) that receiue and deliuer the pay to the Souldiours. Vnder these eight are diuers other Captaines, as the *Gulaway* Captaines of thousands, five hundreds, and one hundred. The *Peyde Setskoy*, or Captaines of fifties, and the *Decetskiet*, or Captaines of tens.

Besides the *Voiaud* or Generall of the Army (spoken of before) they haue two other that beare the name of *Voiauda*: whereof one is the Master of the great Ordenance (called *Naradns Voiauda*) who hath diuers vnder Officers, necessary for that seruice. The other is called the *Voiauda Gulaway*, or the walking

2. Lieutenant
Generall.

3. Marſhalles
of the field
four.

The ordering
of each quar-
ter.

4. Marſhals
Deputies 8.

Fiue Coro-
nells vnder
Captaines.

Sixe Masters
of the Artil-
lery.

The walking
Captaine.

Captaine, that hath allowed him a thousand good horsemen of principall choise, to range and spie abroad, and hadde the charge of the running Cattle, which wee are to speake of hereafter. All these Captaines and men of charge, must (once euery day) resort to the *Bulgha Voisnoda*, or Generall of the Armie, to know his pleasure, and to informe him, if there be any requisite matter pertaining to theyr Office.

Of their mu-
stering and
laying of
forces, manner
of Armour, &
prouide for
the waite.Their order
for mustering

When warres are towards (which they faile not of slightly euery yeare with the Tartar, and many times with the Polonian and Sweden) the foure Lordes of the *Chetvirs* send forth their summons in the Emperours name, to all the Dukes and Dyackes of the Prouinces, to bee proclaimed in the head Townes of euery Shirre: that all the *Sinobarsky*, or sonnes of Gentlemen, make their repaire to such a border where the seruice is to be done, at such a place, and by such a day, & there present themselves vnto such and such Captaines.

When they come to the place assigned them in the Summons or Proclamation, their names are taken by certain Officers, that haue Commiffion for that purpose, from the *Roserade* or High Constable, as Clarke of the Bands.

If any make default and faile at the day, he is mulcted, and punished very seuerely. As for the Generall and other chiefe Captaines, they are sent thither from the Emperours owne hand, with such Commiffion and charge, as hee thinketh behoouefull for the present seruice. When the Soldiours are assembled, they are reduced into their Bands and Companies, vnder their severall Captaines of tentnes, fifties, hundreds, thousands, &c. and these Bands into foure *Polskeys* or Legions (but of farre greater numbers then the Romanie Legions were) vnder their foure great Leaders; which also haue the Authority of Marshalls of the field, as was saide before.

The horse-
mans turne.

Concerning their Armour, they are but slightly appointed. The common Horseman hath nothing else but his Bow in his case, vnder his right Arme, and his Quier and Sword hanging on the lefte side: except some few that beare a Case of Dags, or a Laucelin, or short staffe along their Horse side. The vnder Captains will

haue commonly some piece of Armour besides, as a Shirt of Male, or such like. The Generall, with the other chiefe Captaines and men of Nobility, will haue their horse very richly furnished, theyr Saddles of Cloth of Golde, their Brides faire bossed and tasselled with Golde and Silke Frindge, besudded with Pearle & precious Stones: themselves in very faire Armour, which they call *Bullatney*, made of faire shining Steele yet covered commonly with cloth of Golde, and edged round with Ermin Furre, his Steele Helmet on his head, of a very great price, his Sword, Bow and Arrows at his side, his Speare in his hand, with another fayre Helmet, and his *Sheitapera* or Horsemans Scepter carried before him. Their Swords, Bowes, and Arrows, are of the Turkish fashion. They practise like the Tartar, to shoote forwards and backwards, as they faye and retyre.

The Generall
and chiefe
Captaines.

The *Strelsy* or Foote-man, hath nothing but his peece in his hand, his striking Hatchet at his backe, and his Sword by his side. The stocke of his peece, is not made Calieuer-wise, but with a plaine & straight stocke (somewhat like a Fowling peece) the barrel is rudely and vnartificially made, very heavy, yet thoothert but a very small Bullet.

The footmans
turne.

As for their prouision of victuall, the Emperour alloweth none, eyther for Captaine or Soldiour, neither prouideth any for them, except peraduenture some corn for their money. Euery man is to bring sufficient for himselfe, to serue his turne for foure moneths, and (if neede require) to giue order for more to bee brought vnto him to the Campe, from his Tenant that tilleth his land, or some other place.

Prouision
of victuall.

One great helpe they haue, that for Lodging and Dyet, euery *Kusse* is prepared to be a souldiour before-hand. Although the chiefe Captaines, and other of account, do carrie Tents along with them, after the form and fashion of ours, with some better prouision of Victuall then the rest; they bring with them commonly into the Campe for Victuall, a kinde of dried Bread (which they call *Sucharie*) with some store of Meale, which they temper with water, & so make it into a Ball, or small lump of Dough, called *Tollockno*. And this they eat raw in stead of Bread. Their meat is Bacon, or some

Their field
lodging and
diet.

some

some other flesh or fish dried, after the Dutch manner.

If the *Russe* Souldier were as hardie to execute an enterprize, as hee is harde to beare out toyle and trauaile, or were otherwise as apt and well trayned for the warres, as hee is indifferent for his lodging and dyet, he would farre exceed the Soldiours of other parts. Whereas now, hee is farre meane of courage, and execution in any warlike seruice. Which commeth partly of his feeble condition, that will not suffer any great courage or valour to grow in him. Partly for lacke of due honour and reward, which he hath no great hope of, whatsoeuer seruice or execution hee doe.

Of their march-
ing, charging,
and other
martiall dis-
cipline.

The Russe trusteth rather to his number, then to the valor of his Soldiours, or good ordering of his forces. Their marching or leading is without all order, save that the foure *Polskey* or Legions (whereinto their army is diuided) keepe themselves vnder their Ensignes, and so thrust all on together in a hurrie, as they are directed by their Generall. Their Ensigne is the image of Saint George. The *Bulgha Dworany* or chiefe Horsemen, haue euery man a small Drumme of Brasle at his Saddle-bow, which hee striketh when hee giueth the charge, or onfet.

Horsemens
drummes.

They haue Drummes besides of a huge biggenesse, which they carrie with them vpon a boord layde on foure horses, that are spured together with Iron Chaines, euery Drumme hauing eyght Beaters or Drummers, besides Trumpets, and Shawmes, which they found after a wilde manner, much different from ours.

The Horse-
mans manner
of charging.

When they giue any Charge, or make any inuasion, they make a great hallowe or shoute altogether, as lowde as they can, which with the sound of their Trumpets, Shawmes, and Drummes, maketh a confused and horrible noyse. So they set on first discharging their Arrows, then dealing with their Swordes, which they vse in a brauery to shake, and brandish ouer their Heades, before they come to strokes.

The foot-
mans charge

Their Footmen (because otherwise they want order in leading) are commonly placed in some ambush, or place of advantage, where they may most annoy the enemy, with least hurt to themselves.

If hee a set battaile, or if any great inuasion bee made vpon the Russe borders, by the Tartar; they are sette within the running or moouing Castle (called *Besa*, or *Gulay gorad*) which is carried about with them by the *Voisnoda gulanay* (or the *Walking Generall*) whome I spake of before. This Walking or moouing Castle is so framed, that it may be set vp in length (as occasion doth require) the space of one, two, three, foure, fve, six, or seuen miles: for so long will it reach. It is nothing else but a double wall of VVoode, to defend them on both sides, behinde and before; with a space of three yards or thereabout, betwix the two sides: so that they may stand withint it, and haue roome enough to charge and discharge their peecees, and to vse their other weapons.

The walking
Castle.

It is closed at both ends, & made with loope holes on either side, to lay out the nose of their peece, or to push forth any other weapon. It is carried along with the army whersoever it goeth, being taken in to peecees, and so layde on Cartes spured together, and drawn by horse that are not tene, by reason that they are covered with their carriage, as with a shelle or pent-houfe.

When it is brought vnto the place where it is to be vsed (which is denifed & chosen out before by the *Walking Voisnoda*) it is planted, so much as the present vse requirith, sometime a mile long, sometimes two, sometimes three, or more: Which is loone done without the helpe of any Carpenter, or instrument: because the Timber is so framed to clasp together one peece within another: as is easily vnderstood, by those that know the manner of the Russe building.

The planting
of the walk-
ing Castle.

In this Castle standeth their Shot well fenced for advantage, especially agaynst the Tartar, that bringeth no Ordinance, nor other VWeapon into the Field with him, save his Sword, and Bowe and Arrows. They haue also within it diuerse fildes peecees, which they vse as occasion doth require. Of peecees for the fildes, they carry no great store, when they war against the Tartar: but when they deale with the *Polonian* (of whose forces they make more account) they go better furnished with all kind of munition, and other necessarie prouisions. It is thought, that no Prince of Christendome, hath better

The shotte a-
gainst the
Tartar.D d d 3
store

store of munition, then the Russe Emperour. And it may partly appeare by the Artillerie house at *Mosko*, where are of all sortes of great Ordnance, all Brasie peeces, very faire, to an exceeding great number.

The Russe Soldiour is thought to be better at his defence within some Castle, or Towne, then hee is abroad at a set pitched fildie. Which is euier noted in the practise of his warres, and namely, at the siege of *Volsko*, some few yeares since: where he repulsed the Polonian king, *Stephen Batore*, with his whole Army of an hundred thousand men, and forced him (in the end) to giue ouer his siege, with the losse of many of his best Captaines and Soldiers. But in a set fildie, the *Russe* is noted to haue the worke of the *Polonian* and *Sweden*.

If any behaue himselfe more valiantly then the rest, or doe any speciall peece of seruice, the Emperour sendeth him a peece of Gold, stamped with the image of Saint George on horse-backe. Which peece they hang on their lleeces, and set in their Caps. And this is accounted the greatest honor they can receiue for any seruice they do.

The *Russe* Emperours (of late yeares) haue very much enlarged their Dominions & Territories. Their first Conquest after the Dukedome of *Mosko* (for before that time they were but Dukes of *Volodemer*, as before was sayde) was the Cittie, and Dukedome of *Novogrod* on the West and North-West side: which was no final enlargement of their Dominion, & strengthening vnto them for the winning of the rest. This was done by *Iuan*, great Grand father to *Theodore* now Emperour, about the yeare 1480.

The same began likewise to encroach vpon the Countreys of *Lituania* and *Lithuania*, but the Conquest onely intended, and attempted by him vpon some part of those Countreys, was pursued and performed by his sonne *Basileus*, who first of all wan the Cittie and Dukedom of *Plesko*, afterwards the City and Dukedom of *Smolensko*, and many other faire Townes, with a large Territory belonging vnto them, about the yeare 1514.

Their victories against the *Lettos* or *Lithuanians*, in the time of *Alexander* their Duke, hee achieved rather by aduantage

of ciuill diffentions and treasons among themselves, then by any great pollicie or force of his owne. But all this was lost againe by his sonne *Iuan Vasilowich*, about eight or nine yeares past, vpon composition with the Polonian King *Stephen Batore*; whereunto he was forced by the aduantages which the *Pole* had then of him, by reason of the foyle hee had giuen him before, and the disquietnesse of his owne state at home. Onely the *Russe* Emperour, at this time, hath left him on that side his Country, the Cities of *Smolensko*, *Vitobsko*, *Cheringo*, and *Beala Gurod* in *Lithuania*. In *Lithuania*, nor a Towne, nor one foote of ground.

When *Basileus* first Conquered those Countreys, hee suffered the Natiues to keepe their possessions, and to inhabit all their Townes, onely paying him a Tribute, vnder the government of his *Russe* Captaines. But by their Conspiracies & attempts not long after, he was taught to deale more surely with them. And for coming vpon them the second time, hee killed and caried away with him, three parts of foure, which he gaue or solde vnto the Tartars that serued him in those wars, & (insted of them) placed there his *Russes*, so many as might ouer-match the rest, with certaine Garrisons of strength besides. Wherein, notwithstanding this ouersight was committed, for that (taking away with him the Vpland or Countrey people (that should haue tild the ground and might easily haue bene kept in order without any daung'r, by other good policies) hee was driuen afterwarde manie yeares together, to victuall the Countrey (especially the great Townes) out of his owne Countrey of *Russia*, the foyle lying there in the meane while waste and vntilled.

The like fell out at the port of *Narue*, in *Lithland*, where his sonne *Iuan Vasilowich* desired, to build a Towne and a Castle on the other side the Riuer, (called *Iuangogrod*) to keepe the Town and countrey in subiection. The Castle he caused to bee so built and fortified, that it was thought to bee inuincible. And when it was finished, for reward to the Architect (that was a *Polonian*) hee put out both his eyes, to make him vnable to build the like againe. But hauing left the Natiues all within their owne Countrey, without a

All wonne by the father, lost by the sonne.

Lithuania, and the Emperours remission, in his Conquest thereof.

Narue euen in the same manner.

A most vntilld reward.

bating their number or strength; the Towne and Castle (not long after) was betrayed, and surrendered againe to the King of *Sweden*.

On the Southeast side, they haue got the Kingdomes of *Cazan*, and *Astracan*. These were wonne from the *Tartar*, by the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*, Father to the Emperour that now is: the one about 35. the other about 33. yeares agoe. Northward out of the Countrey of *Siberia*, he hath laide vnto his Realme, a great bredth and length of ground, from *wichida* to the Riuer of *Obba*, about a thousand miles space: so that hee is bold to write himselfe now, *The Great Commander of Siberia*.

The Countries likewise of *Permia* & *Pechora*, are a diuerse people & language from the *Russe*, ouercome not long since, and that rather by threatening, & shaking of the Sword, then by any actual force: as being a weak and naked people, without meanes to resist.

That which the *Russe* hath in his present possession, he keepeth on this fort. In his foure cheefe border townes of *Volsko*, *Smolensko*, *Astracan*, and *Cazan*, he hath certaine of his Counsell, nor of greatest Nobility, but of greatest trust, which haue more authority within their Precincts (for the countenancing & strengthening of their government there) then the other Dukes that are set to gouerne in other places, as was noted before, in the manner of ordering their Prouinces. These he changeth sometime euery yeare, sometime euery second or third yeare, but exceedeth not that time; except vpon very speciall trust, and good liking of the party, and his seruice: least by enlarging of their time, they might grow into some familiarity with the enemy (as some haue done) being so far out of sight.

The Townes besides are very strongly fenced with Trenches, Castles, & store of munition, and haue garrisons within the, to the number of two or three thousand a peece. They are stored with victuall (if any siege should come vpon them) for the space of two or three yeares before hand. The foure Castles of *Smolensko*, *Volsko*, *Cazan* and *Astracan*, hee hath made very strong to beare out any siege: so that it is thought that those Townes are impregnable.

As for the Countreys of *Pechora* and *Permia*, and that part of *Siberia*, which hee hath now vnder him, they are kept by as easie meanes, as they were first got, viz. rather by shewing, then by vling of Armes. First, he hath stored the Countrey with as many *Russes* as there are Natiues, & hath there some few Soldiours in garrison, enough to keepe them vnder. Secondly, his Officers and Magistrates there, are of his owne *Russe* people, and he changeth them very often, viz. euery yeare twice or thrice; notwithstanding there be no great feare of any inuasion. Thirdly he diuideth them into many small gouernments, like a staffe broke in many small pieces: so that they haue no strength being seuered, which was but little neyther, when they were all in one. Fourthly, he prouideth that the people of the Countrey haue neyther Armour, nor money, being taxed and pilld so often as he thinketh good: without any meanes to shake off that yoke, or to releue themselves.

In *Siberia* (where he goeth on in pursuing his Conquest) hee hath diuers Castles and Garrisons, to the number of fixe thousand Soldiours of *Russes* and *Polonians*, and sendeth many new supplies thither, to plant and inhabit, as he winneth ground. At this time besides, he hath gotten the Kings Brother of *Siberia*, allured by certaine of his Captains, to leaue his owne Countrey, by offers of great entertainment, and pleasant life with the *Russe* Emperour, then he had in *Siberia*. He was brought in this last yeare, and is now with the Emperour at *Mosko* well entertained.

This may be said of the *Russe* practise, wherefoeuer he ruleth, either by right of Inheritance, or by Conquest.

First, hee bereaueth the Countrey of Armour, and other meanes of defence, which hee permitteth to none, but to his *Boiarstie* onely.

Secondly, he robbeth them continually of their money and commodities, and leaueth them bare, with nothing but their bodies and liues, within certaine yeares compass.

Thirdly, hee renteth and diuideth his Territories into many small pieces, by seuerall gouernments: so that none hath much vnder him to make any strength, though he had other opportunities.

Fourthly,

Meanes of holding the Countreys of *Pechora*, *Permia*, and *Siberia*.

The Kings Brother of *Siberia* allured from his Countrey.

The pollicie of their Conquest, or other practising, wherefoeuer they come.

Kingdomes won from the Tartar.

Permia and *Pechora*, their conquering.

Meanes of holding his cheefe townes

The strength of Townes & Castles.

Fourthly, he governeth his Countries by men of small reputation, and no power of themselves, and strangers (in those places) where their government lyeth.

Fifthly, he changeth his Governours once a year ordinarily, that there grow no great liking, nor intellence betwixt the people and them, nor acquaintance with the enemy, if they lie towards the Borders.

Sixthly, hee appointeth in one and the same place aduicary Governours, the one to be as Controller of the other, as the Dukes and Diacks: where (by meanes of their enuies and emulations) there is lesse hurt to be feared by their agreement, and himselfe is better informed what is done amiffe.

Seuenthly, he sendeth many times into eury Province secret Messengers (of speciall trust about him) as intelligencers, to pry and hearken out what is doing, and what is amiffe there. And this is ordinary, though it be sudden, and vnkowne what time they will come.

Their neighbours with whom they haue greatest dealings and intercourse, both in peace and warre, are first the *Tartars*: Secondly the *Polonians*, whom the *Russe* calleth *Laches*, noting the first Author or Founder of the Nation, who was called *Laches* or *Laches*, whereunto is added *Pol*, which signifieth *People*, and so is made *Polaches*, that is, the *People* or *Possessors* of *Laches*: which the *Latines* (after their manner of writing) call *Polinos*. The third are the *Swedens*. The *Polonians* and *Swedens* are better knowne to these parts of *Europe*, then are the *Tartars*, that are farther off from vs (as heeing of *Asia*) and diuided into many Tribes, different both in name and government one from another.

The greatest and mightiest of them is the *Chrim Tartar*, (whom some call the *Great Cham*) that lyeth South, & Southward from *Russia*, and doth most annoy the Country by often inuasions, commonly once every year, sometime entreting very farre within the inland parts. In the year 1571. he came as far as the Citie of *Mosko*, with an Army of two hundred thousand men, without any battaile, or resistance at all, for that the *Russe* Emperor (then *Iuan Vasiliowich*) leading forth his Army to encounter with him, march-

ed a wrong way: but (as it was thought) of very purpose, as not daring to adventure the Field, by reason that he doubted his Nobility and cheefe Captaines, of a meaning to betray him to the *Tartar*.

The Citie hee tooke not, but fired the Subburbs, which by reason of the buildings (which are al of Wood, without any Stone, Brick or Lime, faw certaine out-rooms) kindled so quickly, and went on with such rage; as that it consumed the greatest part of the City, almost within the space of foure houres, being of thirty miles or more of compass. Then might you haue seene a lamentable spectacle: besides the huge and mighty flame of the City all on light fire, the people burning in their houses and streetes, but most of all, of such as laboured to passe out of the gates, farthest from the enemy; where meeting together in a mightie throng, & so pressing every man to prevent another: wedged themselves so fast within the gate and streetes neere vnto it, as that three ranks walked one vpon the others head, the vppermost treading down those that were lower: so that there perished at that time (as was saide) by the fire & the pteale, the number of eight hundred thousand people, or more.

The *Chrim* thus having fired the City, and fed his eyes with the sight of it all on a light flame returned with his Army, and sent to the *Russe* Emperor a Knife (as was said) to stick himselfe withall: vbraying this losse, and his desperate case, as not daring cyther to meete his enemy in the field, nor to trust his friends nor subiects at home. The principall cause of this continuall quarrell betwixt the *Russe* and the *Chrim*, is for the right of certaine border parts, claimed by the *Tartar*, but possessed by the *Russe*. The *Tartar* alleadgeth, that besides *Astracan*, and *Cazan* (that are the ancient possession of the East *Tartar*) the whole Country, from his bounds North and Westward, so farre as the Citie of *Mosko*, and *Mosko* it selfe, pertaineth to his right. Which seemeth to haue bin true, by the report of the *Russes* themselves, that tell of a certaine homage, that was done by the *Russe* Emperour (every year) to the *Great Cham* or *Cham*, the *Russe* Emperour standing on foote, and feeding the *Chrim* Horse (himselfe sitting

The firing of Mosko by the Chrim Tartar, in the year 1571.

A strange accident as was heard of.

The Chrim salutation to the Emperour.

The quarrell betwixt the Russe and Tartar.

Homage done by the Russe to the Chrim Tartar, and in what manner.

sitting on his back) with Oates out of his owne Cap, instead of a Boule or Manner, and that within the Citie of *Mosko*. And this homage (they say) was done till the time of *Rasleus*, grandfather to this man. Who surprizing the *Chrim* Emperour by a stratagem, done by one of his Nobility (called *Iuan Demetrowich Belschey*) was content with this ranfome, viz. with the changing of this homage into a tribute of Fures: which afterwards also was denied to be paid by this Emperours Father.

Hereupon they continue the quarrell, the *Russe* defending his Country, & that which he hath won, the *Chrim Tartar* invading him once or twice every year, sometime about Whariontide, but oftner in Haruest. What time, if the great *Cham* or *Chrim* come in his owne person, hee bringeth with him a great Army of an hundred thousand, or two hundred thousand men. Otherwise, they make short and sudden roads into the Country with lesser numbers, running about the list of the border, as wilde Geefe flie, invading and retiring where they see aduantage.

Their common practise (beeing very populous) is to make diuers Armies, and so drawing the *Russe* to one, or two places of the Frontiers, to invade at some other place, that is left without defence. Their manner of fight, or ordering of their Forces, is much after the *Russe* manner (spoken of before) saue that they are all horsemen, and carry nothing else but a Bowe, a sheafe of Arrowes, & a faulchon sword after the Turkish fashion. They are very expert horsemen, and vfe to choose as readily backward, as forward. Some will haue a horsemans staffe like vnto a boare spear, besides their other weapons. The common Soldiour hath no other armour then his ordinary apparell, viz. a blacke sheeps skine, with the wooll side outward in the day time, and inward in the night time, with a cap of the same. But their *Moskoy* or Noblemen imitate the Turke both in apparell and armor. When they are to passe ouer a Riuer with their Army, they yee three or foure horses together, and taking long Poles or pieces of wood, binde them fast to the tayles of their horses: so sitting on the Poles they drive their horse ouer. At handy-strokes

(when they come to ioyne battaile) they are accounted farre better men then the *Russe* people, fierce by nature, but more hardy and bloudy by continuall practise of warre: as men knowing no parts of peace, nor any ciuill practise.

Yet their subtilty is more then may seeme to agree with their barbarous condition. By reason they are practise to invade continually, and to robbe their neighbours that border about them; they are very pregnant, and ready witted to devise stratagems (vpon the sudden) for their better aduantage. As in their war against *Beala* the fourth King of *Hungary*, whom they invaded with fife hundred thousand men, and obtained against him a great victory. Whence (among other) hauing slaine his Chancellor, called *Nicholas Schinick*; they found about him the Kings priuy Seale. Whereupon, they deuised presently to counterfeit Letters in the Kings Name, to the Citties and Townes next about the place, where the field was fought; with charge, that in no case they should conuey themselves and their goods out of their dwellings, where they might abide safely without all feare of danger, and not leaue the Country desolate, to the possession of so vile and barbarous an enemy, as was the *Tartar* Nation, tearing themselves in all reprochfull manner.

For, notwithstanding he had lost his carriages, with some few straglers that had marched disorderly; yet hee doubted not but to recouer that losse, with the assistance of a notable victory, if the *Tartar* durst abide him in the field. To this purpose, hauing written their letters in the *Polish* Character, by certaine young men whom they tooke in the field, and signed them with the Kings Seale; they dispatched them forth to all the quarters of *Hungary*, that lay neare about the place. Whereupon the *Hungarians*, that were now flying away with their goods, wiues, and children, vpon the rumour of the kings ouerthrow, taking comfort by these counterfeit Letters; staid at home. And so were made a prey, being surprized on the sudden by the huge number of these *Tartars*, that had compassed them about before they were aware.

When they besiege a Towne or Fort, they offer much Parley, and send many flattering

The homage receiued by the Chrim Tartar.

The Chrim coming against the Russe.

The manner of the Tartars fight and armor.

The common Soldiours Armour of the Tartars, differing from the Noblemans.

Their passage of Riuers.

The subtilty of the Tartar.

The Tartar war against Beala King of Hungary, and their cunning policy.

All policies in warre are by them accounted lawfull.

Besieging of Townes or Forts.

Setting diuels together by the cares.

Of the Tartars, and other borders to the Country of Russia, with whom they haue most to do in warre or peace. The Polonians, are called Laches by the Russe, and the reason why.

The Chrim Tartar, or the Great Cham.

flattering messages to perswade a surrender, promising all things that the Inhabitants will require: but being once possessed of the place, they vse all manner of hostility, and cruelty. This they do vpon a rule they haue, viz. *That Iustice is to be practised but towards their owne*. They encounter not lightly, but they haue some ambush, whereunto (hauing once shewed themselves, and made some short conflick) they retire, as repulsed for feare, and so draw the enemy into it if they can. But the *Russe* being wel acquainted with their practise, is more wary of them. When they come a routing with some final number, they set on horsebacke counterfeit shapes of men, that their number may seeme greater.

When they make any onfet, their manner is to make a great shout, crying all out together, *Olla Billa, Olla Billa, God help vs, God helpe vs*. They contemne death so much, as that they chuse rather to die, then to yeeld to their enemy, & are seene (when they are slaine) to bite the very weapon when they are past striking, or helping of themselves. V where in appeareth, how different the *Tartar* is in his desperate courage, from the *Russe* and *Turke*. For the *Russe* Souldier, if he begin once to retire, putteth all his safety in his speedy flight. And if once he be taken by his enemy, he neither defendeth himselfe, nor intreateth for his life, as reckning straight to die. The *Turke* commonly, when hee is past hope of escaping, falleth to entretrie, and casteth away his weapon, offereth both his hands, and holdeth them vp, as it were to be tied: hoping to saue his life, by offering himselfe bondslave.

The cheefe booty the *Tartars* seeke for in all their wars, is to get store of captiues, specially yong boies and girles, who they sell vnto the *Turkes*, or other their neighbours. To this purpose they take with them great Baskets, made like Bakers Panniers, to carry them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tie, or to be sick on the way, they dash him against the ground, or some tree, and so leaue him dead. The Souldiours are not troubled with keeping the Captiues, and the other booty, for hindring the execution of their wars; but they haue certaine bands that intend nothing else, appointed of purpose to receiue and keepe the Cap-

tities and the other prey.

The *Russe* borders (being vsed to their inuasions lightly euery year in the Summer) keepe few other Cattell on the border parts, save Swine onely, which the *Tartar* will not touch, nor drue away with him: for that he is of the Turkish religion, and will eate no Swines flesh. Of Christ our Saviour, they confesse as much as doth the *Turk* in his Alkaron, viz. That he came of the Angell *Gabriel*, & the Virgin *Mary*, that he was a great Prophet, & shall be the Iudge of the world at the last day. In other matters likewise, they are much ordered after the manner and direction of the *Turke*: hauing felt the Turkish Forces, when hee wonne from them *Acow*, and *Cissa*, with some other townes about the *Euxine*, or *Blacke Sea*, that were before tributaries to the *Chrim Tartar* So that now the Emperor of the *Chrimis* (for the most part) is chosen some one of the Nobilitie, whom the *Turke* doth commend: whereby it is brought now to that passe, that the *Chrim Tartar* giueth to the *Turke* the tenth part of the spoile, which he getteth in his wars against the Christianians.

Heerein they differ from the Turkish Religion, for that they haue certaine idoll puppets, made of silke, or like stuffe, of the fashion of a man, which they fasten to the doore of their walking houses, to bee as *Ianusses* or keepers of their house. And these Idols are made not by all, but by certaine religious women, which they haue among them, for that and like vses. They haue besides, the image of their King or Great *Chan*, of an huge bignesse, which they erect at euery stage, when the Army marcheth: and this euery one must bend and bow vnto as he passeth by it, be hee *Tartar*, or stranger. They are much giuen to witchcraft, and ominous coniectures, vpon euery accident which they heare or see.

In making of marriages, they haue no regard of alliance or consanguinity. Onely with his Mother, Sister, and Daughter, a man may not marry, and though hee take the woman into his house, and accompany with her; yet hee accounteth her not for his Wife, till he haue a childe by her. Then he beginneth to take a dowry of her friends, of Horse, Sheep, Kine, &c. If the bee barren, after a certaine

The Tartars religion like to the Turke.

Choice of the Tartars Emperor.

Difference from the Turkish Religion.

Addition to witchcraft.

Making of marriages among the Tartars.

time, he turneth her home agayne.

Vnder the Emperour they haue certayne Dukes, whom they call *Morfeis*, or *Dumymorfeis*: that rule ouer a certayne number of teene thousand, twenty thousand, or forty thousand a peece, which they call *Hordis*. When the Emperour hath any vse of them to serue in his wars, they are bound to come, and to bring with them their Souldiers to a certayne number, euery man with his two horse: at the least, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it cometh to his turne to haue his horse eaten. For their chiefe vitaille is horse flesh, which they eate without bread, or any other thing with it. So that if a *Tartar* be taken by a *Russe*, hee shall be sure lightly to finde a horse legge, or some other part of him hanging at his saddle bowe.

This last yeare, when I was at the *Mosco*, came in one *Kiriach Morfeis*, Nephew to the Emperour of the *Chrimis* that now is (whose father was Emperour before) accompanied with 3. hundred *Tartars*, and his two wiues, whereof one was his brothers widdow. Where being entertained in very good sort (after the *Russe* manner) he had sent vnto his lodging for his welcome, to bee made ready for his supper and his companies, two very large and fatte horses, ready slayed on a sledde. They preferre it before other flesh, because the meate is stronger (as they say) then beefe, mutton, and such like. And yet (which is maruell) though they serue all as horsemen in the warres, and eate all of horse flesh, there are brought yearly to the *Mosco*, to be exchanged for other commodities, thirty or fortie thousand *Tartar* horses, which they commonly call *Cones*.

They keepe also great herds of kine, and flockes of blacke sheepe, rather for the skines and milke (which they carrie with them in great bottles) then for the vse of the flesh, though sometimes they eate of it. Some vse they haue of Rice, Figges, and other Fruits. They drinke milke of warme blood, and for the most part, carde them both together. They vse sometimes (as they doe trauell by the way) to let their horses blood in a veine, and to drink it warme, as it cometh from his body.

Townesthey do plant none, nor other

standing buildings, but haue walking houses, which the Latines call *Veil*, built vpon wheeles, like vnto a Shepherds cottage. These they draw with them whither soeuer they goe, druing their cattail with them. And whē they come to their stages, or standing place, they plant their Cart-houses very orderly in a ranse: and so do make the forme of the firectes, and of a large towne. And this is the manner of the Emperour himselfe, who hath no other seate of his Empire, but an *Agora*, or towne of wood, that mooueth with him whither soeuer he goeth. As for the fixed and standing buildings vsed in other Countries, they say they are vnwholesome and vnpleasant.

They beginne to moue their houses and cattail in the Spring time, from the South part of their Country towards the North parts. And so druing on till they haue grafed all vp vnto the farthest part Northward, they returne backe agayne towards their South Country (where they continue all the winter) by ten or twelue miles a stage: in the meane while, the grasse being sprang vp againe, to serue for their cattail as they returne. From the border of the *Sholcan* towards the *Caspian* Sea, vnto the *Russe* frontiers, they haue a goodly Country, specially on the South and South-east parts, but lost for lacke of tillage.

Of money they haue no vse at all, and therefore prefer Brasse and Steele before other mettalls, especially bullate, which they vse for Swords, Knives, and other necessaries. As for Golde and Siluer, they neglect it of very purpose, (as they do all tillage of their ground) to be more free for their wandering kinde of life, and to keepe their Country lesse subiect to inuasions. Which giueth them great advantage against all their neighbours, euere inuading, and neuer being inuaded. Such as haue taken vpon them to inuade their Country (as of olde time *Cyrus* and *Darius Hystaspis*, on the East and Southeast side) haue done it with very ill successe, as we finde in the Stories written of those times. For their manners, when any will inuade them, to allure and draw them on, by flying and reculing (as if they were afraid) untill they haue drawne them some good way within their Country. Then, when they beginne to want vitaille, and

The Tartars dwelling, walking, or removing houses.

Agora, or Towne of wood moving with the Emperour.

The times of removing their houses.

They haue no vse of money among them.

Pollicie in their poudry.

Their pollicie for moueing of their country.

A subtle rule among the Tartars.

The Tartars contempt of death.

Of the Russe Souldiour.

Of the Turkish Souldiour.

The booty of the Tartars.

The Tartar Nobilitie, and their authority.

The Tartars doct, is horse flesh.

A present at a Tartars entertainment.

Their vse of blacke sheepe milke.

Laonicus
Chalcocondylas.

Pachymetius.

A story of a
Tartarian
Captaine.Person and
complexion
of the Tartars
and their na-
tural inclinac-
tion.* A people in
Scythia a-
bout Meotis.

other necessities (as needes they must where nothing is to bee had) to stoppe the passages, and enclose them with multitudes. By which stratagem (as wee read in *Laonicus Chalcocondylas* in his Turkish story) they had well nigh surprized the great and huge Army of *Tamberlaine*; but that he retired with al speed he could, towards the River *Tanis*, or *Don*, not without great losse of his men, and carriages.

In the story of *Pachymetius* the Greeke (which hee wrote of the Emperours of *Constantinople* from the beginning of the Reigne of *Michael Palaeologus*, to the time of *Andronicus* the elder) I remember he telleth (to the same purpose) of one *Nogais*, a *Tartarian* Captaine vnder *Cazan*, the Emperour of the East *Tartars* (of who the City and Kingdome of *Cazan* may seeme to haue taken the denomination) who refused a Present of Pearle & other Jewels, sent vnto him from *Michael Palaeologus*: Asking (withall) for what vse they serued, and whether they were good to keepe away sicknesse, death, or other misfortunes of this life, or no? So that it seemeth, they haue euer (or long time) bene of that minde, to value things no further, then by the vse, and necessity for which they serue.

For person and complexion, they haue broad and flat visages, of a tanned colour into yellow and blacke, fierce and cruell looks, thin haired vpon the vpper lip, and pit of the chin, light and nimble bodied, with short legges, as if they were made naturally for Horsemen: whereto they practise themselves from their childhood, si dome going afoote about any businesse. Their speech is very sudden and loud, speaking as it were out of a deep hollow throat. When they sing, you would thinke a Cow lowed, or some great bandog howled. Their greatest exercise is shooting, wherein they traine vp their children from their very infancy, not suffering them to eate, till they haue shot neere the marke within a certaine scantling. They are the very same, that (sometimes) were called * *Scythia Nomades*, or the *Scythian Shepheards*, both by the Greekes and Latines.

Some thinke, that the *Turkes* tooke their beginning from the Nation of the *Chirm Tartars*. Of which opinion is *La-*

onicus Chalcocondylas the Greeke Historiographer, in his first Booke of his Turkish story. Wherin he followeth diuers very probable coniectures.

The first, taken from the very name it selfe, for that the word *Turke*, signifieth a Shepherd, or one that followeth a vagrant and wilde kinde of life. By which name these *Scythian Tartars* haue euer bin noted, being called by the Greekes, *Skithas Nomades*, or the *Scythian Shepheards*.

His second reason, because the *Turkes* (in his time) that dwelt in *Asia* the lesse, to wit, in *Lydia*, *Coria*, *Phrygia*, and *Cappadocia*, spake the very same Language that these *Tartars* did, that dwelt betwixt the River *Tanis* or *Don*, and the Country of *Sarmatia*, which (as is well knowne) are these *Tartars* called *Chirms*. At this time also, the whole Nation of the *Turks* differ not much in their common speech from the *Tartar* Language.

Thirdly, because the *Turke* and the *Chirm Tartar* agree so well together, as well in Religion, as matter of Trafficke, neuer invading, or injuring one another: saue that the *Turke* (since *Laonicus* his time) hath encroached vpon some Towns vpon the * *Euxine* Sea, that before pertained to the *Chirm Tartar*.

Fourthly, because *Orcagies* sonne to *Oguzalpes*, and (Father to *Ottoman*, the first of name of the Turkish Nation) made his first rides out of those partes of *Asia*, vpon the next borderers, till he came towards the Countreys about the Hill *Taurus*, where he ouercame the Greekes that inhabited there: and so enlarged the name and territory of the Turkish Nation, till he came to *Euboea* and *Attica*, and other partes of Greece. This is the opinion of *Laonicus*, who liued amongst the *Turkes*, in the time of *Amurath*, the fixte Turkish Emperour, about the year 1400. when the memory of their originall was more fresh: and therefore the likeliest hee was to hit the truth.

There are diuers other *Tartars* that border vpon *Russia*, as the *Nagies*, the *Cheremifens*, the *Morduites*, the *Chircassies*, & the *Shalcans*, which all differ (in name, more then in Regiment, or other condition) from the *Chirm Tartar*, except the *Chircassies*, that border South-West, towards *Lithuania*, and are farre more ciuill then the rest of the *Tartars*; of a comely person,

The reasons
of the Greeke
Author, for
his opinion of
the Tartars.* A parte of the
Sea, diuising
Europe from
Asia.The Nagies
Tartars, the
cruellist.
The Chircas-
sies the ciuillist
Tartars.The Cheremifens
Tartars,
very trouble-
some and dan-
gerous.The Mord-
uit Tartar
the most bar-
barous of the
rest.The Shalcans
and Country
of Media.

person, and of a stately behaviour, as applying themselves to the fashion of the *Polonian*. Some of them haue subiected themselves vnto the Kings of *Poland*, and professe Christianity. The *Nagies* lyeth Eastward, and is reckoned for the best man of warre among all the *Tartars*, but very sauage and cruell aboue all the rest.

The *Cheremifens Tartars*, that lye betwixt the *Russe* and the *Nagies*, are of two sorts, the *Lugauiy* (that is of the Valley) and the *Nagoruy*, or of the hilly Countrey. These haue much troubled the Emperours of *Russia*. And therefore they are content now to buy peace of them, vnder pretence of giuing a yearly pension of *Russe* commodities, to their *Morfeis*, or *Dumymorfeis*, that are cheefe of their Tribes. For which also they are bound to serue them in their wars, vnder certaine conditions. They are saide to be iust and true in their dealings: and for that cause they hate the *Russe* people, whom they account to bee double, and false in all their dealings. And therefore the common sort are very vnwilling to keepe agreement with them, but that they are kept in by their *Morfeis*, or *Dukes* for their pensions sake.

The most rude and barbarous is counted the *Morduit Tartar*, that hath many selfe-fashions, and strange kindes of behaviour, differing from the rest. For his Religion, though hee acknowledge one God, yet his manner is to worshipsse for God, that liuing thing, that hee first meeteth in the mornings, and to sweare by it all that whole day, whether it be Horse, Dogge, Cate, or whatsoever else it bee. When his friend dieth, he killeth his best Horse, and hauing flayed off the skinn, he carrieth it on high vpon a long Pole, before the corpes to the place of buriall. This hee doth (as the *Russe* saith) that his friend may haue a good Horse to carry him to Heauen: but it is likelier to declare his loue towards his dead friend, in that he will haue to die with him the best thing that he hath.

Next to the Kingdome of *Astracan*, that is the farthest part Southeastward of the *Russe* Dominion, lyeth the *Shalcans*, and the Countrey of *Media*: whether the *Russe* Merchants trade for raw silkes, syndon, saphion, skins, and other commodi-

ties. The cheefe Townes of *Media* where the *Russe* tradeth, are *Derbent* (built by *Alexander* the great, as the Inhabitantes say) and *Zimachia*, where the staple is kept for rawe silkes. Their manner is (in the Spring time) to reuiue the silke-worms (that lye dead all the Winter) by laying them in the warme Sun, and to halten their quickning, that they may sooner goe to worke) to put them into bags, and so to hang the vnder their childrens armes. As for the Worme called *Chrimifin* (as wee call it *Chrymson*) that maketh coloured silke: it is bred not in *Media*, but in *Affrya*. This trade to *Derbent* & *Zimachia* for raw silkes and other commodities of that Countrey, as also into *Persia*, and *Baugharia*, downe the River *Volga*, and through the *Caspian* Sea, is permitted a swell to the English, as for the *Russe* Merchants, by the Emperors last Graunt, as appeareth. Which he accounteth for a very special fauour, and might proue indeed very beneficiall to all kinde of Merchants, if the trade were well and orderly vfed.

The whole Nation of the *Tartars*, are vterly void of all learnings, & without written Law: Yet certaine rules they haue, which they hold by tradition, common to all the *Hoards*; for the practise of their life. Which are of this sort.

First, To obey their Emperour and other Magistrates, whatsoever they command about the publike seruice.

2. Except for the publike behoofe, enery man to be free, and out of conuolment.

3. No private man to possesse any Lands, but the whole Countrey to be in common.

4. To neglect all dauntinesse and variety of meates, and to content themselves with that which commeth next to hand, for more hardnesse, and readinesse in the executing of their affaires.

5. To weare any base attire, and to patch their clothes, whether there be any neede or not: that when there is neede, it be no shame to weare a patche Coate.

6. To take, or steale from any stranger whatsoever they can get, as being enemies to all men, saue to such as will subiect themselves to them.

7. Towards their owne Hoard and Nation, to be true in word and deed.

8. To suffer no stranger to come within the Realm. If any do, shee shall come to be bond-slave to him.

Of reuiuing
the Silke-
wormes in
the Spring
time.The Tartars
haue no learn-
ing or writ-
ten Law.Orders and
obseruations
among them.

Eccc

him

Of the Per-
mians, Samoi-
tes, & Lappes.The Permi-
ans.

The Samoit

Indigenz or
beggars.The Samoit
religion.Slata Baba or
the golden
Hagge.The Obdo-
rian.

him that first taketh him, except such Mar-
chants, and other as haue the Tartar Bull, or
Passport from them.

The *Permians* and *Samoites*, that do lie
from *Russia*, North and Northeast, are
thought likewise to haue taken their be-
ginning from the *Tartar* kinde. And it
may partly be ghesied by the fashion of
their countenance, as hauing all broad
and flat faces, as the *Tartars* haue, except
the *Chirchasse*.

The *Permians* are accounted for a very
ancient people. They are now subiect
to the *Russe*. They liue by hunting, and
trading with their furs, as doth also the
Samoyt, that dwelleth more towards the
North Sea.

The *Samoyt* hath his name (as the *Russe*
saith) of eating himselfe: as in times past,
they liued as Cannibals, eating one an o-
ther. Which they make more probable,
because (at this time) they eat all kinde
of rawe flesh, whatsoever it be, even the
very carion that lyeth in the ditch. But
as the *Samoites* themselves will say, they
were called *Samoi*, that is of themselves,
as though they were *Indigena*, or poore
people bred vpon that very soile, that ne-
uer changed their seate from one place to
another, as most Nations haue done.
They are subiect, at this time, to the Em-
perour of *Russia*.

I talked with certine of them, & finde
that they acknowledge one God; but re-
present him by such things as they haue
most vse and good by. Therefore they do
worship, the Sunne, the Ollen, the Losh,
and such like. As for the storie of *Slata Ba-
ba*, or the *Golden Hagge*, (which I haue read
in some Maps and Descriptions of these
countries, to be an Idole, after the forme
of an old woman) that being demanded
by the Priest, giues them certaine oracles,
concerning the successe, and euent of
things; I found it to be but a very Fable.
Onely in the Prouince of *Obdaria*, vpon
the Sea side, neare to the mouth of the
great riuer *Obda*, there is a Rocke, which
naturally (being somewhat helped by
imagination) may seeme to beare the
shape of a ragged woman, with a child
in her armes (as the Rocke by the North
Cape the shape of a Fryer) where the *Ob-
dorian Samoit*es vse much to resort, by rea-
son of the commoditie of the place for
fishing: and there sometime (as their ma-

ner is) conceiue and practise their force-
ries, and ominous coniecturings, about
the good or the bad speede of their iour-
neys, fishings, huntings, and other such
like.

They are clad in Seale skins, with the
haire side outwards downe, as low as the
knees, with their breeches and neather-
stocks of the same, both men and women.
They are all black haired, naturally beard-
lesse. Therefore the men are hardly dis-
cerned from the women by their lookes,
saue that the women weare a locke of
haire downe along both their eares. They
liue (in a manner) a wilde and a savage life,
rouing still from one place of the countie
to another, without any propriety of house
or land, more to one then to an other.
Their leader or director in euery compa-
ny, is their *Papa* or Priest.

On the North side of *Russia* next vnto
Corelia, lyeth the Countrey of *Lappia*,
which reacheth in length from the far-
thest poynt Northward, (towards the
North Cape) to the farthest part South-
east (which the *Russe* calleth *Sweetnesse* or
Holy nose, the Englishmen *Cape Grace*)
about 345. verst or miles. From *Sweet-
nesse* to *Candelox* by the way of *Verlega*
(which meatureth the breadth of that
countrey) is 90 miles, or thereabouts. The
whole Countrey (in a manner) is eith-
er Lakes or Mountains, which towards the
Sea side are called *Tondra*, because they
are all of hard and craggy rocke, but the
in-land partes are well furnished with
woods growing vpon the hilles sides, the
Lakes lying betweene. Their dyet is very
bare and simple. Bread they haue none,
but feed onely vpon fish and towle. They
are subiect to the Emperour of *Russia*,
and the two Kings of *Sweden* and *Den-
marke*, which all exact tribute & custome
of them (as was said before) but the Em-
perour of *Russia* beareth the greater bur-
den, and exact of them farre more
then the rest. The opinion is that they
were first tearmed *Lappes*, of their briefe
and short speech. The *Russe* diuideth the
whole nation of the *Lappes* into two sorts.
The one they call *Norwemansky Lapy*,
that is, the *Norwegian Lappes*: because
they be of the *Danish* Religion. For the
Danes & *Norwegians* they account for one
people. The other that haue no Religi-
on at all, but liue as brute and Heathenish

The Samoit
habite and
behaviour.

The Lappe.

Their dyet
and feeding.Diuision of
the Lappes.

CHAP. IIII.

Fourthly, concerning Ecclesiasticall Of-
fices and Orders; The Rites and Sacraments
observed in the Moscouian Church: with
their Marriages and other Ceremonies be-
side.



Concerning the
government of
their Church, it
is framed alto-
gether after the
manner of the
Greeks, as being
a part of that

Church, and neuer acknowledging the
iurisdiction of the Latine Church, vsur-
ped by the Pope. That I may keepe the
better measure in describing their Cer-
emonies, then they in the vsing the (where-
in they are infinite) I will note briefly.

First, what Ecclesiasticall degrees, or
Offices they haue, with the iurisdiction &
practise of them.

Secondly, what doctrine they holde
in matter of Religion.

Thirdly, what Leiturgy, or forme of
seruice they vse in their Churches, with
the manner of their administering the Sa-
craments.

Fourthly, what other strange Cere-
monies, and superstitious deuotions are
vied among them.

Their Offices, or degrees of Church-
men, are as many in number, and the same
in a manner (both in name and degree)
that were in the Westerne Churches.
First they haue their *Patriarch*, then their
Metropolitans, their *Archbishops*, their *Pla-
dikey* or *Bishops*, their *Protopopes* or *Arch-
Priests*, their *Popes* or *Priests*, their *Dar-
cons*, *Fryars*, *Monks*, *Nuns*, and *Eremites*.

Their *Patriarch*, or chiefe director in
matter of religion vntill this last year, was
of the City of *Constantinople* (whom
they called the *Patriarch of Sio*) because,
being driven by the *Turke* out of *Constan-
tinople* (the seat of his Empire) he remo-
ued to the Isle *Sio*, sometimes called *Chio*,
and there placed his *Patriarchall* See. So
that the Emperors & Cleargy of *Russia*,
were wont yearly to send gifts thither,

E e e e 2 and

The Church
Officers.The Patri-
arch.The Lappe
vnde of all
Learning.The Lappes
giue or sell
windes.Their Wea-
pons.The Lappes
Ma son S. Pe-
ters day.

people, without God in the world, they
call *Dikey Lapy*, or the wilde *Lappes*.

The whole Nation is vterly vnlearn-
ed, hauing not so much as the vse of any
Alphabet, or Letter among them. For
practise of witchcraft and forcery, they
passe all Nations in the world. Though
for the enchanting of Ships that sayle a-
long their Coast (as I haue heard it re-
ported) and their giuing of windes, good
to their friends, and contrary vnto other,
whom they meane to hurt by tying of
certaine knots vpon a Rope (some what
like to the tale of *Aolus* his winde-bag) is
a very fable, deuised (as may seeme) by
themselues, to terrifie saylers for com-
ming neare their Coast. Their Wea-
pons are the long Bow, and hand-gonne,
wherein they excell, as well for quicknesse
to charge and discharge; as for nearnesse
at the marke, by reason of their continual
practise (whereunto they are forced) of
shooting at wilde Fowle.

Their manner is (in Summer time)
to come downe in great companies to
the sea side, to *Wardhusse*, *Cola*, *Regor*, &
the bay of *Vedagoba*, and there to fish for
Cod, Salmon, and But-fish, which they
sell to the *Russes*, *Danes*, and *Norwegians*,
and now of late to the English men, that
trade thither with cloth, which they ex-
change with the *Lappes* and *Corelians* for
their Fish, Oyle, & Furs, whereof also they
haue some store. They hold their *Mart* at
Cola on *S. Peters* day: what time the Cap-
taine of *wardhusse* (that is resident there
for the king of *Denmark*) must be present,
or at least send his deputy to set prices on
their stockfish, traine oile, furs, and other
commodities: as also the *Russe* Emperors
Customer, or tribute taker, to receiue his
custome, which is euery paid before any
thing can be bought or solde.

When their fishing is done, their
manner is, to draw their Carbasses, or
Boates on shore, and there to leaue them
with the keele turned vpwards, till the
next spring tide. Their trauaile too and
fro, is vpon sleds, drawne by the Ollen
Deere: which they vse to turne a grazing
all the Summer time, in an Island called
Kilden (of a very good soyle, compared
with other parts of that Countrey) and to-
wards the Winter time, when the Snow
beginneth to fall, they fetch them home
again, for the vse of their sledde.

and to acknowledge a spirituall kinde of homage, and subiection due to him, and to that Church. Which custome they haue held (as it seemeth) euer since they professed the Christian religion. Which how long it hath bene, I could not well learne, for that they haue no story or monument of Antiquity (that I could heare of) to shew what hath bene done in times past within their Countrey, concerning either Church or Commonwealth matters.

Onely I heard a report amongst them, that about three hundred yeares since, there was a marriage betwixt the Emperour of *Constantinople*, & the kings daughter of that Countrey: who (at the first) denied to ioyne his daughter in marriage with the Greeke Emperour, because he was of the Christian Religion. Which agreeth well with that which I find in the story of *Laonicus Chalcocondyles*, concerning Turkish affaires in his fourth booke: where he speaketh of such a marriage, betwixt *Iohn* the Greeke Emperour, and the Kings daughter of *Sarmatia*.

And this argueth (out of their own report) that at that time, they had not receyued the Christian Religion: As also, that they were conuerted to the faith, and withall peruerued at the very same time, receyuing the doctrine of the Gospel corrupted with superstitions euen at the very first, when they took it from the Greeke Church, which it selfe then was degenerate, and corrupted with many superstitions and fowle errors, both in Doctrine & Discipline: as may appeare by the storie of *Nicephorus Gregoras*, in his eight and ninth bookes.

But, as touching the time of their conuersion to the Christian faith, I suppose rather, that it is mistaken by the *Ruffe* story, that which I find in the *Polonian* story, the second Booke, the third chapter: where is sayde, that about the yeare 990. *Vladimir* Duke of *Russia*, married one *Anne*, sister to *Basilus* and *Constantinus* brothers, and Emperours of *Constantinople*. Whereupon the *Ruffe* receyued the Faith and profession of Christ. Which, though it be somewhat more ancient then the time noted before out of the *Ruffe* report; yet it falleth out all to one reckning, touching this point, vizin what truth and sincerity of doctrine the *Ruffe* receyued the first

stamp of religion: forasmuch as the Greeke church (at that time also) was many waies infected with error and superstition.

In the yeare 1588. came vnto the *Moscow* the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, or *Sio*, called *Hieronimo*, being banished (as I sayd) by the Turke, as some other reported, by the Greeke Clergy deputed. The Emperour being giuen altogether to superstitious deuotions, gaue him great entertainment. Before his coming vnto *Mosko*, he had bin in *Italy* with the Pope, as was reported there by some of his company. His errand was, to consult with the Emperour, concerning these points.

First, about a league to passe between him and the King of *Spaine*, as the meekest Prince to ioyne with him in opposition against the Turke. To which purpose also Ambassages had passed betwixt the *Ruffe* and the *Perfian*. Likewise from the *Georgians* to the Emperour of *Russia*, to ioyne league together, for the inuading of the Turke on all sides of his dominion: taking the aduantage of the simple quality of the Turke that then was. This treatie was helped forward by the Emperours Ambassador of *Almaigne*, sent at the same time to sollicite an inuasion on the partes of *Polonia*, that lyeth towards *Russland*, and to borrow money of the *Ruffe* Emperour, to pursue the warre for his brother *Maximilian* against the *Suedens* son, then King of *Poland*.

But this consultation concerning a league betwixt the *Ruffe* & the *Spaniard* (which was then in some forwardnesse, and already one appointed for Ambassage into *Spaine*) was defeated, by means of the ouerthrow giuen to the *Spaniard* king by her Maiesty, the Queen of *England* the last yeare before. Which made the *Ruffe* Emperour and his Counsell, to giue the sadder countenance to the English Ambassador there at that time: for that they were disappointed of so good a policy, as was this coniunction, supposed to be betwixt them and the *Spaniard*.

His second purpose (whereto the first serued as an introduction) was, in reuenge of the Turke and the Greeke Clergye, that hadde thrust him from his seate, to treat with him about the reducing of the *Ruffe* church vnder the Pope of *Rome*. Wherein it may seeme, that coming lately from *Rome*, hee was fetterpon by the

The translation of the Patriarch, from Constantinople or Sio to Mosko

The first intention.

An alliance betwixt the Ruffe & Perfians.

The second intention.

the Pope, who hath attempted the same many times before, though all in vaine: and namely in the time of the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich*, by one *Anthony* his Legate. But thought this (belike) a far better meane to obtaine his purpose, by treaty and mediation of their owne Patriarch. But this not succeeding, the Patriarch fell to a third point of treaty, concerning the resignation of his Patriarchship, and translation of the Sea from *Constantinople*, or *Sio*, to the City of *Mosko*. Which was so well liked, and entertained by the Emperour (as a matter of high religion and policy) that no other treaty (specially of forraign Ambassages) could be heard or regarded, till that matter was concluded.

The reasons wherewith the Patriarch perfwaded the translating of his Sea to the City of *Mosko*, were these in effect.

First, for that the Sea of the Patriarch was vnder the Turke, that is enemy to the faith: And therefore to be removed into some other Countrey of Christian profession.

Secondly, because the *Ruffe* Church was the onely naturall Daughter of the Greeke at this time, and holdeth the same Doctrine and Ceremonies with it: the rest being all subiect to the Turke, and fallen away fro the right profession. Wherein the subtil Greeke (to make the better market of his broken ware) aduanced the honour that would grow to the Emperour, and his Countrey: to haue the Patriarchs seate, translated into the chiefe City, and seate of his Empire. As for the right of translating the Sea, and appointing his successour; hee made no doubt of it, but that it pertained wholly vnto himselfe.

So the Emperour and his Counsell, with the principall of his Clergy, being assembled at the *Mosko*, it was determined, that the *Metropolitane* of *Mosko*, should become Patriarch of the whole Greeke Church, and haue the same full authority and iurisdiction, that pertained before to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, or *Sio*. And that it might be done with more order and solemnity, the 25. of January, 1588. the Greeke Patriarch, accompanied with the *Ruffe* Clergy, went vnto the great Church of *Precheste*, or our Lady, within the Emperours Castle (hauing first

wandered through the whole City in manner of a procession, and blessing the people with his two fingers) where he made an Oration, and deliuered his resignation in an instrument of writing, and to layd downe his Patriarchall staffe. Which was presently receiued by the *Metropolitane* of *Mosko*, & diuers other ceremonies vsed about the inauguration of this new Patriarch.

The day was holden very solemne by the people of the City, who were commanded to forbear their works, and to attend this solemnity. The great Patriarch that day was honored with rich presents sent him from the Emperour & Emperesse, of Plate, Cloth of Gold, Furs, &c. carried with great pompe through the streets of *Mosko*, and (at his departing) receiued many gifts more, both from the Emperour, Nobility, and Clergy. Thus the Patriarchship of *Constantinople*, or *Sio*, which hath continued since the Council of *Nice* is now translated vnto *Mosko*, or they made beleeue, that they haue a Patriarch, with the same right and authority that the other had. Wherein the subtle Greeke hath made good aduantage of their superstition, & is now gone away with a rich booty into *Poland*, whither their Patriarchship be currant or not.

The matter is not vnlke to make some Schisme betwixt the Greeke and *Ruffe* Church, if the *Ruffe* hold this Patriarchship that he hath so well payed for, & the Greekes elect another withall, as likely they wil, whither this man were banished by the Turke, or deputed by order of his owne Clergy. Which might happen to giue aduantage to the Pope, & to bring ouer the *Ruffe* Church to the Sea of *Rome* (to which ende peraduenture hee deuised this stratagem, and cast in this matter of Schisme among them) but that the Emperours of *Russia* knew well enough, (by the example of other Christian Princes) what inconuenience would grow to their State and Countrey, by subiecting themselves to the *Romish* Sea. To which ende, the late Emperour *Iuan Vasilowich* was very inquisitive of the Popes authority ouer the Princes of Christendome, and sent one of very purpose to *Rome*, to behold the order and behaviour of his Court.

With this Patriarch *Hieronimo* was driuen out (at the same time by the great

A solemne Holiday in Mosko.

An excuse matter to be perswaded.

A solemne great matter.

The Polonian history.

Demetrio
Archbishop
of Larissa ex-
cluded with
the Patriarch.

Turke) one *Demetrio*, Archbishop of *Larissa*: who went into *England*, and pretended the same cause of their banishment by the *Turke* (to wit) their not admitting of the Popes new Kalender, for the alteration of the year. Which, how unlikely it is, may appear by these circumstances.

Reasons of
good & great
likelihood.

First, because there is no such affection, nor friendly respect, betwixt the Pope and the *Turkes*; as that he should banish a subject, for not obeying the Popes ordinance, specially in a matter of some sequell, for the alteration of times within his owne Countries.

Secondly, for that he maketh no such scruple in deducting of times, and keeping of a iust and precise account from the incarnation of *Christ*: whom hee doth not acknowledge, otherwise then as I noted before.

Thirdly, for that the said Patriarch is now at *Naples* in *Italy*, whither (it may be guessed) he would not have gone within the Popes reach, and so neare to his nose, if he had been banished, for opposing himselfe against the Popes Decree.

The Patriarch
Iurisdiction.

This Office of Patriarchship now translated to *Mosko*, beareth a superior authority over all the Churches, not onely of *Russia*, and other the Emperors dominions; but throughout all the Churches of *Christendome*, that were before vnder the Patriarch of *Constantinople*, or *Sio*: or at least, the *Russe* Patriarch imagineth himselfe to haue the same authority. He hath vnder him (as his proper Diocesse) the Prouince of *Mosko*, besides other particulars. His Court or Office is kept at the *Mosko*.

The Metro-
polites.

Before the creation of this new Patriarch, they had but one *Metropolit*, that was called the *Metropolit* of *Mosko*. Now for more state to their Church, and new Patriarch; they haue two *Metropolites*, the one of *Novogrod* called, the other of *Rostow*. Their Office is, to receiue of the Patriarch, such Ecclesiasticall Orders, as he thinks good, & to deliuer the charge of the ouer to the Archbishops: besides the ordering of their owne Diocesse.

Archbishops.

Their Archbishops are foure: of *Smolensko*, *Casam*, *Polsko*, and *Pologda*. The parts of their Office is all one with the *Metropolites*: saue that they haue an vnder iurisdiction, as Suffraganes to the Metro-

polites, and superiors to the Bishops. The next are the *Pladikeis*, or Bishops, that are but fixe in all: of *Crutuska*, of *Resan*, of *Ofser*, and *Torshock*, of *Collo-menska*, of *Volodener*, of *Sudalla*. These haue every one a very large Diocesse: as diuiding the rest of the whole Country among them.

Bishops.

The matters pertaining to the Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, of the *Metropolites*, *Archbishops*, and *Bishops*, are the same (in a manner) that are vied by the *Clergie* in other parts of *Christendome*. For, besides their authority ouer the *Clergie*, and ordering such matters as are mere Ecclesiasticall; their iurisdiction extendeth to all testamentary causes, matters of marriage, and diuorcements, some pleas of iniuries, &c.

Ecclesiasticall
Iurisdiction.

To which purpose also they haue their Officials, or Commisaries (which they call *Batarsen* *Pladitsky*) that are Lay-men of the degree of *Dukes*, or *Gentlemen*, that keepe their Courts, and execute their iurisdiction. Which, besides their other opprobriations ouer the common people, raigne ouer the *Priests*: as the *Dukes* and *Diaks* do ouer the poore people, within their Precincts.

Their Gen-
tlemen, Com-
missaries.

As for the Archbishopspe or Bishop himselfe, he beareth no way in deciding those causes, that are brought into his Court. But if hee would moderate any matter, he must do it by entreaty with his Gentleman Officiall. The reason is, because these *Batarsky*, or *Gentlemen* officials, are not appointed by the Bishops, but by the Emperour himselfe, or his Council, and are to giue account of their doings to none but to them. If the Bishop can entreat (at his admission) to haue the choise of his owne Officiall, it is accounted for a speciall great fauour. But to speake it as it is, the *Clergie* of *Russia*, as well concerning their lands and reuenues, as their authority and iurisdiction; are altogether ordered and ouer-ruled by the Emperour, and his Council, and haue so much, and no more of both as their pleasure doth permit them.

The Emper-
our appoint-
eth the Gen-
tlemen Offi-
cials and not
the Arch-Bi-
shopp.

They haue also their assistants or feuerall Councils (as they call them) of certaine *Priests* that are of their Dioces, residing within their Cathedrall cities, to the number of foure & twenty a peece. These aduise with them, about the speciall and necessary

Auistance of
feuerall Coun-
cils.

The Church
reuenues.

necessary matters belonging vnto their charge.

Concerning their rents and reuenues to maintain their dignities, it is somewhat large. The Patriarches yearly rents out of his lands (besides other fees) is about three thousand Rubbels or Maikes. The *Metropolites* and *Archbishops*, about two thousand and five hundred. The *Bishops* some a thousand, some eight hundred, some five hundred, &c. They haue had some of them (as I haue heard say) ten or twelue thousand rubbels a year; as had the *Metropolit* of *Novograde*.

The habite of
their Clergie
men.

Their habite or apparrell (when they shew themselves in their Pontificalibus, after their solempnest manner) is a Miter on their heads, after the Popish fashion, with Pearle and precious stone, a Cope on their backs, commonly of Cloth of Gold, embroidered with Pearle, and a Crossers staffe in their hands, layed ouer all with plate of siluer double gilt, with a Croffe or Shepherds crook at the vpper end of it.

Their ordina-
ry habite.

Their ordinary habite otherwise, when they ride or go abroad, is a hood on their heads of blacke colour, that hangeth downe their backs, and standeth out like a Bongeace before. Their vpper garment (which they call *Reis*) is a gowne or Mantle of blacke Damaske, with many lisse or gardes of white Satin laid vpon it, euery gard about two fingers broad, and theye Crossers staffe carried before them. These followe after, blessing the people with their two forefingers, with a maruelous grace.

The election
of byshops

The election, and appointing of the *Byshops* and the rest, pertaineth wholly to the Emperour himselfe. They are chosen euier ouer of the Monasteries: so that there is no *Byshop*, *Archbishop*, nor *Metropolit*, but hath bene a *Monke*, or *Fryer* before. And (by that reason) they are, and must all bee unmarried men, for their vow of Chastity, when they were first shorne. When the Emperour hath appointed whom he thinketh good, hee is inuested in the Cathedrall Church of this Diocesse, with many ceremonies, much after the manner of the Popish inauguration. They haue also their *Deanes*, and their *Arch-deacons*.

The learning
and exercise
of the Russe
Clergie.

As for preaching the word of God, or any teaching, or exhorting such as are vn-

der them; they neither vse it, nor haue any skill of it: the whole *Clergie* being vtterly vnlearned, both for other knowledge, and in the worde of God. Onely their manner is twice every year, viz: the first of September (which is the first day of their year) and on *S. Iohn Baptists* day to make an ordinarie speech to the people, euery *Metropolit*, *Archbishop* and *Byshop* in his Cathedrall Church, to this or the like effect.

That if any be in malice toward his neighbor, he shall leave off his malice: If any haue thought of treason or rebellion against his Prince, he beware of such practise: If he haue not kept his fasts and Foyes, nor done his other duties to the holy church, he shall amend that fault, &c.

And this is a matter of forme with the vttered in as many words, and no more (in a manner) then I haue here set down. Yet the matter is done with that grace & solemnity, in a pulpit of purpose set vpe for this one Act; as if he wer to discourse at large of the whole substance of diuinity. At the *Mosko*, the Emperour himselfe is euier present at this solempne exhortation.

As themselves are voyde of all manner of learning, so they are wane to keepe out all means that might bring any in: as fearing to haue their ignorance and vngodlinesse discovered. To that purpose they haue perwarded the Emperours, that it would breed inuouation, and so daunger to their State, to haue any nouelty of learning come within the Realme. Wherein they say but truth, for that a man of spirit and vnderstanding, holpen by Learning and liberal education, can hardly endure a tyrannicall government.

Some yeares past, in the other Emperours time, there came a *Presse* & *Letters* out of *Polonia*, to the City of *Mosko*, where a *Printing-houise* was set vp, with great liking and allowance of the Emperour himselfe. But not long after, the house was set on fire in the night time, & the *Presse* and *Letters* quite burnt vp, and (as it was thought) by the procurement of the *Clergie* men.

Their *Priests*, whome they call *Papases* are made by the *Byshops*, without any great trial for worthinesse of gifts; before they admit them, or ceremonies in their admission: saue that their heads are shorn

The first day
of the year.

The Priests
fearfull to
haue their ig-
norance dis-
couered.

Learning can
hardly lue vn-
der tyranny.

A Printing
houise erected
in Mosko.

Priests not
made for me-
rit or worthi-
nesse, and the
manner how.

(not shauen, for that they like not) about an hand bredth or more in the Crowne, and that place annoiued with Oyle by the Byshop: who in his admission putteth vpon the Priest, first his Surplese; and then setteth a white crosse on his brest of silke, or some other matter, which hee is to weare eight dayes, and no more: and so giueth him authority to say and sing in the Church, and to administer the Sacraments.

They are men vtterly vnlearned, which is no maruell, forasmuch as their makers, the Byshoppes themselues (as before was sayde) are cleere of that qualitie, & make no farther vse at all of any kinde of Learning, no not of the Scriptures themselues, saue to reade and to sing them. Their ordinary charge and function, is to say the Liturgie, to administer the Sacraments after their manner, to keepe & decke their Idols, and to doe the other Ceremonies vsuall in their Churches. Their number is great, because their Townes are parted into many small Parishes, without any discretion, for deuiding them into competent numbers of households, and people for a iust Congregation: as the manner in all places where the meanes is neglected, for increasing of knowledge, and instruction towards God. Which cannot well be had, where by means of an vnequall partition of the people, and parishes, there followeth a want and vnequality of stipend, for a sufficient Ministry.

For their Priests, it is lawfull to marry for the first time. But if the first Wife dye, a second he cannot take, but he must lose his Priesthood, and his liuing withal. The reason, they make out of that place of Saint Paul to Timothy, 1.3.2. not well vnderstood, thinking that to bee spoken of diuers wiues successively, that the Apostle speaketh of alone and the same time. If he will needes marry againe after his first Wife is dead, hee is no longer called *Papa*, but *Rospapa*, or Priest *Quondam*. This maketh the Priests to make much of their Wiues, who are accounted as the Matrones, and of best reputation, among the Women of the Parish.

For the stipend of the Priest, their manner is not to pay him any tenths of come, or ought else: but hee must stand at the

devotion of the people of his owne Parish, and make vp the Incomes towards his maintenance, so well as he can, by offerings, shrifts, marriages, burials, dirges, and prayers for the dead and the liuing (which they call *Moluita*.) For, besides their publike seruice within their Churches, their manner is, for euery private man to haue a prayer saide for him by the Priest, vpon any occasion of businesse whatsoeuer, whether he ride, goe, sayle, plough, or whatsoeuer else hee doeth. Which is not framed according to the occasion of his businesse, but at random, being some of their ordinary and vsuall Church prayers. And this is thought to be more holy and effectuall, if it be repeated by the Priests mouth, rather then by his owne.

They haue a custome besides to solemnize the Saints day, that is Patron to their Church once euery yeare. What time all their neighbours of their Country, & parishes about, come in to haue prayers saide to that Saint, for themselves, and their friends: and so make an Offering to the Priest for his paines.

This Offering may yeeld them some ten poundes a yeare, more or lesse, as the Patron or Saint of that Church is of credit and estimation among them. The manner is on this day (which they keepe anniuersary for the Priest) to hyre diuers of his neighbour Priests to helpe him: as hauing more Duties to dresse for the Saint, then hee can well turne his hand vnto.

They vse besides to visite their parishoners houses, with holy Water, and Per-fume, commonly once a quarter: and so hauing sprinkled and besented the good man and his Wife, with the rest of their household and household-stuffe, they receyue some deuotion (more or lesse) as the man is of ability. This and the rest laid together, may make vp for the Priest towards his maintenance, about thirtie or fourty Rubbels a yeare: whereof he payeth the tenth part to the Byshoppe of the Diocese.

The *Papa* or Priest is knowne by his long tuts of hayre, hanging down by his eares, his gowne with a broad Cape, and a walking staffe in his hand. For the rest of his habite, he is apparelled like to the common fort. When he saith the Litur-

Prayers for
euery private
man.

Solemnizing
the Saints day
of the Church.

The manner
of keeping
the Priestess
Annuiersary.

The Priestess
maintenance.

The Priestess
attire, & how
he is knowne.

Black Priests
but keeping
of Benefices.

A Deacon or
parish Clerk,
Protopapae.

Friers an in-
finite company
in the Coun-
try, and at
many super-
stitutions.

Friers liue
safest from
oppression &
taxation im-
posed on the
Commons.

The Mona-
stie is as a
sanctuary for
offences com-
mitted.

gie or seruice, within the Church, he hath on him his Surplese, and sometimes his Cope, if the day be more solemne. They haue besides their *Papae* or priests, they *Churnapapae* (as they call them) that is, *Blacke Priests*; that may keepe their benefices, though they bee admitted Friars withall within some Monasterie. They seeme to be the very same, that were called Regular Priests in the Popish Church. Vnder the Priest, is a Deacon in euery Church, that doth nothing but the office of a Parish Clarke. As for their *Protopapae*, or Arch-priests, and their Arch-deacons (that are next in election to bee their *Protopapae*) they serue only in the Cathedral Churches.

Of Friars they haue an infinite rabble, farre greater then in any other Country, where Popery is professed. Euery Citie, and good part of the Country, swarmeth full of them. For they haue wrought (as the Popish Friars did by their superstition and hypocrisie) that if any part of the Realme be better and sweeter then others; there standeth a Friery or a Monasterie, dedicated to some Saint.

The number of them is so much the greater, not only for that it is augmented by the superstition of the country; but because the Friars life is the safest from the oppressions and exactions which fall vpon the Commons. Which causeth many to put on the Friars weede, as the best Armour to beare off such blowes. Besides such as are voluntary, there are diuers that are forced to sheare themselves Friars, vpon some displeasure. These are for the most part of the cheefe Nobility.

Diuers take the Monasteries as a place of Sanctuary, and there become Friars, to avoid some punishment, that they had deserved by the lawes of the realme. For if he get a Monastery ouer his head, and there put on a Coule before hee be attached, it is a protection to him for euery against any Law, for what crime soeuer: except it be for treason. But this *Prouifio* goeth withall, that no man commeth there (except such as are commanded by the Emperour to be receyued) but he giueth them Lands, or bringeth his stocke with him, and putteth it into the common Treasury. Some bring a thousand Rubbels, and some more. None is admitted

vnder three or foure hundred.

The manner of their admission is after this sort. First, the Abbot strippeth him of all his secular or ordinary Apparell. Then he putteth vpon him next vnto his skinn, a white Flannell shirt, with a long garment ouer it downe vnto the ground, girded to him with a broad leather belt. His vppermost Garment is a Weede of *Garras* or Say, for colour and fision, much like to the vpper weed of a Chimney-sweeper. Then is crowne shorne a hand bredth, or more, close to the vertic skin, and these or the like words are pronounced by the Abbot, while hee clipeth his haire.

As these haire are clipped off, and taken from thy head: so now wee take thee, and separate thee cleane from the world and worldly things, &c.

This done, he annoiueteth his crowne with oyle, and putteth on his Coule: and fo taketh him in among the Fraternitie. They vow perpetuall chastity, and abstinence from flesh.

Besides their Landes (that are verie great) they are the greatest Marchants in the whole Country, and deale for all manner of commodities. Some of their Monasteries dispend in Lands one thousand, or two thousand Rubbels a yeare. There is one Abbey called *Troits*, that hath in lands and tees, the summe of an hundred thousand Rubbels, or markes a yeare.

It is built in manner of a Castle, walled round about with great Ordinance planted on the Wall, and containeth within it a large bredth of ground, and great variety of building. There are of Friars within it (besides their Officers and other seruants) about seven hundred. The Emperesse that then was, had many Vowes to Saint *Sergius*, that is patron there: to intreat him to make her fruitfull, as hauing no children by the Emperour her Husband. Lightly (euery yeare) she went on Pilgrimage to him from the *Mosko*, on foote, about foure score ordinary miles, with five or sixe thousand women attending vpon her, all in blew Liueries, and foure thousand souldiers for her Guard. But *S. Sergius* hath not yet heard her prayers, though (they say) hee hath a speciall gift and faculty that way.

What Learning there is among they

Their maner
of shearing
Friars.

The Abbots
worde as a
Friars admi-
sion.

Friers the
greatest Mar-
chants in the
Country.

A warlike
Abbey.

The Saint
to make women
fruitfull in
Children.

The Emper-
esse going on
pilgrimage.

Their vsuall
charge and
function.

Partition of
their townes
into parishes.

The Russe
priests can
marry but
once.

The Queen
dams Priests.

Stipends al-
lotted to the
Priests.

The Fryars
learning an-
swerable to
their Bishops

Questions &
answers be-
tweene the
Author & a
Ruffe priest.

Fryars, may be known by their Byshops, that are the choise men out of all their Monasteries. I talked with one of them at the City of *Pologda*, where (to trie his skill, I offered him a *Ruffe* Testament, and turned him to the first chap. of *S. Mathew's* Gospell. Where he began to read in very good order.

I asked him first, What part of Scripture it was that he had read? Hee answered, that he could not well tell. How many Euangelists there were in the New Testament? He saide he knew not. How many Apostles there were? Hee thought there were twelue. How he should be faued? Whereunto he answered me (with a peece of *Ruffe* Doctrine) that hee knew not whether hee should be faued, or no: But if God wold *Postbaptize* him, or gratifie him so much, as to saue him, so it was; he would be glad of it: if not, what remedy? I asked him. Why he shoud him selfe a Fryer? Hee answered, because hee would eate his bread in quietnesse and peace.

This is the learning of the Fryars of *Russia*, which though it be not to be measured by one, yet partly it may be gessed (by the ignorance of this man) what is in the rest.

Nunneries of
Noblemen
Widdowes &
daughters,
and none also
to be admit-
ted there.

They haue also very many Nunneries, whereof some may admit none but Noblemen's Widdowes and Daughters, when the Emperour meaneth to keepe them vnmarried, from continuing the blood or stocke, which hee would haue extinguished. To speak of the life of their Fryers and Nunnes, it needs not, to those that know the hypocrisie and vncleanesse of that Cloyster-broode. The *Ruffe* himselfe (though otherwise addicted to all superstition) speaketh so fowly of it, that it must needs gain silence of any modest man.

Eremites cal-
led boy-men,
like to Gym-
nosophytes.

Besides these, they haue certaine Eremites (whome they call Holy men) that are like to those Gymnosophytes for their life and behauiour: though farre vnlike for their knowledge and Learning. They vse to goe stark naked, faue a clowte about their middle, with their hayre hanging long and wildly about their shoulders, and many of them with an iron collar, or chaine about their neckes or middle, euen in the very extremity of Winter.

These they take as Prophets, and men of great holinesse, giuing them a libertie to speake what they list, without any controulment, though it be of the very highest himselfe. So that if he reprove any openly, in what sort focuer; they answer nothing, but that it is *Pogracum*, that is, for their finnes. And if any of them take some peece of sale ware from any mans shop, as he passeth by, to giue where hee list; hee thinketh himselfe much beloued of God, and much beholding to the holy man, for taking it in that sort.

Prophets and
men of great
sanctity.

Of this kinde there are not many, because it is a very hard and cold profession, to goe naked in *Russia*, especially in winter. Among other at this time, they haue one at *Mosko*, that walketh naked about the Streetes, and inuayeth commonly, against the State and Government, especially against the *Godmothers*, that are thought at this time, to bee great Oppressors of that Common-wealth.

An Eremit
now living in
Russia.

Another there was, that died not many yeares agoe (whom they called *Bafileo*) that would take vpon him to reprove the olde Emperour for all his cruelty, and oppressions done towards his people. His body they haue translated (of late) into a sumptuous Church, neere the Emperors house in *Mosko*, & haue Canonized him for a Saint. Many miracles he doth there (for so the Fryers make the people to beleene) and many Offerings are made vnto him, not only by the people, but by the cheefe Nobility, and the Emperour & Emperesse themselves, which visite that Church with great deuotion.

Bafileo the
Eremit

But at my being at *Mosko*, this Saint had ill lucke in working his miracles. For a lame man, that had his limbes restored (as it was pretended by him) was charged by a woman that was familiar with him (being then false out) that he halted but in the day time, and could leape merrily when he came home at night. And that he had intended this matter six yeares before.

Offerings to
a dead sup-
posed Saint.

Now he is put into a Monasterie, and there raileth vpon the Fryers, that theyred him to haue this counterfeyte myracle practised vpon him. Besides this disgrace, a little before my coming from thence, there were eight flaine within his Church, by fire in a Thunder. Which caused his bels (that were ringing before

A myrra-
cle wrought.

all

Nichola the
Eremit of
great estima-
tion.

Presents be-
tweene the
Emperour and
an Eremit.

Lawful re-
pro or finde
faute.

Of their Li-
turgy or form
of Church
seruice, and
their manner
of administ-
ring the
Sacraments.

all day and night long, as in triumphe of the myracles wrought by *Bafileo* their S. J. to ring for what foitly; and hath wrought no little discredit vnto this Miracle worker.

There was another of great account at *Plesko* (called *Nichola* of *Plesko*) that did much good, when this Emperors Father came to sacke the Towne, vpon suspicion of their reuolting and rebellion against him. The Emperour, after he had saluted the Eremit, at his lodging, sent him a reward. And the Holy man, to requite the Emperour, sent him a peece of raw flesh, being then their Lent. Which the Emperour seeing, bid one to tel him, that hee marvelled, that the Holye man would offer him flesh to eat in the Lent, when it was forbidden by order of holie Church. And doth *Enasko* (which is as much to say as lacke) thinke (quoth *Nicola*) that it is vnlawfull to eat a peece of beafts flesh in Lent, & not to este up so much mans flesh, as he hath done already?

So, threatening the Emperour, with a prophesie of some harde aduenture to come vpon him, except hee left murthering of his people, and departing from the Towne, hee saued a great many mens lues at that time.

This maketh the people to like very well of them, because they are as *Papists* to note their great mens fautes, that no man else dare speake of. Yet it falleth out sometime, that for this rude liberty which they take vpon them (after a counterfeyte manner) by imitation of Prophets, they are made away in secret: as was one or two of them, in the last Emperours time, for being ouer-bolde in speaking against his government.

Their morning seruice they call *Zaustana*, that is, Mattins. It is done in this order.

The Priest entereth into the Church, with his Deacon following him. And, when hee is come vnto the middle of the Church, hee beginneth to say with a lowd voyce: *Blaslauey Vladika*, that is, *Blesse vs heavenly Pastor*, meaning of Christ. Then he addeth, *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the holy Ghost, one very God in Trinity: and Apody Pomeley*, Or, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs, Lord haue mercie vpon vs, Lord haue mercy vpon vs*, repeated three times.

This done, he marcheth on toward the Chancell or *Sanctum Sanctorum* (as they vse to call it) and so entereth into the *Scharfuey Dnere*, or the heavenly doore: which no man may enter into, but the Priest only. Where standing at the Altare or Table (set neere to the vpper wall of the Chancell) hee sayeth the Lordes prayer, and then againe *Apody Pomeley*, or *Lord haue mercy vpon vs, Lord haue mercie vpon vs, &c.* pronounced twelue times. Then prayed be the Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the holy Ghost, for ever and ever. Next after, the Priest addeth the Psalmes for that day, and beginneth with, *O come let vs worship and fall down before the Lord &c.* and therewithall himselfe, with the Deacons, and people, all turn themselves towards their Idols or Images that hang on the Wall, and (crossing themselves) bow downe three times, knocking their heads to the very ground. After this, hee readeth the ten Commandements; and *Athanasius* Creede, out of the Service booke.

The heavenly
doore, for none
to enter but
the priest,

Worship to
their Idols
and Images.

This being done, the Deacon that standeth without the heavenly doore or Chancell, readeth a peece of a Legend, out of a Written Booke (for they haue it not in Print) of some Saints life, Miracles, &c. This is diuided into many parts, for every day in the yeare, and is read by them with a plaine singing Note, not vnlike to the Popish Tune, when they sung their Gospels.

After all this (which reacheth vnto an houre, and an halfe, or two howers of length) he addeth certaine set Collectes, or prayers vpon that which he hath read out of the Legend before: and so endeth his Service. All this while stande burning before their Idols, a great many of Wax Candles (whereof some are of the biggenesse of a mans waste) vowed, or enjoyed by penance, vpon the people of the Parish.

About nine of the clocke in the Morning, they haue another Service, called *Obeiana* (or Compline) much after the order of the Popish Service, that bare that name. If it be some high or Festiual day, they furnish their Service besides, With *Blesed be the Lord God of Israel &c.* and *We praise thee, O God &c.* sung with a more solemn and curious note.

Nine a clocke
seruice in the
morning.

Their

Their euen-
ing Service.

Their Evening Service, called *Vecherna*, where the Priest beginneth with *Blissay Vlasika*, as hee did in the morning, and with the Psalmes appoynted for the *Vecherna*. Which being read, he singeth, *My soule doth magnifie the Lord, &c.* And then the Priest, Deacons, and People, all with one voyce sing, *Alpody pomelui*, or *Lord haue mercy vpon vs*, thirty times together. Whereunto the boyes that are in the Church, answer all with one voice, rowling it vp so fast, as their lips can goe; *Verij, Verij, Verij, Verij*, or *Praise, Praise, Praise, &c.* thirty times together, with a very strange noyse. Then is read by the Priest, and vpon the Holy-dayes sung the first Psalm, *Blessed is the man, &c.* And in the end of it, is added, *Alleluia*, repeated ten times.

Thenext in order, is some part of the Gospel read by the Priest, which he ends with *Alleluia*, repeated three times. And so having said a Collect in remembrance of the Saint of that day, he ends his evening Service.

All this while, the Priest stands above at the Altare or high Table, within the Chancel, or *Sanctum Sanctorum*, whence hee neuer moueth all the Service time. The Deacon or Deacons (which are many in their Cathedrall Churches) stand without the Chancel by the *Scharfuey Dvners*, or heavenly dore: for within they may not be seene all the Service time, though otherwise their office is to sweep, and keepe it, and to set vp the waxe candles before their Idoles. The people do stand together (the whole Service time) in the Church, and some in the Church porch: for Piew or Seate they haue none within their Churches.

The Sacrament of Baptisme they administer after this manner: The child is brought to the Church (and this is done within eight dayes after it is borne:) If it be the child of some Noble man, it is brought in a rich Sled or Waggon, with chaires and cushions of cloath of Golde, and such like sumptuous shew of their best furniture. When they are come to the Church, the Priest standeth readie to receiue the child within the Church-porch, with his tub of water by him. And then beginneth to declare vnto them, that they haue brought a little Infidell to be made a Christian, &c. This ended, he

teacheth the witness, that are two or three, in a certayne set forme out of his Booke (what their duty is,) in bringing vp the child after he is baptized, viz. That hee must bee taught to know God, and Christ our Saviour. And because God is of great Maiestie, and we must not presume to come vnto him, without Mediators (as the manner is when we make any suite to an Emperour, or great Prince) therefore they must teach him what Saints are the belis, and chiefe mediators, &c. This done, he commaundeth the diuell in the name of God (after a conspiring manner) to come out of the water: and so after certaine prayers, he plungeth the child ouer head and eares. For this they holde to be a poynt very necessary, that no part of the child be left vndipped into the water.

The words that beare with them the forme of Baptisme, vnticed by the Priest, when he dippeth in the child, are the very same that are prescribed in the Gospel, and viced by vs, that is, *In the name of the Father, and of the Sonne, and of the Ghost*. For that they should alter the forme of the words, and say, *by the holy Ghost*, as I haue heard they did, following certaine heretikes of the Greeke Church, I found to be untrue, as well by the report of them that haue bene often at their Baptismes, as by their Booke of *Leiturgie* it selfe, wherein the order of Baptisme is precisely set downe.

When the child is baptized, the Priest layeth Oyle and Salt tempered together vpon the fore-head, and both the sides of his face, and then vpon his mouth, drawing it along with his finger ouer the child's lippes (as did the Popish Priests) saying withall, certaine prayers, to this effect: That God will make him a good Christian, &c. All this is doone in the Church porch.

Then is the child (as being now made a Christian, & meet to be receiued within the Church doore) carried into the Church, the Priest going before, and is there presented to the chiefe Idoll of the Church, being layd on a cushion before the feet of the Image, by it (as by the mediator) to be commended vnto God. If the child be sicke, or weake (specially in the Winter) they vse to make the water luke warme. After Baptisme, the maner

Instructions
given by the
priest to the
witnesses.

The Priest
words at the
dipping the
child in the
water.

Other cere-
monies after
Baptisme.

is

is to cut off the haire from the child's head and haining wrapped it within a peece of wax, to lay it vp, as a relike or monument in a secret place of the Church.

This is the manner of their Baptisme, which they account to be the best & perfectest forme. As they do all other parts of their religion, receiued (as they say) by tradition from the best church, meaning the Greeke. And therefore they will take great paines to make a Profelitte or Conuert, either of an Infidell, or of a forraign Christian, by rebaptizing him after the Russe manner.

When they take any Tartar prisoner, commonly they will offer him life, with condition to be baptized. And yet they perswade very fewe of them to redeme their life so: because of the natural hatred the Tartar beareth to the Russe, and the opinion he hath of his falshood and iniustice. The yeare after *Mosko* was fired by the *Chrim Tartar*, there was taken a *Dionysius*, one of the chiefe in that exploit, with 300. Tartars more: who had all their liues offered them, if they would be baptized after the Russe manner. Which they all refused to do, with many reproches against those that perswaded them. And so being carried to the riuer *Mosko*, (that runneth thorough the City) they were all baptized after a violent manner: being thrust downe with a knocke on the head into the water, through an hole made in the Ice for that purpose.

Of *Lieslanders* that are Captiues, there are many that take on them this second Russe baptisme, to get more libertie, and some what besides towards their liuing, which the Emperour ordinarily vseth to giue them. Of Englishmen (since they frequented the country) there was neuer any found, that so much forgot God, his faith, and country, as that he would be content to be baptized Russe, for any respect of feare, preferment, or other means whatsoever: save onely *Nichard Relph*, that following before an vngodly Trade, by keeping a *Caback* (against the order of the country) and being putte off from that Trade, and spoiled by the Emperours Officers of that which he hadde, entered himselfe into the Russe profession, and so was rebaptized, liuing now as much an Idolater, as before he was a rioter and vnthrifty person.

Such as thus receiue the Russe baptism, are first caried into some Monastery, to be instructed there in the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church. Where they vse these ceremonies.

First, they put him into a new & fresh suite of apparrell, made of the Russe fashion, and set a Coronet, or (in Sommer) a garland vpon his head.

Then they annoint his head with oile, & put a wax candle light into his hand: & so pray ouer him foure times a day, the space of vii. daies. All this while hee is to abstaine from flesh and white meats.

The seuen dayes being ended, he is purified and washed in a Bath-stoue, and so the eighth day he is brought to the church, where he is taught (by the Friars) how to behaue himself in presence of their idols; by ducking down, knocking of the head, crossing himselfe, and such like gestures, which are the greatest part of the Russe religion.

The Sacrament of the Lords Supper, they receiue but once a year, in their great Lent time, a little before Easter. Three at the most are admitted at one time, and neuer aboue. The manner of their communicating is thus. First, they do confesse themselves of all their sins, to the Priest (whome they call their ghostly Father.) Then they come to the Church, and are called vp to the Communion table, that standeth like an Altar, a little remooued from the vpper end of the Church, after the Dutch manner.

Heere first they are asked of the Priest, whether they be clean, or no: that is, whether they haue neuer a sinne behinde that they left vnconfessed. If they answer, *No*, they are taken to the table. Where the Priest beginneth with certain viduall prayers, the Communicants standing in the meane while with their armes folded one within another, like penitentiaries, or mourners. When these prayers are ended, the Priest taketh a spoone, and filleth it full of Claret Wine. Then he putteth into it a small peece of bread, and tempereth them both together, and so deliuereth them in the Spoon to the Communicants, that stand in order, speaking the viduall words of the Sacrament, *Eate this, &c. Drink this, &c.* both at one time without any pause.

After that, hee deliuereth them againe
F fff bread

Of such as receive the Russe baptism, what ceremonies are viced to them.

The admitting of the Lords Supper

The Deacons
office or service.

The manner
of the Russe
Baptisme.

Profelittes or
Conuertes from
infidelity.

300. Tartars
that would not
be baptized.

Rebaptizing
of Lieslanders.

An English-
man rebaptized
after the
Russe manner

bread by it selfe, and then wine carded together with a little warme water, to represent blood more rightly (as they thinke) and the water wishall, that flowed out of the side of Christ. Whiles this is in doing, the Communicants vnfolde their armes. And then folding them againe, follow the Priest thrice round about the Communion Table, and so returne to their places againe. Where hauing faide certaine other prayers, hee dismisseth the Communicants, with charge to be merry, and to cheere vp themselves for the fewen dayes next following. Which being ended, he enioyneth them to fast for it as long time after. Which they vnto observe with very great deuotion, eating nothing else but bread and salt, except a little cabbage, and some other heare or roore, with water or quasse mead for their drinke.

This is their manner of administering the Sacraments. Wherein what they differ from the institution of Christ, and what ceremonies they have added of their owne, or rather borrowed of the Greekes, may easily be noted.

Their cheefe errors in matter of faith, I finde to be these.

First concerning the word of God it selfe, they will not reade publicly certain Bookes of the Canonickall Scripture, as the Bookes of *Moses*; specially the foure last, *Exodus*, *Leuiticus*, *Numeri*, and *Deuteronomie*, which they say are all made disauthenticke, and put out of vse by the coming of Christ; as not able to discern the difference betwixt the Morall, and the Ceremoniall law.

The Bookes of the Prophets they allow of, but reade them not publicly in their Churches, for the same reason; because they wer but directers vnto Christ, and proper (as they say) to the Nation of the Iewes. Onely the booke of *Psalmes* they haue in great estimation, and sing & say them daily in their Churches.

Of the new Testament they allow, and reade all except the Revelation: which therefore they read not (though they allow it) because they vnderstand it not, neither haue the like occasion, to know the fulfilling of the propheties contained within it, concerning especially the Apostasie of the Antichristian Church, as haue the Westerne Churches. Norwith-

standing they haue had their Antichristes of the Greek Church, and may find their own falling off, and the punishments for it (by the Turkish inuasion) in the propheties of that Booke.

Secondly (which is the fountain of the rest of all their corruptions both in Doctrine and Ceremonies) they holde with the Papists, that their Church Traditions are of equall authority with the written word of God. Wherein they prefer them selues before other Churches: affirming, that they haue the true and right traditions, deliuered by the Apostles to the Greek Church, and so vnto them.

3. That the Church (meaning the Greeke, and specially the Patriarch & his Synod, as the head of the rest) haue a soveraigne authority to interpret the scriptures, and that all are bound, to hold that interpretation as sound and authenticke.

4. Concerning the diuine Nature, and the three persons, in the one substance of God, that the Holy ghost proceedeth from the Father onely, and not from the Sonne.

5. About the office of Christ, they hold many fowle errors, and the same (almost) as doth the Popish Church; namely, that he is their sole Mediator of redemption, but not of intercession.

Their cheefe reason (if they be talked withall) for defence of this error, is, that vnapt and foolish comparison, betwene God and a Monarch or Prince of this world, that must be sued vnto by Mediators about him: wherein they giue special preferment to some aboue others, as to the blessed Virgin, whom they call *Preche-ster*, or vndeified: & *S. Nicolas*, whom they call *Scorapomnick*, or the *Speedy helper*, & say, that he hath 300. Angels of the cheefe, appointed by God to attend on him. This hath brought them to an horrible excess of idolatry, after the grossest and prophane manner; giuing vnto their Images, all Religious worship of Prayer, Thanksgiuing, Offerings, and Adoration, with prostrating and knocking their heads to the ground before them, as to God himselfe. Which because they doo to the picture, not to the portraiture of the Saint, they say they worship not an Idol, but the Saint in his image, & so offend not God. Forgetting the commendment of God, that forbiddeth to make the image

1. Traditions of the holy scripture

3. The church to haue soveraigne authority in interpreting the Scriptures.

4. The holy Ghost to proceed from the Father onely.

5. Christ not sole mediator of intercession.

An idle comparison of God, vnto a Prince of this world.

S. Nicolas the speedy helper

A vaine excusing palpable idolatry.

image or likenesse of any thing, for any religious worshipp or vse whatsoever. Their Church walles are very full of them, richly hangd and set forth with Pearle & stone vpon the smooth Table. Though some also they haue embossed, that sticke from the boord almost an inch outwards. They call them *Chudoudites*, or their miracle workers: and when they provide the to set vp in their churches, in no case they may say that they haue bought the image but exchanged money for it.

6. For the meanes of Iustification, they agree with the Papistes, that it is not by faith onely, apprehending Christ, but by their workes also. And that *Opus operatum* or the worke for the worke sake, must needs please God. And therefore they are all in their numbers of Prayers, Fastes, Vowes, and offerings to Saints, Almshouses, Crossings, and such like, and carrie their numbering beads about with them continually; as well the Emperor and his Nobility, as the common people, not onely in the Church, but in all other public places, specially at any set or solemne meeting, as in their Fasts, Law Courtes, common consultations, entertainment of Ambassadors, and such like.

7. They say (with the Papistes) that no man can be assured of his saluation, till the last sentence be passed at the day of judgment.

8. They vse Auricular confession, and thinke that they are purged (by the verie action) from so many sins as they confesse by name, and in particular to the Priest.

9. They do hold three Sacraments, of *Baptisme*, the *Lords Supper*, and the last anoynting or unction. Yet concerning their Sacrament of extreame Vnction, they hold it not so necessary to saluation, as they doe Baptisme; but thinke it a great curse and punishment of God, if any dye without it.

10. They thinke there is a necessitie of Baptisme, and that all are condemned that dye without it.

11. They rebaptize as many Christians (not being of the Greeke church) as they conuert to their Russe profession: because they are diuided from the true Church, which is the Greeke, as they say.

12. They make a difference of meates and drinckes, accounting the vse of one, to be more holy then of another. And there-

fore in their set fasts, they forbear to eat flesh, and white meates (as we call them) after the manner of the Popish superstition: which they observe so strictly, and with such blind deuotion, as that they will rather die, then eat one bit of flesh, egges or such like, for the health of their bodies in their extreme sicknesse.

13. They hold marriage to be vnlawful for all the Clergy men, except the Priests only, and for them also after the first wife (as was said before.) Neither do they well allowe of it in Lay-men after the second marriage. Which is a pretence now vied against the Emperours onely brother, a child of six yeares old: Who therefore is not prayed for in their Churches, as their maner is otherwise for the Princes blood, because he was borne of the first marriage, and so not legitimate. This charge was giuen to the Priests by the Emperor himself, by procurement of the *Godones*: who make him beleue, that it is a good policy, to turne away the liking of the people from the next successor.

Many other false opinions they haue in matter of Religion. But these are the chiefe, which they hold partly by meanes of their traditions (which they haue received from the Greeke Church) but specially by ignorance of the holy Scriptures. Which notwithstanding they haue in the Polonian toong (that is at one with theirs, some few words only excepted) yet few of them read them with that godly care which they ought; to doe: neyther haue they (if they would) bookes sufficient of the Olde and New Testament for the common people, but of their Leiturgie onely, or Booke of common Service, whereof there are very great numbers.

All this mischeefe cometh from the Clergie, who being ignorant and godlesse themselves, are exceedingly warie, to keepe the people (likewise) in their ignorance and blindness, for they liuing and bellies sake: partly also from their manner of Governement selected among them: which the Emperours (whom it specially behooueth) like not to haue changed by any inuocation, but to retaine that Religion that best agreeth with it. Which notwithstanding it is not to be doubted, but that hauing the word of God in some sort (though with-

13. Marriage for some persons vnlawful

An ill persuasion in priests

The Polonian tongue differ very little.

The Clergie cause of all ignorance,

Bread and salt the Russian fast.

Of the Doctrine of the Russe church, and what error it holdeth.

How they allow of the new Testament.

Apostasie of the Antichristian Church.

Miracle workers.

6. Iustification by workes.

7. Saluation vn certaine.

8. Auricular confession.

9. Three Sacraments.

10. Aldamned that dye without baptisme.

11. Anabaptisme.

12. Difference of meates.

out the ordinary meanes, to attaine to a true sense and vnderstanding of it) God hath also his number among them. As may partly appeare, by that which a *Ruffe* at *Moske* said to a follower of an Ambassador, speaking against their Images and other superstitions: That God had given vnto his Country light to day, and might give it to morrow (if he pleased) to them.

As for any inquisition or proceeding against me for matter of religion, I could heare of none: saue (a few yeares since) against one man and his wife, who were kept in close prison, the space of 28. years, till they were ouer-growne into a deformed fashion, for their hayre, nailes, colour of countenance, and such like, and in the ende were burned at *Moske*, in a small house set on fire. The cause was kept secret, but like it was for some part of truth, in matter of religion: though the people were made to beleue by the Priests and Fryars, that they held some great & damnable heresie.

The manner of making and solemnizing their Mariages, is different from the manner of other Countries. The man (though he neuer saw the woman before) is not permitted to haue any sight of her all the time of his wooing: which he doth not by himselfe, but by his Mother, or some other ancient woman of his kin or acquaintance. When the liking is taken (as well by the Parents, as by the parties themselves, for without the knowledge and consent of the parents, the contract is not lawfull) the fathers on both sides, or such as are to them in stead of Fathers, with their other chiefe friends, haue a meeting and conference about the dowry, which is commonly very large, after the ability of the Parents: so that you shal haue a Market-man (as they call them) giue a thousand Rubbels, or more with his daughter.

As for the man, it is neuer required of him, nor standeth with their custome, to make any ioynter in recompence of the dowry. But in case he haue a child by his Wife, she enioyeth a third deale after his decease. If he haue two children by her, or more, shee is to haue a courttesie more, at the discretion of the husband. If the husband depart without issue by his wife, shee is returned home to her friends without any thing at all, saue onely her

dowry: if the husband leaue so much behinde him in goods. When the agreement is made concerning the Dowry, they signe bonds one to the other, as well for the payment of the dowry, as the performing of the marriage by a certain day. If the woman were neuer married before, her father and friends are bound (besides) to assure her a maiden. Which breedeth many brabbels and quarrels at law, if the man take any conceit, concerning the behauiour and honesty of his wife.

Thus the contract being made, the parties begin to send Tokens the one to the other; the woman first, then afterward the man, but yet see not one another till the marriage be solemnized. On the eue before the marriage day, the bride is carried in a *Collimago*, or Coach, or in a sled (if it be Winter) to the bridegroomes house, with her marriage apparrell and bedstead with her, which they are to lye in. For this is euer provided by the bride, and is commonly very faire, with much cost bestowed vpon it. Heere shee is accompanied all that night by her mother, and other women: but not welcommed, nor once seene by the bridegroome himselfe.

When the time is come to haue the Marriage solemnized, the Bride hath vpon her a kinde of hood, made of fine knitworke or Lawne, that couereth her head, and all her bodie down to the middle. And so accompanied with hir friends and the bride-groome with his, they goe to Church all on horsebacke, though the Church bee neere hand, and themselves but of very meane degree.

The wordes of contract, and other ceremonies in solemnizing the marriage, are much after the order, and with the same words that are vsed with vs: with a ring also giuen to the Bride. Which being put on, & the wordes of contract pronounced: the Brides hand is deliuered into the hand of the Bridegroom, which standeth all this while on the one side of the Altar or Table, and the Bride on the other. So the marriage knot being knit by the Priest, the Bride commeth to the Bridegroom (standing at the end of the Altar or Table) and fallest downe at his feet, knocking her head vpon his shooe, in token of her subiection & obedience. And the Bridegroome againe caletteth the

Agreement concerning the Dowry.

No sight till the marriage be solemnized.

Ceremonies in marriage.

The Bride taken of her husband.

lappe of his Gowne or vpper garment, ouer the Bride, in token of his duty to protect and cherish her.

Then the Bridegroom and Bride, standing both together at the Tables end, cometh first the father, and the other friends of the Bride, and bow themselves downe low to the Bride-groome: and so likewise his friends bow themselves to the Bride, in token of affinity and loue, euer after, betwixt the two Kindreds. And withall, the father of the Bridegroom, offereth to the priest a loafe of bread; who deliuereth it straight againe to the father, and other friends of the Bride, with attestation before God and their Idols, that he deliuer the Dowry wholly and truly at the day appointed, and hold loue euer after, one Kindred with another. Whereupon they breake the loafe into peeces, and eate of it, to testifie their true and sincere meanings, for performing of that charge, and thenceforth to become as graines of one Leate, or men of one Table.

These Ceremonies being ended, the Bride-groome taketh the Bride by the hand, and so they goe on together, with their friends after them, towards the Church porch. Where meet them certaine with pots and cups in their hands, with Meade and Ruffe Wine. Whereof the Bride-groome taketh first a Charke, or little cuppe full in his hand, and drinketh to the Bride: who opening her hood or vaille belowe, and putting the Cup to her mouth vnderneath it (for being seene of the Bride-groome) pledgeth him againe.

Thus returning altogether from the Church, the Bride-groome goeth not home to his owne, but vnto his Fathers house, and the likewise to hers, where cyther entertaine their friends apart. At the entering into the house, they vse to sling Corne out of the windowes vpon the Bridegroom and Bride, in token of plenty and fruitfulnessse to be with them euer after.

When the Euening is come, the Bride is brought to the Bride-groomes Fathers house, and there lodgeth that night, with her vaille or couer still ouer her head. All that night, shee may not speak one word (for that charge shee receiue by tradition from her mother and other matrons her Friendes) that the Bride-groome

must neither heare, nor see her, till the day after the marriage. Neither three dayes after, may she be heard to speake, saue certaine few words at the Table, in a set forme, with great manners and reuerence to the Bride-groome. If these be haue her selfe otherwise, it is a great prejudice to her credite and life euer after: and will highly bee disliked of the Bride-groome himselfe.

After the third day, they depart vnto their own house, and make a feast to both their friends together. The marriage day, and the whole time of their Festiual, the Bride-groome hath the honor to be called *Moloday Knez*, or young Duke, and the Bride *Moloday Knezzy*, or yong Dutchesse.

In liuing with their wiues, they shew themselves to be but of a barbarous condition: vsing them as seruantes rather then wiues. Except the Noble-women, which are, or seeme to bee of more estimation with their husbands, then the rest of meaner sort. They haue this fowle abuse, contrary to good order, and the word of God it selfe, that vpon dislike of his wife, or other cause whatsoever, the man may go into a Monastery, & sheare himselfe a Fryer, by pretence of deuotion, and so leaue his wife to thurst for her selfe so well as she can.

The other Ceremonies of their Church, are many in number: especially, the abuse about the signe of the Crosse, which they set vp in their high-ways, in the tops of their Churches, and in euery doore of their houses, signing themselves continually with it on their foreheades & breasts, with great deuotion, as they will seeme by their outward gesture and behauiour. Which were much lesse offence, if they gaue not withall, that Religious reuerence and worshippe vnto it, which is due vnto none but God onely, and vsed the dumbe shew and signing of it, instead of Thanksgiuing, and of all other duties which they doe owe vnto God.

When they rise euery day in the Morning, they goe commonlie in the sight of some Steeple, that hath a crosse made on the toppe of it: and so bowing themselves towards the crosse, they signe themselves withall on their foreheades and breasts. And this is their thank-

Titles giuen to the Bridegroome and Bride.

Barbarous behauiour in liuing with their wiues.

The other Ceremonies of the Russe Church.

Rising in the morning.

Signs of loue and affinity betweene the parents and friends.

Drinking of the Bride and Bridegroom together.

The euening and night ceremonies.

A man and his wife kept in prison 28. yeares, and after burned

The manner of solemnizing their Mariages.

After liking taken on both sides.

The manner of endowment for Wiues.

giuing to God for their nights rest, without any word speaking, except peradventure they say, *Alpody Pomelny*, or, *Lord haue mercy vpon vs.*

Sitting downe to meate.

When they sit downe to meate, and rise againe from it, the thankgiuing to God, is the crossing of their fore-heads and breasts. Except it be some few that adde peradventure, a word or two of some ordinary prayer, impertinent to that purpose.

Oath for deciding contro- uersies.

When they are to giue an oath, for the deciding of any controuersie at law, they do it by swearing by the Crosse, and kissing the feete of it, making it as G O D, whose name onely is to be vsed in such triall of Iustice.

Entering in- to houses.

When they enter into any house (where euer there is an Idoll hanging on the wall) they signe themselves with the crosse, and bow themselves to it.

At beginning worke.

When they beginne any worke, be it little or much, they arme themselves first with the signe of the crosse. And this commonly is all their prayer vnto God, for good speede of their businesse. And thus they serue God with crosses, after a crosse and vaine manner: not vnderstanding what the Crosse of Christ is, nor the power of it. And yet they thinke all strangers Christians, to be no better then Turkes, in comparison of themselves (and so they will say) because they bow not themselves, when they meete with the Crosse, nor signe themselves with it, as the Russe manner is.

Holy water.

They haue holy water, in like vse and estimation as the Popish Church hath. But herein they exceed them, in that they doe not onely hallow their holy water stockes, and tubs full of water; but all the Riues of the Country once every year.

Hallowing of Riues.

At *Mosko* it is done with great pompe & solemnity: the Emperour himselfe being present at it, with all his Nobility, marching through the streets towards the Riuer of *Moskua*, in manner of procession, in this order as followeth. First goe two Deacons, with banners in their hands, the one of *Precheisse* (or our Lady) the other of *S. Michael*, fighting with his Dragon. Then follow after, the rest of the Deacons and the Priests of *Mosko*, two and two in a ranke, with coaps on their backs, and their Idols at their breasts, carried with girdles or slings, made fast about their

necks. Next the Priests, come their Bishops in their pontificalibus: then the Fryars, Monks and Abbots: and after, the Patriarchs in very rich attire, with a ball, or sphere on the top of his myter, to signify his vniuersality ouer that Church. Last commeth the Emperour, with all his Nobility. The whole traine is of a mile long, or more.

Order obser- ued at the Riuer.

When they are come to the Riuer, a great hole is made in the yce, where the market is kept, of a rod and a halfe broad, with a stage round about it to keepe off the people. Then beginneth the Patriarch to say certaine prayers, and coniueth the diuell to come out of the water: and so casting in salt, and censing it with frankincense, maketh the whole Riuer to become holy water. The morning before, all the people of *Mosko* vse to make crosses of chawke ouer euery doore, & window of their houses: lest the diuell being coniuert out of the water, should flye in to their houses.

After the ce- remonies are ended.

When the ceremonies are ended, you shall see the black gard of the Emperours house, & then the rest of the Towne with their pails and buckets, to rake off the hallowed water for drinke, and other vses. You shall also see the women dippe in their children ouer head and eares, and many men and women leap into it, some naked, some with their clothes on, when some man would thinke his finger would freeze off, if hee should: but dippe it into the water. When the men haue doone, they bring their horses to the riuer, to drinke of the sanctified water; and so make them as holy as a horse. Their set day for this solemnne action of hallowing their riues, is that we call *Twelfe day*. The like is doone by other Bishops, in all parts of the Realme.

Horse drinke of the holy water on Twelfth day.

Their maner is also to giue it to their sicke, in their greatest extremitie; thin- king that it will eyther recouer them, or sanctifie them to God. Whereby they kill many, through their vnreasonable superstition, as did the *Lord Borris* his onely sonne, at my being at the *Mosca*: whom he killed (as was sayd by the Physicians) by powring into him colde holy water, and by presenting him naked into the Church, to their Saint *Easileo*, in the colde of the Winter, in an extremitie of sicknesse.

They

The Image of Christ in processions.

They haue an Image of Christ, which they call *Neruchi*, (which signifies as much as *Made without hands*) for so their priests (and superstition withall) perfwades them it was. This in their processions, they carry about with them on high vpon a pole, enclosed within a Pixe, made like a Lanthorne, and doe reuerence to it, as to a great myserie.

Brewing with holy water.

At euery brewing, their manner is like- wise, to bring a dish of their woort to the Priest, within the Church: which being hallowed by him, is poured into the brewing, and so giueth it such a vertue, as when they drinke of it, they are seldom so sober. The like they doe with the first fruites of their come in Haruest.

Palme Sundaye ceremonye by ancient tra- dition.

They haue an other ceremony vpon Palme Sundaye of ancient tradition: what time the Patriarch rideth through the *Mosko*, the Emperour himselfe holding his horse bridle, and the people crying, *Hosanna*, and spreading their vpper garments vnder his horse feete. The Emperour hath of the Patriarch for his good seruice of that day, 200. rubbles of stand- ing pension. Another Pageant they haue much like vnto this, the weeke before the Natiuitie of Christ. When euery Bishop in his Cathedral Church, setteth forth a shew of the three children in the Queen. Where the Angell is made to come fly- ing from the roofof the Church, with great admiration of the lookers on, and many terrible flashes of fire, are made with rozen, and gun-powder, by the *Chaldeans* (as they call them) that runne about the rowne all the Twelue dayes, disguised in their Players coats, and make much good sport for the honour of the Bishops Pa- geant. At the *Mosca*, the Emperour him- selfe, and the Empreffe neuer faile to be at it, although it be but the same matter played euery year, without any new in- uention at all.

Another ce- remony be- fore Christ- masse.

Besides their fasts on Wednesdayes, and Fridayes throughout the whole yere, (the one, because they say Christ was sold on the Wednesday, the other, because he suffered on the Friday) they haue foure great Fasts, or Lents euery year. The first, (which they call their great Lent) is at the same time with ours. The second, about Midsummer. The third, in Haruest time. The fourth, about Hallowntide: which they keepe not of pollicie, but of

Fasts, beside foure seuerall Lents, and at what times they are.

meete superstitions.

In their great Lent, for the first weeke, they doe eate nothing but Bread and salt, and drinke nothing but water, neyther meddle with any matter of their vocati- on, but intend their shriuing and fasting only.

They haue also three *Vigils* or *Wakes* in their Lent, which they call *Stokania*, and the last Friday their great *Vigd*, as they do call it. What time the whole parish must be present in the Church, and watch from nine of the clocke in the Euening, vntill sixe in the Morning, all the while stand- ing, except when they do fall downe, and knocke their heads to their Idoles, which must be an hundred and seauentie times, iust, through the whole night.

About their burialls also, they haue many superstitions and prophane cere- monies: as putting within the finger of the corpses, a Letter to Saint *Nicholas*, whom they make their chiefe Mediator, and (as it were) the Porter of Hea- uen gates, as the Papists doe theyr *Peter*.

In Winter time, when all is covered with snow, and the ground so hard fro- zen, as that no spade, nor picke-axe can enter; their manner is not to bury their dead, but to keepe the bodies (so many as die all the Winter time) in an house, in the suburbs, or out-parts of the towne, which they call *Bolsedom*, that is to say, *Gods house*: where the dead bodies are piled vp together, like billets on a wood- stacke, as hard, with the frost, as a verie stone, till the Spring-tide come and dis- solveth the frost; what time euery man ta- keth his dead friend, and committeth him to the ground.

They haue besides, their yeares and moneths mindes, for their friends depar- ted. What time they haue prayers laide ouer the graue by the priest; who hath a penny ordinary for his paines. When a ny dyeth, they haue ordinarie women mourners, that come to lament for the dead party: and stand howling ouer the body, after a prophane, and heathenish manner (sometimes in the house, some- times bringing the body into the backe- side: *Asking him what he wanted, and what he meant to die?*) They bury theyr dead, as the party vsed to goe, with coate, hose, bootes, hatte, and the rest of his appar- rel.

Vigils or Wakes they haue three.

Burialls, and their superstitious cere- monies at them.

No buriall in the winter.

Month-mindes for departed friends.

Buriall accord- ing as they were liuing.

Many

Many other vaine and superstitious ceremonies they haue, which were long and tedious to report. By these it may appeare, how farre they are fallen from the true knowledge and practise of Christian Religion: hauing changed the Word of God, for their vaine traditions, and brought all to externall, and ridiculous ceremonies, without any regard of spirite and truth, which God requires in his true worship.

CHAP. V.

Lastly, an Oeconomical discourse of the Emperours Court; his Familie and Household affaires: And more priuate behaviour of the people.

Of the Emperours domestike or priuate behaviour.



The Emperours ghostly father

His priuate praier, and the manner how it is performed in ceremonies

He Emperours priuate behaviour, so much as may be, or is meete to be knowen, is after this manner: Hee riseth commonly about foure of the clocke in the morning. After his apparelling and washing, in cometh his ghostly father, or priest of his chamber, which is named in their tongue, *Oretz Duhoona*, with his Crosse in his hand, wherewith he blesteth him, laying it first on his fore-head, then vpon his cheekes, or sides of his face, and then offreth him the end of it to kisse. This being doone, the clauke of the crosse (called *Chresby Deyack Propery*) bringeth into his chamber a paynted Image, representing the Saint for that day. For euery day with them hath his seuerall Saint, as it were a patron for that day. This he placeth among the rest of his Image gods, wherewithall his Chamber is decked, as thicke almost as the wall can beare, with Lampes and wax Candles burning before them. They are very costly and gorgeously decked with pearles and precious stones. This Image being placed before him, the Emperour begins to crosse himselfe after the *Russe* manner; first on the fore-head, then on both sides of his breast, with *Ajbody Pameluy, Pameluy mena hospody, sacroy mena*

grefnick Syhodesius: which is as much to say, as, *Helpe mee O Lord my God, Lord comfort mee, defend and keepe mee a sinner from doing euill, &c.* This he directeth towards the Image or Saint for that day, whom he nameth in his prayer, together with our Lady (whom they call *Precheste*) Saint *Nicholas*, or some other, to whom he beareth most deuotion, bowing himselfe prostrate vnto them, with knocking his head to the very ground. Thus he continueth the space of a quarter of an houre or thereabouts.

Then cometh againe the ghostly father, or chamber priest, with a silver boile full of holywater, which they call in *Russe, Sveta Voda*, and a sprinkle of Basill (as they call it) in his hand, and so all to be sprinkled first the Image gods, and then the Emperour. This holy water is brought fresh euery day from the Monasteries, farre and neere, sent vnto the Emperour from the Abbot or from the Priour, in the name of the Saint, which is patrone of that Monastery, as a speciall token of good will from him.

These deuotions being ended, he sendeth in to the Emperesse, to aske whether she hath rested in heath, &c. And after a little pause, goeth himselfe to salute her in a middle roome betwixt both their chambers. The Emperesse lyeth apart from him, and keepeth not one Chamber, nor Table with the Emperour daily, saue vpon the eue of their Lents, or commo Fasts: what time she is his ordinary guest at bed and board. After their meeting in the morning, they go together to their priuate Church or Chappell, where is saide, or sung a morning Seruice (called *Zaurana*) of an houre long or thereabouts. From the Church he returneth home, & stretch him downe in a great Chamber, to be seene and saluted by his Nobility, such as are in fauour about the Court. If he haue to say to any of the, or they to him, then is the time. And this is ordinary, except his health, or some other occasion alter the custome.

About vaine in the morning, he goeth vnto another Church within his Caste: where is sung by Priests and Choristers, the high Seruice (called *Obedina* or *Complin*) which commonly lasteth the space of two houres: the Emperour in the meantime, talking commonly with some

Sprinkling with holy water.

The Emperours visitation of the Emperesse.

The Emperour giueth presence euery morning.

The Emperours high and solemne seruice.

of

The Emperours seruice at his Table.

of his Councell, Nobilitie, or Captains, whi: h haue to say to him, or hee to them. And the Councell likewise conferre together among themselves, as if they were in their councell house. This ended, he returneth home, and recreateth himselfe till it be dinner time.

Hee is serued at his Table on this manner; First, euery dish (as it is deliuered at the Dresser) is tasted by the Cooke, in the presence of his high Steward, or his Deputy. And so is receiued by the Gentlemen waiters (called *Shilshy*) and by them carried vp to the Emperours Table, the high Steward going before. There it is receiued by the Sewer (called *Erafinoy*) who giueth a taste of euery dish vnto the Taster, and so placeth it before the Emperour. The number of his dishes for his ordinary seruice, is about seauentie; dressed somewhat grossely, with much garlike and salt, much after the Dutch manner. When he exceedeth, vpon some occasion of the day, or entertainment of some Ambassador, he hath many more dishes. The seruice is sent vp by two dishes at a time, or three at the most, that hee may eate it warme: first the baked, then the rostie meates, and last of all, the brothes. In his dining Chamber is another Table: where sit the chiefe of his Nobility that are about his Court, and his ghostly father, or Chaplaine. On the one side of the Chamber standeth a Cubbard, or Table of Plate, very fayre and rich, with a great cesteine of Copper by it, full of yce and snow, wherein stand the pots that serue for that meale. The taster holdeth the cup that he drinketh in all dinner time, and deliuereth it vnto him with a say, when he calleth for it. The manner is to make many dishes out of the seruice, after it is set on the Table, and to send them to such Noblemen and Officers, as the Emperour liketh best. And this is counted a great fauour and honour.

His sleeping after dinner.

His euening recreation, or betweene meales.

After dinner, he layeth him downe to rest, where commonly hee taketh three houres sleepe, vntill hee doe employ one of the houres to bathing or boxing. And this custome for sleeping after dinner, is an ordinary matter with him, as with all the *Russes*. After his sleepe he goeth to Euenlong (called by them *Vechna*:) and thence returning (for the most part) recreateth himselfe with the

Emperesse till supper time, with iesters, and dwarfes, men and women, that doe tumble before him, and sing many songs after the *Russe* manner. This is his common and vniuersall forme of recreation betweene his meales, wherein he most delighteth.

One other speciall recreation, is the fight with wilde Beares, which are caught in pittes, or nets, and are kept in barred Cages for that purpose, against the Emperour bee disposed to see the pastime. The fight with the Beare is on this sort: The man is turned into a circle walled round about, where hee is to quire himselfe so well as hee can; for there is no way to flee out. When the Beare is turned loose, he cometh vpon him with open mouth. If at the first push hee misse his ayme, so that the Beare doe come within him, he is in great danger. But the wilde Beare being very fierce, hath this quality, that giueth aduantage to the Hunter. His manner is, when he assaileth a man, to rise vp right on his two hinder legges, and so to come roaring with open mouth vpon him. And if the Hunter then can push right into the very breast of him betweene his fore-legges (as commonly he will not misse) telling the other end of the Boare-speare at the side of his foot: and so keeping the pike still towards the face of the Beare, hee speedeth him commonly at one blowe.

Fight with Beares, by men put to them.

The manner to kill the Beare.

But many times these Hunters come short, and are eyther slaine, or miserably torne with the teeth and talents of the fierce beast. If the party quiret himselfe well in this fight with the Beare, he is carried to drinke at the Emperours Seller doore, where he drinketh himselfe drunke for the honour of *Hopodare*. And this is his reward, for aduenturing his life for the Emperours pleasure.

To maintaine this pastime, the Emperour hath certaine Huntsmen, that are appointed for that purpose, to take the wilde Beare. This is his recreation commonly on the Holy-daies. Sometimes he spendeth his time in looking vpon his Goldsmiths and Jewellers, Taylors, Embroyderers, Painters, and such like, and so goeth to his supper. When it draweth towards bed time, his Priest saith certaine prayers; and then the Emperour blesteth and crosseth himselfe, as in the morning,

His preparation to bed.

for

A description
of the Emper-
or, when the
Author was
there.

for a quarter of an houre or thereabouts, and so goeth to his bed.

The Emperor that now is (called *Theodore Iusnowich*) is for his person of a mean stature, somewhat lowe and grosse, of a fallow completion, and enclining to the droopie, hawk nosed, vnsteady in his pace, by reason of some weaknesse of his limbs, heauy and vnactive, yet commonly smiling almost to a laughter. For quality otherwise, simple and slowe witted, but very gentle, and of an easie nature, quiet, mercifull, of no martiall disposition, nor greatly apt for matter of pollicy, very superstitious, and infinite that way. Besides his priuate deuotions at home, hee goeth euery weeke commonly on pilgrimage to some Monastery, or other that is nearest hand. He is of 34. yeares old, or thereabouts, and hath reigned almost the space of fixe yeares.

Of the Emper-
ors priuate,
or household
Officers,
Master of the
Horle,

The chiefe Officers of the Emperors household, are these which follow. The first is the Office of the *Boisren Confeſſors*, or Master of the Horle. Which containeth no more then is expressed by the name, that is, to be Ouerseer of the horle, and not *Magister equitum*, or Master of the horsemen. For hee appointeth other for that seruice, as occasion doth require (as before was said.) He that beareth that Office at this time, is *Boris Federowich Godonoe*, Brother to the Emperresse. Of Horle for seruice in his wars (besides other for his ordinary vses) hee hath to the number of ten thousand, which are kept about *Mosko*.

The next is the Lord Steward of his household, at this time, one *Gregory Vasilowich Godonoe*.

The third is his Treasurer, that keepeth all his monies, jewels, plate, &c. now called *Stepan Vasilowich Godonoe*.

The fourth his Controller, now *Andreas Petrovich Clesimine*.

The fifth his Chamberlaine. He that attendeth that Office at this time, is called *Eikema Bisabroza Pafelinschay*.

The sixth his Tasters, now *Theodore Alexandrowich*, and *Iuan Vasilowich Godonoe*.

The seuenth his Harbengers, which are three Noblemen, and diuers other Gentlemen that do the Office vnder the. These are his ordinary Officers, and Offices of the chiefeit account.

Of Gentlemen beside that waite about his Chamber and Person (called *Shifley Strapley*) there are two hundred, all Noblemens sonnes.

His ordinary Guard is 2000. Hagbutters, ready with their pieces charged; and their march lighted, with other necessary Furniture continually day & night: which comenot within the house, but waite without in the court or yard, where the Emperour is abiding. In the night time, there lodgeth next to his bedchamber, the chiefe Chamberlaine, with one or two more of best trust about him.

A second chamber off, there lodge fixe other of like account, for their trust and faithfulness.

In the third Chamber lie certaine yong Gentlemen, of the two hundred, called *Shifley Strapley*, that take their turnes by forties euery night.

There are Groomes besides, that watch in their course, and lye at euery gate and doore of the Court, called *Eshoppick*.

The Hagbutters or Gunners, whereof there are two thousand (as was saide before) watch about the Emperors lodgings, or bed-chamber by course two hundred and fifty euery night, and two hundred and fifty more in the Court yard, & about the Treasure house.

His Court or House at the *Mosko*, is made Castle-wise, walled about with great store of faire Ordenance planted vpon the Wall, and containeth a great breadth of ground within it, with many dwelling houses. Which are appointed for such as are knownne to be sure and trusty to the Emperour.

The priuate behaviour and qualitie of the *Russe* people, may partly bee vnderstoode, by that which hath bene sayde concerning the publique state and viage of the Countrey. As touching the naturall habite of their bodies, they are, for the most part, of a large life, and of verie fleshy bodies; accounting it a grace to be somewhat grosse and burley, and therefore they nourish and spread their beards, to haue them long and broad. But, for the most part, they are very vnwieldy and vnactive withall. Which may be thought to come, partly of the Climate, and the numbnesse which they get by the colde in winter, and partly of their dyet, which is most of rootes, onions, garlike, cabbage, and

Gentlemen
of the Cham-
ber.

The Guard.

Night time.

Groomes.

The Guard
for this lodg-
ing.

Of the pri-
uate behaui-
our, or qual-
ity of the Russe
people.

Constitution
of their bod-
ies.

Their ordi-
nary dyet.

Their drinke
at their meales

The after-
noones rest.

Drinking
drunke euery
day.

Their often
vse of Bath-
stoues.

Two extre-
mities of heat
and colde.

At coming
out of their
Bathstoues.

and such like things that breed grosse humours, which they vse to eate alone, and with their other meates.

Their dyet is rather much then curious. At their meales they beginne commonly with a *Chark*, or small cuppe of *Aqua vita*, (which they do call *Russe wine*) and then drinke not till towards the end of their meales, taking it in largely, and all together, with kissing one another, at euery pledge. And therefore, after dinner there is no talking with them, but euery man goeth to his bench to take his after-noones sleepe, which is as ordinary with them as their nights rest. When they exceed, and haue varietie of dithes, the first are their baked meates (forrosse meates they vse little) and then their portage and broaths. To drinke drunke, is an ordinary matter with them euery day in the week. Their common drinke is *Mead*, the poorer sort vse water, and thin drinke called *Quasse*, which is nothing else (as wee vse to say) but water turned out of his wittes, with a little branne meathed with it.

This dyet would breede in them many diseases, but that they vse bath-stoues, or hot-houses, in stead of all physicke, commonly twice or thrice euery weeke. All the Winter time, and almost the whole Summer, they heate there *Peaches*, which are made like the *Germane* Bathstoues, & their *Potlads* like Ovens, that so warme the house, that a stranger at the first shall hardly like of it. These two extremities, specially in the Winter of heate within their houses, and of extreme colde without, together with their dyet; maketh them of a darke and fallow complexion, their skinnies beeing tanned and parched both with cold and with heate: specially the women, that (for the greater part) are of faire worse complexions, then the men. Whereof the cause I take to be their keeping within the hot-houses, and busying themselves about the heating & vsing of their bathstoues, and peaches.

The *Russe*, because that he is vsed to both these extremities of heate and of colde, can beare them both a great deale more patiently, then strangers can doe. You shall see them sometimes (to season their bodies) come out of their Bathstoues all on a froth, and fuming as hot almost as a Pig at a Spit, and presently to

leape into the Riner starke naked, or to poure colde water all ouer their bodies, and that in the coldest of all the Winter time. The women, to mend the bad hue of their skins, vse to paint their faces with white and red colours, so vifibly, that euery man may perceiue it. Which is made no matter, because it is common, and liked well by their husbands: who make their Wives and Daughters ordinary allowance, to buy them colours to paint their faces withall, and delight themselves much, to see them of fowle women, to become such faire Images. This parcheth the skinnie, and helpeth to deforme them when their painting is off.

They apparell themselves after the Greeke manner. The Noblemans attire is on this fashion.

First a *Tyffia*, or little night-cappe on his head, that couereth little more then his crowne, commonly very rich, wrought of silke and gold thred, and set with pearle and precious stones. His head he keepeth shauen close to the very skin, except he be in some displeasure with the Emperour. Then hee suffereth his hayre to grow and hang downe vpon his shoulders, couering his face as vgly and deformedly as he can.

Ouer the *Tyffia*, hee weareth a wide Cap of blacke Foxe (which they account for the best Fur) with a *Tiara* or long bonnet put within it, standing vp like a *Persian* or *Babylonian* Hat.

About his necke (which is seene all bare) is a collar set with pearle and precious stones, about three or foure fingers broad.

Next ouer his shirt (which is curiously wrought, because he strippeth himselfe into it in the Summer time, while he is in the house) is a *Shepan*, or light Garment of silke, made downe to the knees, buttoned before: and then a *Caslan* or a close coate buttoned, & girt to him with a *Persian* girdle, whereat hee hangs his kniues and spoone. This commonly is of cloth of gold, and hangeth downe as low as his anckles.

Ouer that he weareth a loose garment of some rich silke, furred and faced about with some gold Lace, called a *Ferris*.

Another ouer that, of Chamlet, or like stuffe, called an *Alkaken*, sleeued and hanging lowe, and the cape commonly brooched

Wome there
paint grossly

The Noble-
mans attire.

brooched and set all with pearle.

When he goeth abroad, he casteth ouer at these, which are but sleight (though they seeme to be many) another garment called an *Honoratkey*, like to the *Alksben*, faue that it is made without a collar for the necke. And this is commonly of fine cloth, or Camells haire.

His buskins, which he weareth in stead of hose, with linnen folds vnder them in stead of boot-hose, are made of a *Persian* leather called *Saphian*, embroidered with pearle. His vpper stockes commonly are of cloth of gold.

When he goeth abroad, hee mounteth on horse backe, although it be but to goe to the next doore; which is the custome and maner also of the *Boiarskey*, or gentlemen.

The *Boiarskey* or gentlemen attire is of the same fashion, but differe in stufte; and yet he will haue his *Caslan* or vnder-coate sometimes of cloth of golde, the rest of cloth or silke.

The Noble woman (called *Chyna Boiarskema*) weareth on her head, first a hall of some soft silke (which commonly is red) and ouer it a frontlet, called *Obroja* of white colour.

ouer that, her Cap (made after the coife fashion of cloath of golde) called *Shapka Zempka*, edged with some rich furre, and set with pearles and stones. Though they haue of late begunne to disdain embroidering with pearles about their caps, because the *Diacks*, and some Merchants wiues haue taken vpe the fashion.

In their eares they wear eare-rings (which they call *Sargee*) of two inches or more in compasse, the matter of golde set with Rubies, or Saphires, or some like pretious stone.

In Sommer they goe often with kerchiefs of fine white layne or Cambricke, fastened vnder the chinne, with two long tasselles pendent. The kerchiefe spotted and set thicke with rich pearle.

When they ride or goe abroad in rainy weather, they vse to wear white hats with coloured bands, called by them *Scapa Zemskey*.

About their neckes they wear collers of three or foure fingers broad, set with rich pearle and pretious stones.

Their vpper garment is a loose gowne

(called *Opephen*) commonly of Skarlet, with wide loose sleeves, hanging downe to the ground, buttoned before with great gold buttons, or at the least, siluer and gilt, nigh as bigge as a walnut. Which hath hanging ouer it fastened vnder the cappe, a large broad cape of some rich Furre, that hangeth downe almost to the middes of their backs.

Next vnder the *Opephen* or vpper garment, they wear another, called a *Leitnick*, that is made close before with great wide sleeves, the cufte or halfe sleue vp to the elbowes commonly of cloath of golde: and vnder that a *Ferris Zemsky*, which hangeth loose buttoned throughout to the very loote.

On the hand-wreasts they wear very faire Bracelets, about two fingers broad of pearles and precious stones. They goe all in Buskins of white, yellow, blew, or some other coloured leather, embroidered with pearle. This is the attire of the Noble woman of *Russia*, when she maketh the best shew of her selfe. The gentlewoman's apparell may differ in the stufte, but is all one for the making or fashion.

As for the poore *Mousick*, and his wife, they goe poorly clad. The man with his *Odnoratkey*, or loose gowne to the small of the legges, tied together with a lace before, of course white or blew cloth, with some *Shube* or long waist-coate of Furre, or of sheepe-skinne vnder it, and his furred cappe, and buskins.

The poorer sort of them haue their *Odnoratkey*, or vpper garment, made of Cowes haire. This is their winter habite. In the sommer time, commonly they doe wear nothing but their shirts vpon their backs, and buskins on their legges.

The woman goeth in a redde or blew gowne, when she maketh the best shew, and with some warme *Shube* of Furre vnder it in the winter time. But in the sommer, nothing but her two thirts (for so do they call them) one ouer the other, whether they be within doores, or without.

On their heads, they wear caps of some colored stufte, many of veluet, or of cloth of gold; but for the most part, kerchiefs. Without eare-rings of siluer, or some other metall, and her crosse about her necke, you shall see no *Russian* woman, be she wife, or maide.

The vnder gownes.

Bracelets.

Womens buskins.

The Musick, or common mansuare.

The poore man.

The Musick wife.

Head attires.

Par-ring & Crosse.

As

Their wits and capacities.

As touching their behaviour, and quality otherwise, they are of reasonable capacities, if they had those meanes that some other Nations haue, to traine vp their wits in good nurture and learning. Which they might borrow of the *Polonians*, and other their neighbors: but that they refuse it of a very selfe pride, as accounting their owne fashion to be farre the best. Partly also (as I sayd before) for that their manner of bringing vp (voyd of all good learning, and ciuill behaviour) is thought (by their governors) most agreeable to that State, and their maner of gouernement. Which the people would hardly beare, if they were once ciuilled, and brought to more vnderstanding of God, and good policie.

This causeth the Emperours to keepe out all meanes of making it better, and to be very wary for excluding of all peregrinitie, that might alter their fashions. Which were lesse to be disliked, if it set not a print into the very mindes of his people. For, as themselves are very hardly and cruelly dealt withall by their chiefe Magistrates, and other superiours; so are they as cruell one against another, especially ouer their inferiours, and such as are vnder them. So that the basest and wretchedest *Christian* (as they call him) that stoupe and croucheth like a dogge to the Gentleman, and licketh vp the dust that lieth at his fecte, is an intollerable tyrant, where he hath the aduantage.

Cruelty of the Russe people.

By this meanes the whole Countrie is filled with rapine, and murder. They doe make no account of the life of a man. Yee shall haue a man robbed sometime in the very streets of their Townes, if hee goe late in the evening: and yet no man to come forth out of his doores to rescue him, though he heare him cry out. I will not speake of the strangeness of the murders, and other cruelties committed amongst them, that would scarcely be beleued to be doone amongst men, especially such as professe themselves to be Christians.

Vagrant begging poore.

The number of their vagrant and begging poore is almost infinite; that are so pinched with famine and extreme neede, as that they doe begge after a violent and desperate manner; with, *Giue me, and cut mee; Giue mee, and kill mee;* and such like phrales. Whereby it may be ghesied,

what they are towards strangers, that are so vnnatural and cruell towards their owne. And yet it may be doubted whether is the greater, the crueltie, or intemperancie that is vsed in that Countrie. I will not speake of it, because it is so foule and not to be named. The whole Countrie ouerfloweth with all sinne of that kinde. And no maruell, as hauing no law to restraine whoredomes, adulteries, and like vnclannesse of life.

Intemperance

As for the truth of his word, the *Russe* (for the most part) maketh small regard of it: so he may gaine by a lie, and breach of his promise. And it may be said truly (as they know best that haue traded most with them) that from the great to the small (except some few that will scarcely be found) the *Russe* neyther beleueth any thing that another man speaketh, nor speaketh any thing himselfe worthy to be beleued.

No care of word or promise.

These qualities make them very odious to all their neighbours, especially to the *Tartars*, that account themselves to be honest and iust, in comparison of the *Russe*. It is supposed by some, that doe well consider of the state of both Countreies, that the offence they doe take at the *Russe* gouernement, and their manner of behaviour; hath bene a great cause to keepe the *Tartar* still heathenish, and to mislike (as hee dooth) of the *Christian* profession.

The Russe odious to his neighbours.

CHAP. VI.

If it may be so ordered or limited, that poisons given at a certaine day shall not cause death, vntill a time appointed and prefixed.

It, though you can much more clearly and exactly resolute this doubt; yet notwithstanding, seeing you please to vnderstand mine aduice therein, concerning the limitation and efficacy of poysons, at a day or time prefixed; I shall briefly resolute you of my iudgement.

This is the last paradox of the first Decad.

I haue euermore held it absurd and

Gggg ridicu.

A comparison
derived from
physicall me-
dunes of best
worth.

ridiculous (although it bee maintayned in vulgar opinion) that venoms or poysons should be limited to a certaine time, by empoysoners. For, how can it be so, seeing Physicall medicines, euen such as are most profitable, whose vertue (in knowledge thereof, is limited to the composition and quantitie of the dose) cannot be apprehended, but by long and frequent experience? And that being knowne, doth not yet leaue vs any certaine act, but conjectural: wherefore, I cannot see by what reason, an empoysoner should gaine a prefixion of time, for the efficacie of his poyson. For, it is not lawfull to make triall, without danger, nor without punishment: euen as if the action of Physicall receipts, should be experimented vpon healthfull persons.

Triall of poy-
sons made on
Dogs, Hogs,
Birds, &c.

It may be alledged, and I am of the same opinion too, that they approue their poysons vpon beasts, as Dogges, Swine and Birds, and that thereby they constitute rules to themselves; hauing obserued diuers times of death, according to the nature of the poysons. As if the natures of men, (being the most temperate of all creatures) and the other were not verie farre different. Besides, it is much more easie, that a precise and certaine houre of euent and successe, should happen vnto beasts, then to men. For, creatures deprived of reason, haue very little diuersitie (in their kinde) betwene them, feeding on one and the same pasturage, and being not addicted to sundry studies, and occupations: from whence enlieth, that euen by and of the same things, beasts endure (almost) passions alike.

Little diuer-
sity betwene
vneasonable
creatures in
their kinde.

Very great &
strange varie-
ties among mē,
for seldom or
never are two
found of one
and the same
complexion.

But for men, although they agree together in kinde, yet notwithstanding they are so different, as seldom or neuer, shall we find two together of like nature in face: but are diuerse in complexions, conditions and occupations or professions, and no one like other among a thousand. Vndoubtedly, I am of the minde, that in the kinde of man, there is as many differences among particulars, as there is diuersities of kinde among all other creatures. And therefore, it ought to be helde altogether abusive, and noway firme, and such conjecture of empoysoners; as is very easie to be proued, and made plaine to euery vnderstanding: and vpon this hopefull perswasion, wee will fall presently to our

business.

Many haue thought and held, that *Theophrastus* (a very graue and approued Philosopher) was the Author of this opinion, because he wrote thus of *Aconitum*. *It is said to be compounded in such sort, that it can kill at a certaintime: as namely, within two monthes, three monthes, sixe monthes, a whole yeare, and sometimes in two yeares. And some affirme, that such people shall die more miserably, then if they could haue refused longer time. For their bodies will inuapure by little and little, perishing in a daily languishing: where as such as die suddenly, haue the more easie death.*

Theophrastus
a learned Phi-
losopher, his
opinion of A-
conitum.

But the authoritie of *Theophrastus*, or of our selves, can moue nothing in this matter; considering, that he wrote this, more vpon others opinion, then his own, as the words themselves doe euidently testifie. And if any one desire to know the cause of this periwation, hee shall meete with a two-folde answer thereto. The first is, the subtle crastinesse of men, who flatter and fondly play with their owne vices. For how many may be found, that can not so patiently endure, when they are reprobued in some euill, happening by an exterrall accident; as if one should tell them, that it receiued originall by a bad temperature of their body, or of their owne intemperance? For, admit that nothing could be faide, to be the cause of the first constitution, and therefore (by consequent) the reproofe of this imperfection concerned him nothing: yet notwithstanding, because it is our owne nature, we will conceale and couer it, yea, and fauour it beyond measure. So that if there happen any fault on the behalfe of our imperfection, we stand most in feare to be thereof reprobued. And hence it enlieth, that we more gladly yeelde agreement, to haue the cause from some exterrall occasion, then of any interior.

Theophrastus
not to be cre-
dited in this
case.

Two answers
to the time
of periwation.
The first an-
swer.

We can not
indure to let
our owne im-
perfections
reprobued.

Examples in this case are very manifest, euen in such as haue least knowledge, being ignorant in good Arts and Sciences, transported by simple iudgement of weakeloue. As aged, and the most part of weakewitted people doe, to whom nothing admissible can be spoken; yneffe it be referred to some Saint, or poyson closely giuen, or to the witching lookes of some old woman: whence proceeded the complaint whereof *Virgill* speaketh.

The ignorance
of common-
sense (very often)
a cause of
opinion and
Soreties.

Chap. 6. Of poysoning at prefixed times.

*I know not by what illage of wrong,
My tender Lambes (enchanted) walke along.*
For there mult needes be probable lying, that either instantly, or soone after the poyson is giuen, or continued in the surest manner; if any length or respite of time can be giuen thereto.

The second
answer and
elucidation of
the second
case.

The other cause of this opinion, is the depraued interpretation of Astronomical Theoremes or Speculations. For the prooffe whereof, Astrologers constitute (which is true) the diuers manners or passions of inferior bodies, to be from the diuers coniunction, opposition and interchanged aspect of the superiour. From hence, the ignorant vulgar take occasion, to ground and establish the varietie of effects, euen vpon the least differences that can be obserued in the celestiall bodies. As when they constitute some one plant, to haue power and efficacie against feaues; provided, that it be gathered before Sunne rising. This is an error spread too farre abroad. For, not onely from these differences (triuiall, light, and of no account at all) men commonly construct the diuersitie of effects in their kinds: but also would haue the accidents of those effects to be diuers, for the selfe same reason; euen as is the time to manifest the efficacie of poyson. The folly (in this point) further related by *Theophrastus*, he sayth: *That death happeneth in as short a time, as a Plant is to be gathered. Let vs seeke then for a true solution of this Probleme, by reason rather then the testimonies of any.* Which we may most commodiously doe (if I abuse not mine owne iudgement) by beginning with the definition of venome or poison; to the end it may be the easier vnderstood, what the matter is that vttereth our instant disputation.

The like list of
hearts gathered
vpon Saint
Johns Eye or
Vigile.

Theophrastus
his words for
the sudden en-
suing of death.

A definition
of poison or
venome, and
what it is vt-
terhood to be

The operati-
on of poyson
in their owne
nature.

We properly call venome or poyson, whatsoever being receiued into the body, doth so fight against the body, as it is not to be surmounted; but contrariwise, doth so alter the body, as the body it selfe alters in diuer. In all venoms there are two especiall differences: for, eyther they are enemies to humane nature, by reason of their manifest qualitie; or else they are aduerses thereto in their whole substance. Moreouer, some may kill quickly, others more tardily, euen of their owne proper nature. Such kill suddenly, and in fewest daies and houres, which are immediately carried to

the profunditie of the harte. Such venoms are extremely hot, and (for the most part) corrosiue or putrefactive; the Greeks call them *Sepiuiques*, endued with most subtile parts. For, colde and grosse venomes are more ydle, and insinuate into the veines and arteries more slowly.

Some there are, which infect and kill the body, by their onely vapour or insubtile exhalation. Others, that holde the prime place of atrocitie and malignitie. As certaine poisons artificiall, which haue so subtile a vertue, as being but rubbed or annointed vpon the stirups, will pierce throw the booties of the Rider, euen till it attaine to the naked soale of his foote, and from thence ascendeth vp into the body, by the fourspirales or ouertures of the skinnie, and so corrupt all the members. Bridles and Saddles of horse may also be infected, and afterwards, inducted by natural heat into the arteries and veins of the rider entering by the pores in his hands and thighes. As in like manner, Garments, Beds and Coverings may be poysoned. To these venoms may be referred, such as kill only by sight, smell, or being but tasted onely (without swallowing or letting downe) suddenly destroying a man, without any the least lingering.

Of some that
destroy soone
then other.

Poysoning
men, stirups,
bridles & sad-
dles for hor-
ses, garments,
beds, &c.

All venomes or poysons bring present death with them, so as there remains not any time of respite, for succor to save the poore mans life, but he dies. I vnderstand, that such poysons are in frequent vse among the *Turkes*, and such other nations. Groffer venoms or poisons do differ from these, as being slower in performing their action; but in the end burne very strongly, bite, eat, torment, & (by their lingering) beget the greater strength & cruel violence.

Now there is not onely a difference of efficacie, in poisons of diuers kinds, but also there happens to them as great a varietie of respites, to hurt according to their constitution and temperature, by whom they are taken. For some feeble the harme sooner or later then other; some are overthrowne thereby, others escape. Because many times it comes so to passe, that the poisons power is mitigated & overcome, by the very complexio of him that hath receiued it, else, that it is so strong of it selfe, as it needeth no other counterpoyson to vanquish it. So falleth it out with them that dwell in pestilent aires, & others that

Such (spee ling)
poysons are in
daily vse a-
mongst the
Turkes and o-
ther barba-
rous nations.

Difference in
the poisons,
and difference
in their times
of working.

Of bodies pe
tentially in-
fected.

A very ridicu-
lous affirma-
tion.

Galen in Pa-
rad. 1. Dec. 2.

A kind of ydyl
argumentatio.

A Goate is a
beast, there-
fore a Goate
is an Asse.

At a solemn
Banquet in I-
talie made by
Cesar Borgia.

An example
derived from
physicall pur-
gatives.

are attained with the plague: some of them being sicke, chance to die suddenly, others later, and other (in the end) escape.

If it be so, it seemes then altogether ridiculous to affirme, that it is possible to give a poyson, which (at a day prefixed, & at a certaine time of that day) shall cause the parties death, & that the condition of the poyson is so to doe. To which error I may well referre another, fauouring of the same taste, and which we have long since ouerthrowne, to wit: *That medicines take the beginning of their mutation or changing from our heate.* Whence it ensueth, that being grossely pressed, they produce their effects the later. But if I should consent to them herein, yet notwithstanding, they can neuer come to approve their affirmation, vnlesse it be captiously. For if any man argue thus: This drugged discovereth his power later then this; therefore he will doe it at a certaine time. The argumentation is false, and Aristotle calleth it *Elenchus non consequens*: Euen as if a man should say, A Goate is a Beast, therefore a Goate is an Asse. For, *To do a thing late, and to do a thing at a certaine time*, are of diuers kindes, and differ from doing a thing in some time.

Heereby it appeareth, that these great Professours haue no other eye, but onelie on the conditions of the poysons, as in this poynt it is very euident, for we heare no distinction of bodies: but onely pretence of the poyson, whereunto they onely attribute the limitation of time, and not to any complexion in the parties. Obseruation hath bene made, that poyson hath bene giuen at a Feast or Banquet to diuers persons, all in one houre, (when friends haue merrily met together, without suspicion of any such villanie) whereof some dyed suddenly, others died within some few dayes after, and some felt no anguish at all, yet every one received a like quantitie.

The like we see to happen daily in purgative medicines, which being giuen to diuers persons (euen all alike in measure, and all alike in preparation) they worke vpon some bodies very suddenly, others more slowly, others very hardly, and vpon some nothing at all. Moreover, the vacuities of some men is with much ease, others with great difficultie, grievously grinding or cutting, and frequent debility

of the heart. What need is there then of alleading many men, when vpon one and the same man, one and the same medicine cannot produce the same effects?

Seeing then, that according to the diuers and vnparallelled complexion, & conformation of the body, we see such things to happen, for the most part; and besides, that the iust temperature of euery particular man is no way to be comprehended: how then shall any one man dare to say, how long time naturall heate shall resist or withstand poyson? Say I admitted, that some one man should be so expert an empoysoner, that he could weigh (in a certainty of iudgement) the power of his poyson, euen as exquisitely as he weigheth muske in the Ballance: yet notwithstanding, I will neuer graunt, that he can as exactly limite poyson, for the nature of him that is to receiue it: but he will faile somewhat of the end, or of the time by him propoosed. For, Physicke it selfe is held to be a Science, grounded but vpon coniectures, concerning what is to be prescribed for euery man, in the proper quantitie and qualitie of meetest remedies. For, *no man knoweth how to write or speake iustly or properly, as Galen saith in the third book of his Methods.* And alittle after: *In the Arte of Physicke (saith he) there is no writing or remedie, but may bee named in his kinde: but that which cannot be spoken, written, nor entirely appointed or ordained, is the quantitie for euery one.*

Hee repeateth this same matter many times, and to the purpose ensuing, as enstrueting, that euery man hath his peculiar curing, and that the naturall propriety is vnspokeable and incomprehensible of an exact Science. Vulgar Physicians call it *Idiosyncrasis*, the naturall propriety, as Galen saith. And because all confesse, that it cannot be comprehended; they attribute the true Art of Physicke to *Aesculapius* & *Apollo*. For the principle, and foundation (as it were) of perfect, compleate, & infallible Physicke (which Galen calls; *The true Arte of Medicine*) is the particular knowledge of Naturals. Wherupon he makes this addition. *If I knew how to acknowledge iustly, the nature of each one in particular: I should verily thinke to be such a one as Aesculapius, and to know as much in my understanding. But because it is not to be doone, I am determined to exercise my selfe*

The complexion and temperature of all men is incomprehensible, neither can poysons worke in one and the same manner vpon them.

Physicke a Science grounded but on coniecture.

Galen in lib. vi. super pta.

so much, to come so neere him as a man may, and to exhort others therein to follow mine example.

If Physicke then be coniectural, and not certaine in the party that prepareth or appointeth remedies to euery body, & the issue is not to be seene, but finally by a long obseruation and experience; who can perswade himselfe herein concerning poysons? For, if in the Art of physicke, Experience is dangerous, as the wise & learned Hippocrates well aduise vs: it is easie to conceiue, how vnertain the prooue of poysons are, because it is not lawfull to experiment their vertue, both without danger and punishment also, as whole medicines in diuersitie of persons.

And whatsoeuer hath bin obserued vpon brute Beasts, as I formerly saide, is very vnapt for any accommodation to a man, because the natures of men and beasts are greatly differing, as namely by this prooue: that Stares feede safely vpon Hemlocke, and Quales on Helleborus, which are both physicke and poyson to vs. From these reasons then we may collect finally, that the Arte (if it may be termed an Arte) or coniectures of empoysoners, is to be esteemed very erroneous, and of slender firmnes: considering, that one selfe same poyson, produceth his action, sometimes quickly, and sometimes slackly; and that not so much by any reason in it selfe; as by the nature and complexion of the body, widenesse or narrownesse of the passages, strength or weaknesse of naturall heate; and the plenty or scarcity of semblable excrements, & diuers other meanes.

For the power of poyson remaineth sometimes vaine and fruitlesse, or mightily rebated, according to such bodies, as haue their faculties of the soule stout and strong, by reason of an excellent good temperature. And Galen thinketh, that the building and composition of the body, is the cause why Hemlocke killeth a man, & nourisheth Stares. Whereto he addeth, the strength and vigour of heate, diminishing and subtilizing, in regard he is perswaded that it happeneth so, that colde poysons better and sooner doe declare their force, when they are giuen to hotte natures. Which may appeare a Paradoxe to many: but hauing bin made most euidently apparant by the said author, I dare

let the prooue passe vpon my credite, because his experience is warrantable.

As for the nature of excrements, they weaken the actions of poysons, being repugnant to their qualities. For if there be any abundance of phlegme in the entrails, the power of hot poyson will be greatly rebated: and on the contrary, hot moysture hasteneth the action of such a poyson. Likewise, ouer-copious chollier stoppeth and breaketh the stupefactive venome receiued, whereas phlegme fauoreth it. And all that these wicked empoysoners do know, is nothing else, but what poysons onely kill, by euident condition of their qualities, and that they hurt with all their subtilance. Such are they as kill by corrupting or corrosion, which must haue time to enforce their mallice (as Galen saith) whereas other do weaken themselves by their tardying. For they do all putrifie in time, & so much the more, as the place is moister and hotter.

Such then as worke by putrifying, time doth augment their action: because they encrease the corruption, and in regard they cease not to corrupt themselves; reciprocally they corrupt and rot the body. From whence ensueth, that death is caused long time after: especially such poysons as are of grosse and earthy subtilance. Thus you may see, what empoysoners haue learned by long obseruation.

First, they know how to distinguish venomes, which kill by their insigne and notorious qualities, from other that cause death by their whole subtilance.

Secondly, that they naturally bring to any man whatsoeuer, a most sudden harme, and yet doe not discover their vigour, but vpon longer time.

Thirdly, that (of both the two kindes) they kill either sooner or later (without any respect to the body) according as they haue the most, or the least quantitie.

Fourthly, they can deale in such sort, that all poysons shall be tempered according to their owne pleasure, and make them sweeter or sharper, because they should kill the sooner or slower, which is without any secret or myracle of nature.

We vually exercise the same cunning, in purgative drugges, setting an edge on such as are dull and slowe, and giue them as spurs to further purpose: and contrariwise, wee retaine ouer-hasty penetration

Of the several action of poysons vpon phlegme and chollier, by their scanting or abound.

Of poysons that haue their working by putrification.

What apprehension empoysoners haue of them by four meanes in obseruation.

Application of purgative drugges in physicks.

Effects of
poysons im-
possible to be
limited to a
moment of
time.

Diuerſity of
effects both
in the agent
and patient.

The iudge-
ment and an-
swer of Pedro
de Albano
vpon this
point.

Force spent
or bewitched.

Plurality
exp.

A mind more
then ordinary
skill to haue
such know-
ledge.

in the other, by mingling with them, such as are naturally more slacke & tardy. But that a man should limit the effects of poysons, to a certaine day, and to a point or moment named; we hold to be meerly absurd and ridiculous, because the nature of each man cannot be perfectly knowne (as we haue before sufficiently declared) from whence proceedeth the most vncertaine terme or time of euery poyson, for procuring the death of a man. For euery naturall action meeteth with diuers effects, according to the diuers disposition, as well of that which worketh, as of that which suffereth. And this happeneth, not onely by reason of euident qualities, but also of hidden and proper: whence also it enſueth, that the thing which doth this man a great deale of harme, may bee as profitable to another.

Pedro de Albano (whom some call the Reconciler, or Peace-maker) where hee explicated this question, propoundeth: That he may do it, who hauing certainly knowne the continuance of a mans life, by the measure and quantity of his radical humour: may giue him a poyson, that shall consume in ten yeares space. From hence he collecteth, some men may bee poysoned, that droope and dry away daily (vulgarly termed in *Italian*, *Herbati et Strigati*) and so it may bee ordered sometimes, that poysoning may bee limited. But that it is to be presupposed by Astrologie, I hardly thinke to be euer diuined.

I confesse, that all such as are seene to droope and decay by little and little, being empoisoned, haue a long affliction: but yet there is no certaine time when those men shall bee taken hence. *Pliny* speaketh of no time knowne more certaine of death, then vs of the Sea Hare (a venomous fish) bringeth, where he saith: *Such men as (in eating) feede poyson, and by the first signe perceiue the poyson: shall dye in as many houres after, as the Hare hath liued.* Now, who shall diuine the age of the Hare, to the ende, that the appointed hour of death, may be fore-tolde thereby?

And yet if I did admit that, that a man did know how many dayes the Hare hath liued: I can neuer grant (for all that) that all men shall dye at one and the same time; because one and the selfe-same poyson, worketh diuersly, according to the

diuerſity of mens bodies, as it hath bene more then sufficiently proued. So that it had bene much more truly faide (as the same *Pliny* after addeth) *The poyson can haue no certainty of time, according as Licimus Mater also saith.*

Poyson can
haue no cer-
tainty of time

CHAP. VII.

Of diuers erroneous and idle opinions, conceined in fantastike braines, and verily beleued, as if they were sound truths.



People erre in many matters, concerning diuers creatures (haply not inuented of them selues) but held by elder and precedent intimation, as little also apprehended or vnderſtoode by them; but, perhappes, meerer fictions of their owne braines, vpon some appearing probable reasons. As wise and worthie Poets, who haue entrusted bad and bestiall men, to the imitation of vertue, by witty fables and pleasant inuentions, which euer hath bene, and still is permitted as lawfull in them, euen as the discipline is allowed to Painters, as *Hora.* to stifieth, saying:

*Poets and Painters equall power containe,
To say or do, what best shall like their braine.*

As for Painters, we see that they figure an Angell in the forme of a Youth, clothed with a garment of Starres, bare headed, and hauing wings like a Bird. And the Soule of man is represented like to a young Infant, stark naked. The diuell, co haue hornes, and a dreadfull taile: And yet neuertheless, these are but spirites without bodies, and cannot carry the resemblance of any visible creature.

In the like manner, Hell, which is but a place, is figured with a hideous gaping throat: Death, being but a priuation of life, is resembled by the Anatonized bones of a dead man, carrying a Scythe in his hand. Loue, which is but a passion and accident, not subsisting any way of it selfe; is painted and presented like a naked

Reports de-
livered by an-
cient people,
do carry no
mean credit
among many.

The saying of
Horace.

The variable
shapes giuen
by Painters
to many
things.
Angell.
Diuell.

Hell.
Death.

Loue.

The Winds.

The twelue
signes in the
Zodiack in fe-
uerall figures.

The figures
of heauen.

The Planets.

The Starres.

The elements
Fire, Ayre,
Water, Earth.

Creatures
figured in fa-
bulous manner
The Salamander.
The Dolphin.

The Pellicane.

childe, and blind, wearing wings, a Bow, and a Quier furnished with Arrowes, The Winds, which are but a moued agitated Ayre; are figured with mens heads, hauing their Cheekes hugely swolne, euen as we see one founding of a Trumpet.

As for Astrologers, though they want paintings, whereby to enſtruct ignorant people: yet haue they demonstrations likewise, and presentation is made of the twelue Signes of the Zodiack (which are but certaine Starres) yet disposed into diuers figures, as one of a Ramme, another of a Bull, the third of two twinned infants, &c. And so the images of heauen which are out of the Zodiack; one in forme of a Beare, another of an Eagle, others in riuers, in an Harpie, Dogge, Dragon, &c. And next the Planets, which are but stars, as Saturne, Iupiter, Mars, Mercurie, and Venus; these beare the forme of personages, in diuers habites and countenances: but the Sun and Moone are otherwise shewne and distinguished.

Painters also haue euermore denoted the figure of a Starre with fine rayons or beames, thereby exprefſing their twinkling splendour: although all the Starres do not sparkle in that manner; and well we know beside, that they are all round in figure, without points or corporeall beams. As for the Elements, they figure the fire (which is invisible) like vnto our artificiall fire, which is not much amisse to the purpose. The Ayre cannot be painted, no more then heauen, cleare and transparent bodies; but yet they are represented by a blew or azure colour. Water is figured by Waues, and the Earth in shape of a Globe, rounde as a Ball.

Of Creatures, they counterfeyte some fabulously: as the Salamander, which is no such thing as it is painted; nor the Dolphin likewise, as it is presented in Armes and Deuices; Nor the Flower de Luce, as it is commonly knowne to euery one. And the Heart, be it of a man, or of other creature, it is of no such shape as Painters giue it.

The Pellicane is figured, with her charpe Beake turned vpon hir brest, which she launceth therewith, to make hir blood yssue forth, for the nourishing of hir yong ones, euen to the price of her owne life,

dying thereby: And yet we see and know that the Pellican hath her beak edgelesse, flat, and broad; iustly like in fashion vnto the Apothecaries Sparule or Slice, as being no way able to wound her brest. Also, the Greeke worde [*Pellican*] signifying an Axe or Coopers Adge or Ads, plainly declareth that her Beake is flat, & as it should be.

Moreover it is sayde, that the Sire or Hee-Bird, beareth the yong ones, euen as with blowes on the face, or (as we vse to say) boxes on the eare, vntill they are almost dead; and then the Dam woundeth her brest, to reuene them with her blood: blowes commonly are giuen with flat, and not pointed things.

The Phoenix, being painted burning her selfe in a fire, prepared purposely for her; is much more fabulous. But all these things are lawfully permitted to Painters and Poets (as we faide before) vpon some good respect and secret reason, needlesse to be reported here; making men onely but of certaine erroneous opinions, which the vulgar holde for sure and most certaine, and which are the more excusable, because many great Philosphers and ancient Physitians, haue defended the like opinions.

1. Of the Viper.

I thath bin a very ancient opinion, that the Viper ioyneth with her male, by receyuing his head in at her mouth (through defect of other genitall partes) and that the female by the delight shee feelth, locketh her teeth so fast together, as thereby the biteth off her males head, and so conceyueh. Afterwards, when the time for delivery cometh, the yong ones hauing no other yssue, and (euen as it were) to reuenge the death of their Father: bite and teare the belly of their mother, whereby she dyeth. Here is the reason why it is faide of a *Posthumus*, of whome the mother dieth in deliuerance, *He is like the Viper, that neuer seeth his father nor mother.* This hath sometime serued as an Emblem with this device or motto, *Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.*

All this is false, and fauored by many, but badly; that being well vnderſtoode which *Aristotle* hath said. *The Viper (saith he) is conceined of Egges which she hatcheth*

The Phoenix.

In what man-
ner the Viper
is faide to en-
gender by hir
male.

Words giuen
of the post-
humus.

What thou
wouldest not
haue done to
thee, doe not
thou to ano-
ther.

*Arist. in Anim.
lib. 9. cap. 7.*

The Viper de-
livereth her
broode, but by
onedaily.

in her belly, and become little vipers: they come forth all formed, being deposed of the membrane or thinnie skinne, which containeth them within the wombe; and that is their secondine. But the later-most (moored with impatience) bite and teare that membrane, to issue forth the more hastily. For the damme or mother bringeth above twenty, and yet delivereth but one daily; which maketh the him-most impatient, and constraineth them angrily to gnawe the tunicle or membrane; but neither the mothers sides or belly, as is vainely imagined.

Many may be deceived also, concerning the originall and etymologie of the word, as if *Vipera* were to say, *Quasi vi patiens*: whereas it is (indeed) of *Vicum patiens*. For there is not any Serpent, that produceth her broode or young alive, or living, but the Viper. Others lay egges, which (out of the belly) are converted into Serpents.

2. Of the Beaser, called *Caster* also.

The naturall
understanding
of the Beaser.

It is vulgarly helde, that this beast teareth away his testicles with his owne teeth, when he perceiveth himselfe to be pursued by Hunt-men: having a kind of knowledge naturally, that they seeke him only for them. Whereupon some thinke, that this name of *Caster* was given him: because he geldeth himselfe, and so (by consequence) becometh chaste.

Which is meereley false, for, as *Diocorides* wrote long since; hee can by no means reach or touch his stones. Those are onely two tumours, which (by yeares) comes to him, & are as impostums, full of fatte matter or suppuration, called *Cystoriam*, which also hee can not teare away. And he is not teamed *Caster*, of gelding, or of chastitie; but of the Greeke word *Gaster*, which signifieth a Belly, because he is full punched, and this is nothing else, but by changing the letter G into C. Read hereupon the most learned History of *M. Rondellius*, of Fishes, in the last chapter of the second Tome.

3. Of the Salamander.

Great error is there also, concerning the true nature of this creature, which is said to live in the fire, and hath power to extingvish it. From which coniecture,

was taken the device of great King *Francis*, the first of that name (father of Arts and Sciences) *Nutrisco, & extingo*: I feed and extingvish.

Diocorides hath very learnedly delivered the contrary, and *Galen* also saying: That the Salamander can resist the fire for some time; but it burneth, by carrying any long while therein. Nevertheless, it were better to hold with *Aristotle*, in saying; That the Salamander is not burned in the fire, but walkes aloft upon it, extingvish both the flame and coales.

Experience, which is more strong then all authorities of the wisest in the world, teacheth vs, that this is a matter no way to be credited. As for the figure of the Salamander, the portraiture thereof also is meereley fabulous, and contrived by Painters, who have thrust such an imagination upon it; making thev also of it, to be a farre greater Beast then it is. It is like to the smaller sort of Lizzards, which frequent the walles in *Languedoc*, named *Langroles*, and in *Dauphine* *Larmises*. But the Salamander is somewhat greater, marked with many spots. His body is full of a white moysture, and thicke like Milke, which issueth forth by the pores of the skinne, pressing it neuer so little. Which milke or moysture is so colde, that the Salamander may (for some time) withstand the fire, but yet not long, without burning, roasting and dying, as we have many times made good triall of. Farre is it from quenching the fire, or much lesse living in it: like as the Chameleon liueth by the ayre; and I judge both alike in truth: albeit I neuer saw any Chameleon alive to make proofe of.

4. Of the Shee-Bear.

It is said also, that the produceeth a peece of flesh, not having the forme of any creature: and afterward shee heket it in such manner, that thereby onely shee giueth it both fashion and forme. This is but a kinde of hyperbolicall speaking, for to say truly, the yong one is very vnihtly after the birth, being all couered with foame or frosh, and in such a quantity, as it seemeth indeede but a lump of flesh, without any distinction of parts. The Dam or Mother cleaseth it immediately thereof, by licking al the filth away; wher-

Diocorides
Galenus
de Tempe.

Aristotle
de Meteoris 19

Painters have
used in the
house of the
Salamander.

Like Newts,
Addes and
the Lizards
bunninge
and light
houses.

A definition
of the Sal-
mander's re-
semblance.

The Beaser is
born, but soon
spitteth out
the same
and so continueth
in the world.

by (not long after) it appeareth in the true shape of a creature. So may we see a W helpe (or a yong Lambe newly yeaned) much muddied and besmeared at the first, as it is hardly knowne at the prime view: but when the Damme hath doone her louing and naturall Office, then all the parts are plainly seene and distinguished.

CHAP. VIII.

A vulgar Question: What Language a child shall speake, that neuer heard any speech. That a man or woman borne dumb, is necessarily deafe. As also, hee that is Nurst among dumbe people, And not, on the contrary, that one dumbe by Nature, should be deafe: And whence it ensueth, that a man is so tardie, in knowing howe to speake.



Vulgar people beleue, and hold it as a thing most assured, that a man should naturally speake the Language of *Adam*, if he neuer

learned any other speech from his infancy; euen as if hee had bene nurshed by a dumbe Woman, among dumbe people, or in a Desert utterly vnihabited of people, where neuer any speech had bene heard.

Herodotus declareth in his second book, that *Psammeticus*, a King of the *Aegyptians*, was delicious (on a time) to make proofe hereof, to the end, that he might iudge thereby, what was the most auncient and naturall Language, of all them that were spoxen in the world. He caused two Children to bee nurshed in a Forrest, where neuer any voyce of man was, or could be heard. After two yeeres were past, and they being brought before the King, sometimes they could pronounce this Word *Bec*, which in the Phrygian tongue, signifieth Bread. Whereupon some gathered, that the Phrygian was the first language of man.

But as *Saint Augustine* saveth, these children might haue learned the Word *Bec* (and so retained it) of Goats, among

which they were nourished. For, as hee sheweth in his worke of the quantitie of the Soule; all manner of speaking is by hearing, and by imitation. Notwithstanding, in his Booke of the Citie of God, hee thinketh and beleueth, that before the confusion of Tongues (which happened at the building of the Tower of *Babel*) the Hebrew Language was naturally to all. As if words were an action proceeding from naturall instinct, or the simple and proper motion of the soule: euen as if they had power in themselves (and of themselves, with some naturall inclinations) to bring forth in euidence and effect speech, without any enstrueting. Such knowledge is to sucke, to cry, mourne, laugh, mouing hands and feet, & when strength serueth, to go.

The Goate, Lambe, Chicken, and other such like creatures, so soone as they are bred and brought forth, bring themselves to the teates, knowing naturally, that there is their nourishment. Beeing grown greater, they make choise (among a thousand diuers plants) such as best digest and agree with their complexion. They bleate and cackle, euen from their production, which answereth to the cries of children: and this is done without teaching, or any enstrueting, or so much as example or imitation.

Man hath the like actions and representations, euen as other creatures, simply naturall of his owne, and without any apprenticeship. But the worde or Speech, which is a voyce significative, expressing the conceptions of a reasonable Soule: they proceede onely and wholly from a Science or Discipline, which is comprehended by the means of hearing. So that it is impossible, that any one being deafe, from his birth, and persevering in the same deafeenesse, should euer knowe how to speake, although that his tongue, and other parts thereto appointed, are most exquisitely compoed and ordained, as none more formally can be any way de-fired.

What then shall wee say of him that neuer heard any thing? Speech is a Discipline, no lesse then that of Musick: both the one and the other, are apprehended by hearing. From whence it cometh, that a childe (in what place soeuer it is nourished and brought vp) apprehendeth

Aug in Civitat.
Dial. 16. ca. 11

A refutation
of the latter
words of S.
Augustine.

Such things
as are done
by instinct of
nature onely.

That wordes
or speaking
proceedeth
of a science
or discipline.

Speech is an
instrueting
comparable
to Musick.

The opinion
of the vulgar
people.

Herodotus in l. 2.
Prooffe made
by a King of
Egypt, to
know which
was the most
auncient
Language of all
other.

The opinion
of S. Augustine
Aug in Genes.
lib. 9.

The mouth
tongue, or
learned from
the Mother.

That Adam
had neuer
spoken of
himselfe, or
naturally.

Men naturall
ly more en-
clined to ill
then good.

What is truly
naturall of
the Soule.

The vnaptne-
ss of children
in their first
yeares, & the
effe-cty entai-
ning by passi-
ons of the
minde,

The opinion
of Aristotle,
that the soule
hath nothing
of it selfe, as
concerning
Sciences.

eth and retaineth the same vulgar Language (which some rearme Vernacle or Maternall) whatsoever it be, either Hebrew, Greeke, Latine or Barbarisme; one is as easie to him as another. For, in hauing nothing by naturall impression, he is indifferent to all: like as the colour of white receiueth all other tinctures, and some kinde of water all fauours; and so in the like comparisons.

Adam could neuer haue spoken any naturall language of his owne, no more then we: but God inspired him with an vnderstanding soule, capable of such a language as pleased him: As he did like- wise to Eue; and their first children learned to speake by them, euen as ours now do of vs.

Heere wee are to know, that from the corruption of our first Parents transgression, we haue and hold all our naturall conditions and inclinations, and namely, the very greatest imperfection that can be, of enclining more vnto euill then good, more truly rearmed Original sinne. But as concerning speech or speaking, we haue it not but by aptitude & habilitie, euen as all other disciplines or en- structions.

That which is truly naturall of our soule, is enchaired or carraied into a body of such quality, temperate and completion, as man ought to haue for his perfection. For the sonde nicenesse of birth, is like the infant in his first yeare, vnapt to reason, by the imperfection of his body, and likewise as they, who by accident of sicknesse, or passion of minde (as Loue and idle disturbances) become weakly brained, foolish, fottish, lunaticke, and mad. In all which imperfections, the soule is euermore her owne, remaining still in her integrity: and yet (neuertheless) cannot exercise her reason, by not hauing the body at her command.

Aristotle enstrueth (to singular good purpose) That our soule is ignorant of all things, and like vnto a new Table, newly polished and prepared, wherein nothing hath bene depicted or engrauen, when it was infused into the body of man, but sent downe from Heauen as we beleue. Shee hath no- thing but simplicity, sincerity, purity, facility and conuenience, with inclination and aptitude to euery Arte and Science, and to all

knowledge of things diuine and humane (which is the true definition of Philosophy) Always referred and excepted, those faculties and actions, necessarily required in a liuing soule, as those in Beasts; which our soule exerciseth in the body from the very beginning, and before the infant is borne, without doctrine or discipline (as already hath bene related).

Doctrine is not requisite in her, but for Artes and Sciences, hauing nothing in her, whatsoever diuine Plato layeth to the contrary, affirming; That the reasonable soule hath knowledge of all things, when it cometh into the body: but being plunged and swarmed in the great humidity of the body, it forgetteth all. Like to him that becometh obliuious, or (asthey say in Greeke) sicke of a Leihargie, in regard of the Phlegmaticke humour which drowneth his braine. But afterward, in such measure, as the body loseth this great humidity, and drieth it selfe by little and little: the Soule also recouereth it selfe by paucity of degrees, and comprehendeth all things demonstrated and thewne vnto her, as in remembering and acknowledging her selfe, and not in learning any nouelties.

This was the opinion of good olde Plato, which maketh well for such as firme, that wee haue some certainty of Language, which came from our first Parents, Adam and Eue: and that wee should (in time) speake the very same, if the other, which wee ordinarily heare in our houses, did not preoccupaie it. But in truth, our soule neyther knoweth, or holdeth (of it selfe) any Language, nor is affected or giuen to any one in particular: but enclined equally, and is indifferent to all tongues, and in so good manner, as one hindereth not another, which (perhaps) a naturall tongue would, if it had any at all. At leastwise, some flippes or branches would be remembered thereof, as in such, that could not altogether forget the accents, or the prolations, with some certaine words and phrases of their mother-tongue.

The reasonable soule then, hauing not any language of it selfe, is very proper and apt to comprehend, and well to expresse by sound and entire instru-

The true definition of philosophy concerning the Soule.

The opinion of Plato, quite contrary to that of Aristotle, concerning the capacity of the soule.

A naturall Language from our first Parents, Adam & Eue.

That our soul knoweth not any manner of language naturally.

The happy memory of King Mihridates.

That the voice is onely of nature, and not of words or speech.

Every creature hath properly a voice.

Arist. Probl. 57. lib. 11.

What it is to speake, how it is formed, and to what ende.

How an infant beginneth first to practice & attaine to speech.

ments, all diuersity of tongues. As it is recorded of King *Antibridates*, to haue so happy a memory; that he could well and properly speake two and twenty diuers Languages.

By nature, we haue no more simply then a voice, common to all other creatures, that breathe, and different onely in them, by and according to their kindes. For every animall hath a proper voice, which grossely signifieth his affections or passions: Which is no way knowne how to be expressed (saith *Ammenius* vpon *Aristotle*) or represented by letters or syllables, no more then the sundry murmures of the Sea, and of the Windes. Euen so, man in his prime or first moneths, when hee lieth simply as a beast, hath nothing but a voice onely, before hee learns to speake: whereof being deprived, he is said to be dumb, although he hath not lost his voice. Whereof *Aristotle* speaketh very notably in his Problems: That *Man onely is dumb*.

Speech then is nothing else, but to fashion and articulate the voice naturally, by addition of a vocall consonance, in the composing and enterlacing, for the expressing of significant words, which explicate, and (as a man may say) do infan- tely and produce the conceptions of man: which are infinitely more diuers, and in farre greater number, then those of other Creatures, exempted of reason and discourse. And therefore it greatly behooueth, that a man should know extraordinarily, how to diuersifie his voice, for answering to that which the great capacity of his spirit containeth.

An infant collecteth and assemblith diuers conceptions in his vnderstanding, and the words which he heareth (accompanied with some actions) strue to make signification of all: which he comprehendeth by little and little, and then retaineth by frequent reiteration. Afterward, when his tongue is growne more firme and able; hee strueth to represent that which he hath retained, by imperfect fumbling, and at the ende of a little long apprenticeship, speaketh like to a young Parrot, after a long time spent in listening. For otherwise, as well the one as the other, would haue but his branches or flippes, which is the naturall voice, without any other signification; then of certaine affections or passions, as we haue already said.

Lets now obserue that which *Aristotle* saith, in his Historie of Creatures. *Those creatures which speake, haue voyce also: but all such as haue voyce, speake not. For, such as are deaffe by nature, are also dumb: where- by they may yet render a voyce, but not speake one word.* And in his Booke of the Sen- ces, and their organs, where he maketh a comparison of such as are blind and deaffe borne, he saith, *Deaffe and dumbe are as accidents, which necessarily follow one another.* Alfo *Alexander Aphrodisiens* produceth in his Problems, that being demanded, why men borne deaffe, should be dumbe likewise; answereth familiarly, *They can neuer speake that which they neuer heard.*

For better confirmation of this matter, we must necessarily adde that which *Aristotle* writeth in the same place before al- leged, concerning the Voyce, and the singing of Birdes, which is in part simply naturall, and in part of some intelligence and learning as his owne amongst them. For, I will not heere inferre, that some man may reach a Bird, to tune another Song beside her owne: and the instru- tion of the dammes (both he and she) to their young ones. Whereby we may easily comprehend, that if Birdes haue one natu- rall song (which is the voyce common to all their kinde) and another taught or apprehended in time of continuing with their owne: that they could not so keepe and enioy, as if they had bin immediatly seperated, and taken out of the nest. Euen so in like manner, an infant to be frequented with all people that speake, and (by their meere conuersation) instructed to speake; would else haue none other but his owne naturall voyce, as at the instant of his birth, and bringing into the world.

The voice (saith *Aristotle*) displaeth, what difference is made to be among the languages of Beasts & Birdes, euen among them of one and the same kinde, in diuers places. Let the Partridge in sundry Countries (eue for example, hauing diuers notes; for some chutcke or iouke, and others clacker or chirpe. And there are diuers smaller Birdes, which chaunt no such notes as their Dams doe; but being taken out of their Nests, are quite changed from paternall education: and so learne the tunes of other enstru-cted Birdes, or of mens voices: iming themselves to their notes, customs and manners. Sometime it hath bene obserued in a Nightingale, that

Difference betweene the voyce and speech. *Aristo in 4. lib. Anim. cap. 2.*

cap. 1.

Alex. Aphrod. in lib. Probl. 53.

That the singing of Birdes is in part by apprehension or learning.

A child without teaching to speake, could haue but his naturall voyce.

Aristo in lib. 4. de Anim. cap. 7.

That Birdes do learne diuers notes & tunes one of another, besides their owne.

taught her *Targen* to her young ones, and so gave them imitation to diuers songs. For, speech cannot come of nature, as the voyce doth: but is to be attained by study and discipline. Thus you may perceiue also, why men make use of diuers Languages, albeit they are like to one another in voyce, &c.

The conclusion
on what men
borne dumbe
are deafe also

Me-thinks this should seeme prooue enough, that speech is a thing properly learned by the means of hearing, from whence it ensueth inuitably, that such as are deafe borne, & they that neuer heard any speech (without being deafe) are dumbe by consequent, except (by succession of time) they doe enioy hearing, and their eares be vnstoppt; as we haue diuers times obserued, and made practise of, by children that haue not spoken before seauen or eight yeares.

What difference
there is
betweene the
speech of In-
fants & that
of Birds,

Now I come (in passing along) to touch a point not impertinent to our purpose, to wit: What difference there is in the speech, which an Infant learneth of himselfe, from that of a Parrot, a Starling, a Pyea, Larke, a Linnet, a Thrush, a Raven, a laye, and such like, as they haue learned. Very certaine it is, that as their soules are different, euen so is their Language: in regard that a child vnderstandeth what he speaketh, and would speake so and so, or better if hee could, to explicate and make his conceptions vnderstood: whereas on the contrary, a Bird hath not any intelligence of the signification of whatsoever it prattleth. So that, if a Bird demanda, or answere sometime (prouing to purpose) it is by hap or aduenture, and not ordinary; except it bee suggested, remembered, or else expressly made to speake it.

Whatsoever
Birds practise,
is quite with-
out any intel-
ligence.

Moreover, a Bird will alwaies adde some crosse thwarting word or other, which argueth sufficiently, that it hath not any intelligence at all. Whereupon it hath bin commonly said, that whoeuer speaketh, and knoweth not what he speaketh, prattleth like a Parrot. So a simple man may learne some folly, or vnfitting words, in the *Germane Poliss*, or any other vnkowne tongue to him, and ignorantly vse it as a salutation, and be derided for his labour: like others, that thinking to bee reputed learned, will vse many Latine sentences and phrases, quite contrary to their owne meaning in the speaking.

It remaineth now to know, seeing the natural dumbe man is deaffe by consequent: if likewise the man dumbe by nature (by reason of some defect in his tongue, or in other parts requisite for speaking) bee also deaffe consequent? *Laetantius Firmianus*, in his Booke of the workes of God, would haue it to bee so: but being too grosse an Anatomist (as is easily comprehended by his reasons) hee is not in this point to be credited. *Alexander Aphrodisienses*, in the place before alledged, seemeth to say no: but he buildeth vpon no good foundation, when he saith; That there is a paire of nerves, which come from the Braine, one portion whereof goeth to the tongue, and the other to the eares. And that by this means, the affections of the tooing and of the eares, doe easily communicate themselves together. Also, forasmuch as that one of the said portions may bee offended and corrupted, without the other: it happeneth also, that a man may become deaffe by some disease, and yet (on the contrary) not be dumbe.

But his supposition holdeth no place in this point, no more then the reasons of some moderne men; following *Pedro de Albano*, termed the Peace-maker, saying; That the sixt likeness in the Nerves of the Braine, which mooueth the tongue, is firmly allied to the fift likeness, which serueth for hearing. For, as I will neuer grant, that defect of speech followeth deafenesse, by any consent or sympathy of the tooing with the eares, but only through want of enstruction, which should be receiued by the eares: so can I not consent, that by the vice or incongruity of those parts dedicated to speaking, hearing should any way be offended.

In the acte also there is no likelyhood or coherence, considering that those parts worke not, eyther for the integrity, nor for the construction of the eares, & lesse for the enstruction of hearing, who (for herselfe) hath no neede of any teaching, no more then the sight, or any of the exteriour senses. And as for them, they require nothing else, but to be free and open, without any impeachment or hinderance, and that their object should bee neere, within a certaine distance. Why then, we see and heare naturally, without any doctrine or discipline. Seeing then, that hearing neyther taketh or apprehendeth any thing of the verbal instruments,

nor

The second
Argument:
whether the
dumbe man
by birth is al-
so deafe by
consequent.

Lesson in Opt.
De vis. c. 14 p. 7.

Alex. Aphrodisi
lib. Probi. 133.

Diuers both
ancient and
moderne writ-
ters decided in
this point.

An especiall
note well
worth the ob-
serving.

What the ex-
terioresences
do necessarily
require.

Hearing ap-
prehendeth
nothing of the
verbal instru-
ments, nor of
words.

nor of words themselves (as concerning her owne simple action to heare) he that is dumbe from his birth, by the imperfection of his tongue, shall not be deafe in that respect: no more, then as if from a braue discouraging man, the tooing should bee torne out of his head. And it hath bene commonly obserued, that such as haue their tongues cut or slit, haue heard neuer a iot the lesse in that regard, neither found any defect in their hearing.

If it be true then, that the instruments of speech, conferre not nor communicate particularly with the eares, and that speaking worketh nothing with hearing, as (on the contrary) hearing doth, and is necessaric for speech; it ensueth plainly, that the dumbe by nature, shall neuer heare in that respect (supposing, that the organ of the eare or hearing, is no way therein interferred. And that the deafe by birth, must be dumbe necessarily: although in his tongue, and those other parts, requisite for speech, there is not any defect at all. Obserue then I praye, that in all this purpose, I speake of birth and of Nature, indifferently, to signifie the deale or dumbe from the beginning. And I name the dumbe from birth, not he that cannot speake (for so wee should bee all dumbe) but hee that is not any way apte to speake.

The Authors
caution; be-
cause hee word
not be misin-
terpreted.

The third ar-
gument.
From whence
it ensueth,
that man is at
first too tardie
of speech.

Arif. in lib. 11.
Prob. 58. & 60.

In the voyce
of beastes, are
few or no let-
ters at all.

Let vs come now to the third point. From whence it proceedeth, that a man hauing so prompt and able a spirite, that hee comprehendeth all thinges in small compasse of time; is yet (notwithstanding) so slow and tardie in knowing howe to speake, and articulate his voyce. Whereas on the contrary, beastes & other creatures, immediately, or soone after their production, haue their voyce absolute & perfect, euen as well and fully, as euer they shall haue.

Arifotle in his Problemes, maketh answer hereto, saying; The voyce of man hath great diuersities in it; other creatures expresse no Letters at all, or very fewe, (as two or three onely) and without Consonants, which, ioyned with Vowels, make the worde. Speech (saith he) is not sly and simply of the voyce, but is perfected and accomplished of the affection or condition of the voyce, by signification; and the affections of the voyce, they are the letters. Children therefore, before they know how, or can pronounce

letters, expresse their passions (no other wise then as beastes do) by a natural voyce and no way taught or instructed, which is common to all infants, of any country whatsoeuer. But yet speech is different in Towne and Towne, nay, in one and the same Towne or City, by reason of the voyce artificially distinguished, thorough the great diuersity of letters coupled, and interlaced of infinite kinds; whereof proceedeth diuers words, signifying an infinity of things. Seeing then, that there are so many manners or fashions of speaking, and that (of five or six letters) may bee made fifty feuerall words, and al differing the one from the other: wee may easilie thereby vnderstand, why an infant formeth his voyce so late, in regard of beastes, who haue their voyces merely simple, & (as *Alexander Aphrodisienses* sayth) most natural of all creatures.

For, whatsoeuer is extremely diuers, & must be diuersified by many differences, cannot bee attained in any short space of time. Be it in regard of the soul, which apprehendeth the science of speaking; or be it in the tooing, which ought to expresse it, & requirith time also, both to break and enable the words in their vttering, as we vse to say of the hand, for instruments of Musick. Whereupon he that is dumbe, beginneth at the first to mumble and stutle in the mouth, being not able to make a sound of all the Letters, nor to pronounce words with any hability; onely by reason of the tongues softnes, whereas her rudenesse requirith a new labour.

There is another doubt vpon the same purpose, & which is much more vncleare to explicate, & *Arifotle* propoundeth it in his Problemes. From whence it cometh, that some infants begin to speake before due age, & whom commonly the words are formed, and after they haue wel expressed some words, become dumbe again, and return to the first condition, until the ordinary terme and time of speaking; Many haue held this to be prodigious; & especially, when it is told them, that some haue spokē at the very point of their birth. Questionles, it is very rare, and hardly to be credited: and yet it may well happen by natural reason, as thus. An infant, at the same instant it heareth, it vnderstandeth, & then it may speake. But ordinarily hearing goeth far before vnderstanding, & vnderstanding likewise precedeth

A child's
speech hath
many diuersi-
ties and with-
culties mixt.

Difference of
speech almost
in euery Little
and Towne.

Concerning
the voyce of
beastes.
Alex. Aphrod.
lib. Probi. 41

Things of ex-
treme diuersi-
tie are more
easily taught
or learned.

Arif. in lib. 11.
Prob. 57.

What is the
reason, that
some infants
speake before
their time, &
afterward be-
come dumbe

H h h h spea

speaking: the instrument for speech and words; is not (as yet) of such temperature as is convenient for explicating those things which the spirit hath conceived.

On the contrary, some speake much sooner then they knowe how to vnderstand (as we haue already saide of Parrats and other Birds that prattle) counterfeiting such words as they heare: vntill time conuenient for them both, that is to say, ability to vnderstand and speake. Such children then, to whom the obiects of hearing make much sooner impression in the soule, then the instrument of Speech knowes how to perfect: it happeneth to them sometimes, that after they haue vnderstood diuers things, suddenly they pronounce them. And especially after they sleepe, when the spirits haue made themselves more copious; they haue the more strength and impetuous vigour, to moue the tongue in distinct manner. But this endureth not, neither can be of any long continuance; but the infant will returne to his first dumbnesse againe.

In like manner, sometimes wee shall finde our selues so disposed as (without thinking thereon) words and sentences will meerey flow in our mouths: whereof againe (at other times) we shall be so delayed and hindered, as wee can scarcely, or with any easie possibility, expresse things well knowne and familiar vnto vs. Euen so it may come to passe, that an infant (shall speake something, and afterward his tongue returning to the first ordinarie condition: he becommeth dumbe, vntill the vttermoost time of his perfection and strength.

It is a contrary case, in an infant that becommeth dumbe by deafnesse, after he hath spoken some gibbridge or prittie prattle, yea spoken intelligibly; as we haue heard credibly reported, concerning all the male children of M. *Anthony Butin* (a famous Apothecary in *Tolosa*, dwelling at the signe of the three Kings) fro which his daughters were exempted. They all spake, till about the age of foure years, & afterward became deafe in such sorte, as they could not heare any noyse; and so (by little and little) ceased to speake. This hapned, in regard that their hearing continuing no longer, they did easie forget

the little Language, which they had learned in their first yeares. As an infant (indeed) is very obliuious, by reason of his great humidity; and particularly the saide *Butins* children, who were verie rheumaticke. And so hauing no longer means of continuance, to apprehend and speake by hearing, they became dumbe. As any one, who hath learned some few French or Dutch words, through want of continuing conference in those Languages, forgets the little he had before. Or hee that discontinueth his Grammer, or from other Science, or playing on Instruments of Musick, easily forgetteth all by want of vse.

These and such like accidents hapning daily, confirme our first proposition, in fauour whereof, we haue thus largely discoursed. For, if one may become dunib, by reason of deafnesse, which happeneth by accident, & after he could speake who will make any doubt at all, but that the deafe by birth, must needes be incurably dumbe?

I will adde heereto a very notable accident, which maketh some-what to this purpose: of some, that by a Vvounde or hurt, or some sicknesse beside of the braine: haue wholly lost remembrance of all things, yea euen of speech, which they learned againe by little and little, like as children do, hauing hearing at their command, and the instruments of speech no way engaged. Graue men, and woorthie of faith, doe testifie, to haue seene some wounded in the head, from one side to the other, and euen in the eye (whereof M. *Rondeletius* relateth an History in his practise, and the appendix to the 21. Chapter) who forgot so much as their owne names, and were faine to bee taught all things, euen like yong children. So came they wholly to the first condition of an infant from birth: except vulgar speech, which yet some of them retained. But other impressions of their tongues became estranged, concerning Artes and Sciences learned before, and things which they had formerly both seene and knowne; all quite defaced out of their soules, by the inundation and raine of the harme.

The End of the Ninth booke.

Men learning Languages, may loose lole them by want of vse.

Deaf by birth, is incurably dumbe.

Of such as haue forgot all things, and their owne very names.

Rondeletius in his practise, Chap. 21.



The Tenth Booke.

CHAP. I.

Of the Kingdom of Ireland: The Antiquity, Original, and first Inhabitation thereof, according to the confirmation of the best approved Authors.



IN the yeare of the world 1525, the holy Patriarch *Noah*, began to admonish the people, of vengeance to follow, for their wicked liues and detestable crimes; and hee prepared to builde the Arke, as thereby foreshewing to his kinsfolke and friends, the vniuersall Flood or Deluge that was to ensue, and wherewith the whole face of the earth should be couered within few yeares, except amendment grew from them in short time; all which he did before the Flood, one hundred and sue and twenty yeares. But when euery man seemed to neglect his worthe admonitions; *Neece* to *Noah*, who was named *Cesara*, hearing this dreadful prophesie of her Vnckle, and doubting least it would come to passe: indeed, determined (with certain friends of hers) to seek their fortune in some forraigne Region. Perswading her selfe, that if she could find a Country neuer inhabited, and consequently vnspoiled with sin: the generall sentence of Gods wrath would not there take effect.

Hereupon, rigging a Nauy, shee committed her selfe to the seas, flying forth full: length the arriued in *Ireland*, with three men only, and fifty women; hauing

lost the residue of her company, by misfortune of sundry shipwrackes, sustayned in that her long and troublesome voyage. The names of the men were these, *Bibhi*, *Lagria*, and *Fintan*. The coast where shee first set foote on land, and where also she lyeth buried, was cald *Auiculara Littus*. The Shipping name of shore. The Stones, wherein the memory hereof was precluded from violence of the Waters, haue bene seene of some, as they themselves haue reported, but how truly I haue not to say.

Within forty daues after her coming on Land there, the vniuersall Floude came, and ouer-floued all that coast, as well as the other parts of the worlde, But whereas this tale bewrayeth it selfe (too manifestly) to bee an vntueth, if time and other circumstances be thorowly examined; I will stand no longer about the prooff or disproofe thereof. Onely this is sufficient (I thinke) to bring it out of credite, to consider: that the Art of Navigation or sayling, was vnkowne to the world, before the vniuersall Deluge, and no part inhabited, except the continent of *Syria*, and thereabout.

But to let passe such a forged tale, with the record thereof engrauen in a Stone, (a deuice borrowed, as some thinke, from *Iosephus*) it shall bee sufficient for the glory of the Irish nation in their Antiquity, to graunt, that *Ireland* was discovered and peopled by some of *Noahs* kindred, euen as the first Islands of the Worlde (if they will needs haue it so, as the likelihood is great) according to (which is set forth in their histories. When about 300. yeares after the generall floude, immediately vpon the confusion of Tongues; *Asph* and

Bibhi, *Lagria*, *Fintan*.

Auiculara Littus.

Annals 1556

This tale can carry a like lihood of any truth in it.

Rash. Isaac in Gen. 5.

Annals 1556
After the deluge and vniuersall 300. yeares, &c. 100. be-
tweene *Noahs* Flood, & *Babel*.

The warning given by *Noah* of the world vniuersall destruction by water.

Cesara, who was the *Neece* to *Noah*.

Cesara arriued in *Ireland*, with three men, and fifty women.

Of such infants as too best practise to speake, and yet faile thereof afterwards.

An apt comparison of some conditions in our selues, answerable to childrens imperfections.

Of children becoming dumbe by deafnesse.

A rare example of dumbnesse.

and his posteritie (imboldened by *Nabhs* example) aduentured by ship, to commit themselves to passe the seas, and to search out the unknowne corners of the world, and so finding out diuers isles in the west parts of the world.

There was (say they) in that retinue, one of the same progeny named *Bartolennus*, or *Batholennus*, who, encouraged with the late attempt and successe of *Nimrod*, kinsman to *Ninus* (then newly intruded vpon the Monarchy of *Assyria*) searched to farre west-intending to attaine to some gouernement, where he might rule without any partner in authoritie; till at the length, Fortune brought him and his people vpon the coast of *Ireland*. Heere hee seled himselfe with his three sonnes *Lanquinnus*, *Salanus* and *Ruthurgus*, right achiue and stout Gentlemen, who, seaching the Land from side to side, and from end to end, left remembrances of their names, in certaine notable places, and named after themas *Lingvine*, *Stragrus* & mount *Salanus*, since named *Saint Dominicks* hill, and *Ruthurgus* his Poole. Little is remembered of *Bartolennus*, sauing that in short space (with many hands working at once) he ridde and made payne a great part of the Countrey, ouer-growne with woods and thickets.

Thus became *Ireland* inhabited by this people, vnder the gouernement of the three Sonnes to *Bartolennus*, and their offspring, for the space of three hundred yeares. Together with *Bartolennus*, arrived in *Ireland* certain vngodly people of *Nimrods* race, woorthily tearmed Giants, as those that (in bodily shape) exceeded the common proportion of other men, and vsed their strength to gaine soueraigntie, and to oppresse the weak with rapine and violence. That lineage (*Chams* brood) did grow, in short while, to great numbers, and alwaies endeuoured themselves (wherefoeuer they came) to beare the rule ouer others. One cause thereof was their bodily strength, answerable to their hugeness of stature; another, the examples of *Cham* or *Zoroastres* the Magician, & *Nimrod*, grandfather to *Ninus*. Whiche two persons (in themselves and progenie) were renowned through the world as victorious Princes, ruling ouer two mighty Kingdomes, *Agypt* and *Assyria*.

A third cause also there was, namely,

they repined at the blessings bestowed on *Sem* and *Iaphet*, thinking it necessary to withstand all lawfull rule and deminion: lest the curse of slavery (prophecied by *Nabhs*) should light vpon them, as at the length it did. Whereupon, rebelliously withdrawing their obedience, from their lawfull Gouernours heere in *Ireland*, and taking head; they set vp a King of their owne fashion, and maintayning his estate to the oppression of the subiects, by bringing them into continuall bondage. The successe was variable on both sides, betweene the lawfull Gouernours and these vipers, with daily riling and skirmishes, so much to the grieffe of them, who conered to liue in quiet order vnder their rightfull Princes: that they determined, with the chance of one generall battell, either whole to subdue those proud rebellious tyrants, or else, to end their liues in freedome, and so be rid of further misery.

But first, whereas there had growne certayne debates and enmities amongst themselves, whereby they had weakened their owne forces, they held it not amisse, to make peace together, before they put their whole state in hazard of one battell against the Giants: concluding therefore an agreement, & ioyning in league (with promise) to assist each other in subduing the common enemy. Growing to assemble their power, out of all partes of the land, and coming to ioyne battell with the Giants; after they had fought fiercely together for the space of certayne houres: victorie enclined to the rightfull part, so that the lawfull Kings preuailing against the vsurping tyrants, great slaughter was made on the whole broode of that mischieuous generation. For the Kings, meaning to free themselves from all danger in time to come, vsed their happy victorie with too great crueltie, which after turned to their owne confusion. For, sparing neyther man, woman, nor childe that came in their way, for mere despise, & fuller satisfying their intended reuenges; they vouchsafed not to bury the carcases of their slaine enemies, but cast them out like a sort of dead dogs; through the noyfull stench whereof, such an infectious pestilence ensued in all places, only thotow the ayres corruption, as few escaped with life, besides such as got away by Sea.

And hereby runnes a vaine tale among the

Small examples
are too quickly
followed.

Rebellion against
Gouernours.

A very generous
and warlike
resolution.

It is not good
to weaken
to warre with
strong men.

Victory over
ruled by
vile, and
with more
rigour then
needed.

A very strange
infecting
pestilence.
Amos
chap. 5. v. 27.

the *Irish*, that one of the Giants named *Rauius*, chancing to be preferred from this mortalitie, liued 2041 yeares, which is more then twise the age of *Methusalem*. By this man (say they) *Saint Patrick* was informed, concerning the whole estate of the Countrey, and afterwards, (vpon request) having received Baptisme of the sayd *Saint Patrick*: hee decessed in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour. foure hundred and thirty, as in the *Irish* historie hath bene very vniadually written. But, letting that passe, wee finde it recorded, That an infinite number of Giants were slayne and destroyed, in manner as hath been already related: yet some got themselves into lurking Caves and Dens, and kept closely there, till lacke of food caused them to come forth, and make shift for sustenance. When, perceiving no resistance, because the Land was (in a manner) left desolate; they waxed bolder, and when they vnderstoode how matters had passed: they seled themselves in the best parts of the Countrey, easily subduing the poore silly soules that remayned, and so reuincing their lineage, they became lords of the whole Land, keeping the same in subiection, three score yeares together.

Among the sons of *Iaphet*, we read in *Genesis*, that *Magog* was one, who planted his people in *Scythia*, neare *Tanis*, from thence, about the yere of the world, 2317 *Nemodus*, with his foure sonnes, *Starnus*, *Garbanelles*, *Annius* and *Fergusius* Captaines ouer a faire companie of people) were sent into *Ireland*: who passing by *Grecia*, and taking in such as were desirous to seeke aduentures with them; at length they landed in *Ireland*, inhabited the Countrey, and multiplied the Land, although not without continuall warre, which they helde with the Giants two hundred and sixteene yeares. At the end of which tearme, the Giants preuailing, chased them thence agayne, so that they returned into *Syria*. This was about the yeare after the Creation (as by their account it should seeme) two thousand foure hundred thirtie three; from which time, the Giants kept possession of the Land (without forraigne inuasion) till the yeare two thousand seauen hundred and foureteene. But yet all that time, they were not able to frame a Common-wealth: for, falling still at variance among themselves,

and measuring euery thing by might, feidiously they vexed one another.

Which coming to the knowledge of the *Grecians*, it moued five brethren, sonnes to one *Dela* (being notable Seamen and skillfull Pilots) to rigge a Naue, & to attempt the conquest of this Land. These were all of the neereft posteritie to *Nemodus*, and named *Gandius*, *Genaminius*, *Sagandus*, *Ruthernius* and *Slaminus*. When all things were ready, and their companies assembled: they put to Sea, and landed at the length in *Ireland*; where finding the power of the Giants greatly weakened, by their owne quarrells and ciuile dissensions; with the more ease did they come to the end of their owne purpose, winning the whole Countrey, and vtterly extirpating that bloodie generation, deadly enemies to mankind: diuiding also the Land into five parts, and in each of them they severally reigning. Furthermore, to satisfie all sides, and auoyde contention; they concluded to fixe a Meare-stone in the middle point of *Ireland*, to which each of their kingdomes should extend; so that they might be equally partakers of the comodities, found within the Countrey soile.

These brethren also are supposed, to haue inuented the distribution of Shires into Cantreds, euery Cantred or Barony to containe one hundred towne-ships. At length, desire of soueraigntie, set the five brethren at variance, and greatly hindered their growing wealth. But *Slaminus*, getting the vpper hand, and bringing his foure brethren to a lowe ebbe: tooke on him as chiefe about his other brethren, intruding round about the Meare-middle Stone, for the space of certayne miles, which plot of ground (in time) obtayned the priuilege and name of one intire part, and now maketh vp the number of five parts (into which *Ireland* is sayd to be diuided) and is called *Ath*, and in Latine *Media*; taking this name (as some haue supposed) because (in respect of the other) it contained but the moiety of Cantreds, viz. sixteene; whereas each of the other Cantreds comprehended 32. a peccet: or else, because it lyeth in the middle of the land. This part *Slaminus* ioyned as a surplussage (ouer and about his inheritance) to the Monarchy; which part (notwithstanding) grew after to be a severall kingdom.

H h h h 3 Thirtie

A strange report how long
Rauius the giant
liued, and
that hee was
baptized by
S. Patrick.

Some Giants
left that liued
their liues in
caves & dens.

Genesis 10, 2
An. m. 2317
Nemodus and
his foure sons,
Starnus, Gar-
banelles, Ann-
ius, and Fer-
gusius.

Ireland again
inhabited by
the offsprings
of Iaphet.

An. m. 2333

The Gones of
Dela, neere in
linage to *Nemodus*, distant
in Navigation

They posse in-
to Ireland, &
vtterly rooce
out the race
of the Giants.

They diuided
the whole I-
land into five
parts, distin-
guish ed by a
meare stone.

A Cantred.

Desire of Sou-
eraigntie is
the cause of
variance.

Meth or the
middle part
of Ireland, and
how it attained
that name

Slanius dyed
and was bur-
ied in a moun-
taine in Meth.

A new Arme
in Scythia
ground in Ire-
land.

Brennus call-
ed Ireland
to rule one
part of the
British pro-
vince.

Seewinck
of the Alpo-
brages.

The Britan-
Princes never
enjoyed the
quiet posses-
sion of Ireland.

Thirty yeares the Monarchy yet continued in this order; but finally, *Slanius* departed this life, and was buried in a Mountaine of *Meth*, which till nowe (as they say) beareth name after him. Then the Princes, subiect to him, began to stomacke the matter, and denied their obedience to his successor: whereupon ensued continuall Warres betwene them, which (in long time) could never be fully ceased. In the necke of these troubles also, there arrived in *Ireland* a new Army of Scythians, who made claime vnto the Land (by a title of right) which they pretended from their fore-father *Nemadus*: and so taking and making parts, they set all in such a ypporre, that haucke was made on each side hostilely, in most miserable manner.

To be short, they spent themselves, in pursuing one another with such outrage: that they began to grow careless, what Nations or Soldiers they receyued to their ayde, either to keepe vp, or beate downe a side. By which occasion, the *Brittaines* also slept in among them, procuring *Brennus* the brother of *Belinus* to direct his course thither with the same Navy, which he had made ready to passe ouer into *Gallia*, now called *France*, to the ayde of *Segwine*, then King of the *Allobroges*, that invaded the Countreyes of *Saoy* and *Daulphinay*.

But his enterprize into *Ireland* tooke small effect, though there were other Kings of the Brittaines, that got dominion there: in somuch that *Gurguntius*, or *Gurguntius*, the sonne of *Belinus*, accounted *Ireland* (among other his dominions) to belong to him by lineall descent. Notwithstanding, the British Princes neuer enjoyed the quiet possession thereof, longer then they held it by maine force; but were often repelled, and put to the worse with seeking after it, finding there little other gaine then stripes, whereof they carried away good store. But now to come to the Spaniards, that lastly (vnder the conduct of foure Captaines) passed into *Ireland*, from *Biscaye*, and inhabited that Island: it shall not be impertinent (following the order obserued) to speake somewhat of their originall, that it may the better appeare, from whence the Irish nation had their first beginning.

In the yeare of the world, 2436. after

the vniuersall flood, 870. while the Israelites serued in *Egypt*, *Gathelus* the sonne of one *Nelus*, a great Lord in *Grecia*, vpon disfaour was exiled his country, with a number of his factious friends and adherents. This noble Gentleman, beeing very wise, valiant, and well spoken: gotte honourable entertaine of *Pharao*, turnamed *Orus*. And afterward departing that Countrey, trauesed the seas, and landing first in *Portugall*, after some bickerings with the inhabitants: at length, yet hee got (by their consent) a portion of the Countrey, lying by the bankes of the Riuer, anciently called *Munila*, and nowe *Mondego*, where (shortly after) he began to builde a City, first named *Brachara*, but now *Barçelo*, as *Hector Boetius* affirmeth.

After this, when the people vnder *Gathelus* began to encrease in power; thorough perswasion of the Spaniards they neighbours, they remoued into *Gallia*, where they also builded a City, named *Brizantium*, which is now called *Coruna*. Finally, when they grew into such a huge multitude, that *Gallia* was not able to sustaine them; *Gathelus*, with a certain number of them, passed ouer into *Ireland* and there grew into such estimation with the barbarous people, that for his knowledge especially in Languages, hee was highly honoured. For he not onely enriched and beautified the Irish tongue; but instructed them in letters also: he fought vp their Antiquities, and likewise practised their youth in warlike exercises, after the manner of the Greekes and Egyptians, from whence he was descended.

To conclude, hee was so acceptable and welcome to them, that (to gratifie such a worthy benefactor) they agreed to call the Island *Gathelus*, and after his wife *Scotia*. This is one opinion, but yet incredible, not onely to *Humphrey Lluid*, but also to other learned men, and diligent searchers of Antiquities; by reason of the sundry arguments of improbability, as well in the miscount of yeares, as other vnlikelhoods found therein, when the circumstances come to be duly examined, thoroughly weighed, and well considered. Yet certaine it is, that *Ireland* was anciently named *Scotia*, and the people *Scots*, as by diuers old writings it may be sufficiently proued: albeit, by what occasion it took

The history
of the Span-
iards arrivall
in Ireland, vnder
the conduct of
four Captaines.

The Riuer of
Mundago.

Brachara now
is called Barçelo.

The Citie
Compostella
of Gallia in
Spain.

Gathelus passed
into Ireland,
and is there
highly honoured.

The names of
Ireland, and
whereof they
were descended,
as they haue
opinion.

Ireland was
anciently cal-
led *Scotia*.

Bayon build-
ed by *Gathelus*
his people.

The Riuer of
Mundago.

The govern-
ment of Bayon,
and four brethren
Spaniards
travell'd to
seeke their
fortune a-
broad.

Gurguntius
coming from
the conquest
of Denmarke.

Gurguntius
appointed
the Spaniards
seates in Ire-
land, yee vnder
his subiecti-
on.

first that name, or from whence they came, it is yet doubted. But to proceede with the History, as we finde it. The residue of *Gathelus* his people, which remained in Spain, founded the City of *Bayon*, in the Confinnes of *Galicia*, and replenished the Sea coastes of *Spain*, with store of inhabitants. And wel-neere about two hundred yeares, after their first arrivall there (when they were againe persecuted with multitudes of people) they began to fancie a new voyage: but whether at that time, or some other els, they crossed ouer into *Ireland*, is altogether vncertaine.

Notwithstanding, sure it is, that in the dayes of *Gurguntius*, King of the Brittaines, the cheefe Governour of *Bayon*, with four Brethren Spaniards, two of which are said to be *Hibernus* and *Hermion*, not the sonnes (as some thinke) of *Gathelus* (as *Hector Boetius* affirmeth) but some other perhaps, that were descended of him; who vnderstanding that diuers of the western Isles were empty of inhabitants: assembling a great company of men, women, and children, embarked with the same in three score great vessels, and directing their course Westwarde, hovered a long time on the Sea, about the Isles of *Orkeney*. At length, they met (by good hap) with *Gurguntius*, then returning from the conquest of *Denmarke* (as in the British history it appeareth) whom they besought in consideration of their want of victuals and other necessities (being such, as they were no longer able to endure the Sea, being cumbered with such store of women and children) to direct & appoint them some place, where they might inhabit: promising to hold the same of him, and to become liege-people to him and his heires for euer.

Gurguntius aduising with himselfe hereon, remembered, with what trouble he held the Irish in subiection, & conceiuing hope that these strangers might either subdue, or wholly destroy that vnruly generation; accepted & took those oathes of the Spaniards with hostages, & furnishing them & their ships, with all needfull things; set them ouer into *Ireland*, where, assisted with such Brittaines as *Gurguntius* had appointed to go with them for their guides: they made a conquest of the whole country, & leded themselves joyfully therein.

Some write, that *Ireland* was (before that present) void of all inhabitants: but yet they agree, that these Spaniards were guided thither by the Brittaines, & vnder such conditions as before is recited. Vnderby it appeareth, that the kings of Britain had an elder right to the realm of *Ireland*, then by the conquest of *K. Henry 2.* which title they euer maintained, & sometimes prevailed in pursuit thereof, as in the daies of *K. Arthur*, to whom the Irish (as in diuers histories is remembered) acknowledged their due subiection, with payme of their tribute, & making their appearance at the city, called in the British tongue, *Caeir Lheon*. Whereunto, when their free assent, the submission of their Princes, with lawfull conquest & prescription are annexed, an inuincible title must needs be enforced.

But now to our purpose. The Spaniards substantially assisted with the Brittaines, settled themselves, and diuided their seats in quarters; the foure Brethren reigning severally apart in sundry portions, with good quietnesse, and encrease of wealth: vntill pride & ambition armed two of them, against the other two; as *Hibernus* and one of his brethren, against *Hermion* and his Brother. In this dissension, *Hermion* slew his brother *Hibernus*: of whom, at the same time (as some hold) the country was named *Hibernia*. Although some are of opinion, that it tooke name of Iron, by plentifull Mines of that kinde of Metall, wherewith the land abounded: & so those Authors of Antiquity, which call it *Ierna*, name it more aptly after the speech of the inhabitants, then others which call it *Hibernia*.

Proceede wee now to *Hermion*, who to auoyde the ill opinion of men, by attaining thus to the Soueraignty, making his way through his brothers blood most vnaturally, and in an vnhappy Ciuill Warre: purged himselfe to his subiects, that neither maliciously, nor contentiously, but for his necessarie defence and safety, hee had borne Armes against his brethren. And to witnesse, how farre he was from all desire to rule alone: hee appointed certaine Captaines, as Kings, to rule (vnder him) severall Countreyes: referring to himselfe but one fourth part, and the portion of *Meth*, allotted to the Monarchy, for the better maintenance of his estate.

The arrivall
of the Span-
iards in Ireland,
and their conquest
there.

Gettrey Men.

Dissension
betwene the
Brethren,
such as the
trinites of
ambition.

Hibernus, after
the name of
Hibernus, as
some imagined.

No crime so
manifest or
detestable,
that wanteth
a reasonable
presence to
excuse it.

These

Ireland diuided into five Kingdomes: And one four-raigne Ruler ouer the rest.

These parts appointed fourth in this wife, at length grew to five Kingdomes, *Leinster*, *Connaght*, *Ulster*, and *Mounster* diuided into two parts, and sometime to more, by vsurping and compounding among themselves: but euer, one was chosen to bee chiefe Soueraigne Monarch ouer them all. Thus it seemeth certainly, that the *Spaniards* of the North parts of *Spain*, inhabiting about the Countries of *Biscay* and *Gallicia*, came and peopled *Ireland* (as both their owne Histories, & the *British* do agree wholly) but from whence they came first, to inhabit those Countries of *Spain*, cannot by me be aouched. For no other Writers (but such as haue registred the *Scottish* Chronicles) make mention of *Gabriel* his coming thither, with *Scots* his Wife, and their people, as by the said Chronicles is pretended.

An hundred and thirty cheefe Kings from *Hermion* to *Laogirius*.

An hundred and thirty cheefe Kings are reckoned of this Nation, from *Hermion* to *Laogirius*, the sonne of *Nealus Magnus*; in whose time, that holy esteemed man, *S. Patricke* conuerted them to Christianity. But now, while the *Irishmen* liued in some tollerable rest & order, vnder their feuerall Kings; one *Rodericke*, a *Scythian* Prince (with a small company of men, being weather-driuen about the Coasts of *Britaine*) was by chance cast vpon the thore of *Ireland*. These were *Picts*, and the very first that had bin heard off in those parts (as some good Authors haue recorded) a people (euen from their cradle) naturally addicted to contention, land-leapers, mercilesse, fierce and hardy. They being brought & presented to the *Irish* King, desired Interpreters; which being granted them; *Roderick* their chiefe Commander and Leader, made this request for him and his, as followeth.

The Oration of Roderick, King of the Picts, to the King of Ireland.



Or as degenerate, or falling from the courage of our Ancestours, but following our felues to Fortunes conuise; we are become to craue of Ireland (as humble suppliants) who neuer before this present, haue embased our felues

to any other Nation. Behold Sir King, and regard vs well: no light occasion causeth these lustie bodies to stoop. Scythians we are, and Picts of Scythia; no small portion of glory remaineth in these two names. What shall I speake of the civill warres, that hath expelled vs from our native homes, or rip up olde Histories, to moue strangers to bemoane vs? Let our seruants and children discourse thereof at lesure. Our instant motion is, to grant vs some time of abode in your Land, for which effect & purpose, our vrgent necessity beseecheth your fauour: A King, of a King, and men of men, are to craue assistance.

Princes can well discern and consider, how neere it toucheth their honour and reputation, yea, and their owne surety, to behold and releue the state of a King, decayed by treason. And manifest it is to all men of reasonable consideration, that nothing more befcometh the nature of men, then to be moued with compassion: yea, euen (as it were) to feele themselves hurt, when they heare and vnderstand of other mens calamities. Admit then (we beseech you) and receive among yee, these few scattered remnants of Scythians. If your roomes be narrow, we are not many: If the soile of your Country be barren, we are borne and inured to hardnesse: If you live in peace, wee are at your command as subiects: If you warre, we are ready to serue you as Soliaiers. We demand no Kingdome, no State, no pompous triumph in Ireland. We are here alone, and haue left such vanities behinde vs with our enemies. Howsoeuer you esteeme of vs, we shall content our felues therewith, and learne so to frame our likings to yours: as calling vnto minde, what we haue bene, not what we are.

Great consultation was had about the request of these strangers, & many things debated to and fro. In conclusion, the *Irish* gaue forth for answer, the opinion of their Antiquaries, such as were skillfull in olde Histories, & graue sayings of their Elders. Whereby they gathered, that it could not be expedient for the, to accept the *Scythians* into their Land; because commixture of Nations in any Realme, bringeth quarrels. Moreover, the multitude of their owne Inhabitants was such, that roome in the whole Ile was scarce able to receiue them: and therefore those few new commers, being placed among

Dreadfull he deliuereth of what country they are, and what manner of people in the Country.

Princes can best iudge how to succour and releue one another in these.

Misery is very apt in making theues of great humilation.

In doubtfull cases it is alwayes good to consult with deliberation & aduice

mong for many ancient Inhabitants, might quickly breed disturbance to bring all out of ioynt, neuerthelesse, they returned them this answer.

The Answer of the Irish King, to the Oration made by King Rodericke.

WE haue considered on your request, as also those extremities vrging thereto: And though we may not conveniently receiue you among vs; yet shall you finde vs ready in furthering ye to our neighbours. Not farre hence lyeth the great Ile of Britaine, in the North-part whereof (being vnde of Inhabitants) your manhood and pollicie may purchase roome, to place your felues at your ease. We shall appoint Captaines to guide you thither, and wee shall assist yee with our Forces in that Countrey. Make ready your Shippes, that you may passe thither with all convenient speed.

Wise men prevent their owne perils by putting the to others, so the Irish persuaded the Picts to place themselves in Britaine.

Marius, other wife called Auiragus King of the Britains slew King Roderick.

The Britains scorned to marry their daughters with the Picts

lyth, and (by entreaty) obtained Wives from them, with condition, that if the Crowne should hap to fall in contention, they should yeelde thus much to the prerogative of the woman: that the Prince should bee elected rather of the blood Royall of the Female kinde, then of the Male. Which order (saith Beda) the *Picts* were very well knowne to keepe vnto his time.

Heere I could enter into a long, various and fruitfull discourse, concerning great combutions, warres and bloody contentions, happening (for a very long time) betweene the *Irish*, *Picts* and *Scots*: but being impertinent to my intended purpose, and little beneficiall to the Reader; I will first describe the parts and diuisions of *Ireland* into Shires and Counties, and then proceed to shew, how it receiued the Christian faith at the first.

Ireland became diuided into foure Regions; *Leinster* East; *Connaght* West; *Ulster* North; *Mounster* South: And into a fift plot, defalked from euery fourth part, yet mearing on each part, called thereof *Media*, Meeth, comprizing as well East Meeth, as West Meeth. *Leinster* butteth vpon *England*; *Ulster* vpon the *Scottish* Islands, which face with the *Hebrides*, scattered betweene both the Realmes: wherein (at this day) the *Irish* *Scot*, Successour of the elder *Scythians*, *Picts* or *Red-shanke* dwell th. Each of these fiue, where they are frame-able to ciuility, & answer the Writs of the Princes Courts; are sundred into Shires or Counties in this manner.

In *Leinster* lyeth the Counties of *Dublyn*, *Kildare*, *Weisford* or *Gneisford*, *Catherlach*, *Kilkenny*, the Counties of *Leife* and *Ophalie*, called the Kings and Queenes Counties: these two were so named by Parliament, in the Reignes of *Phillip* and *Mary*, hauing Shire-Townes concordant, as *Phillips* Towne, and *Mary-Borough*.

Connaght hath the County *Clare*. *Ulster*, the Counties of *Louth*, *Downe*, *Antrim*, one moiety of the Towne of *Droghedagh* (for the rest is in *Meeth*) and *Carrigfergus*.

In *Mounster* lyeth the Counties of *Waterford*, *Limerike*, *Corke*, the County *Pallantine* of *Tipperary*, *Kerie*, & the Crosse of *Tipperarie*. In clatter time, *Mounster*

Picts marry with the Irish, and couenant the inheritance of their kinglys

The diuisions of Ireland.

1 Le. genia.
2 Connacia.
3 Hibernia.
4 Mononia.
5 Media.
West Meeth & East Meeth Hebrides.

The Shires & Counties of Ireland. Leinster.

Connaght. Ulster.

Mounster, and how diuided in clatter time.

was diuided into East *Mounster*, *Ormond*, West *Mounster*, *Desmond*, South *Mounster*, and *Tuomeund*. Now the reason why *Ireland* was thus diuided, you haue heard already, by the five brethren arriving there, valiant and Martiall Gentlemen; *Gandius*, *Genandius*, *Sagundus*, otherwise named *Gargandus*, *Ratheragus* or *Ratheranus* and *Slanius*.

Another diuision of *Ireland* into the *English Pale*, and the *Irish*.

There was also another diuision of *Ireland*, into the *English Pale*, and *Irishory*. For, when *Ireland* was subdued by the *English*, diuers of the Conquerours planted themselves neere vnto *Dublin*, and the confines thereto adioyning, and so enclosing and impaling themselves (as it were) within certaine lists and territories; they forced away the *Irish*. Inſomuch, as that Country became neere *English*, and thereof it was termed the *English Pale*: which (in ancient time) stretched from *Dundalk* to *Catherlagh* or *Kilkenny*. But afterward, what by the slackneſſe of Marchers, and encroaching of the *Irish* enemy, the ſcope of the *English Pale* became greatly impaired, being cramped and caught into an odder corner of the Country, named *Fingall*; with a parcell of *Meeth* the Kings Land, the Countreies of *Killare* & *Louth*, which parts were applyed cheefely with good husbandry, and taken for the richest and chieftest ſoyles in *Ireland*. But *Fingall* eſpecially (from time to time) was alwayes ſo addicted to the chiefe points of husbandry; as that they became nicknamed by their neighbors (for their continual drudgery) *Collonnes*, of the Latine word *Coloni*, wherunto the clipp *English* word *Clowne*, ſeemeth to be anſwerable.

The company of the *English Pale*.

Fingall excell'd in husbandry.

Collonnes of *Fingall* clownes.

Fingall, and why it was ſo named.

The great civility in ancient times among the impaled dwellers.

The word *Fingall* counteruaileth in *English*, the race or ſepte of the *English* or ſtrangers, becauſe they were ſolyteized off that part of the Iſland, grying with their Talents that warre enſt to firmly; that from the Conqueſt, to this day, the *Irish* enemy could not rouse the thence. The Inhabitants of the *English Pale*, haue beene (in olde time) ſo much addicted to their civility, and ſo farre ſequestred from barbarous ſauagenneſſe; that their onely mother tongue was *English*. And truly, ſo long as theſe impaled dwellers, did ſunder themſelves (alwell in land, as in language) from the rude *Irish* rudeneſſe was day by day ſupplanted in the Country,

civility engrafted, good lawes eſtabliſhed, loyalty obſerued, rebellion ſuppreſſed, &c. in the ende, the coine of a young *English* was like to thoſe in *Ireland*. But when their poſterity became not altogether to wary in keeping, as their Anceſtors were valiant in conquering; the *Irish* language became free denized in the *English Pale*.

This canker tooke ſuch deepe roote, that the body, which before was whole and ſound: became ſeſtered by little and little, and (in a manner) wholly putrified. And not only this parcel of *Ireland* grew to that civility; but *Water* alſo, and the greater part of *Mounſter*. Albeit, of all other places, *Waterford*, with the territory baied, and percloſed within the River called the *Pill*, was ſo quite eſtranged from *Irishory* (which was rare in thoſe dayes) that it a trauailer of the *Irish*, had pitcht his foote within the *Pill*, and ſpoken *Irish*; the *Waterfordians* would command him forthwith, to turne the other ende of his tongue, and ſpeake *English*, or elſe to bring his Troughman with him. But afterward, they ſo acquainted themſelves with the *Irish*, making a mingle-mangle of both languages, that (commonly) the Inhabitants of the meaner ſort, grew to ſpeake neither good *English* nor good *Irish*.

Wee come now to declare, in what manner *Ireland* came to receiue the chriſtian faith: And finde, that immediately after Chriſts time, *Saint James* the Apoſtle & other, trauailing into theſe *West* parts; did firſt enſtruct the *Irish* people, and teach them the glad tydings of the Goſpel. So that diuers among them, euen then were chriſtened, and beleueed: but not in ſuch numbers (as may be thought) wherby it ſhould be ſaid, that the Country was generally conuerted. Notwithſtanding, the *Scottiſh* Chronicles deaueouch, that in the dayes of *Finmacne* their King, who departed this life in the year of our Redemption, 358, *Ireland* was conuerted to the faith, by this meanes.

A woman of the *Pictiſh* blood (ſay they) chanced in thoſe dayes to ſerue the Queene of *Ireland*; which woman herſelfe being a Chriſtian, firſt enſtructed her Queene and Miſtriſſe, in the faith & true points of Chriſtianity, & the Queene her Husband the King, who conuerted the whole *Irish* Nation. Howbeit, by the report

The *Irish* Language free denized in the *English Pale*.

Waterford wholly *English*.

The River *Pill*.

Ireland enſtructed in the Chriſtian faith by *Saint James* the Apoſtle.

Finmacne King of *Scotland*.

A *Pictiſh* woman conuerted the Queene of *Ireland* to the faith.

of the *Irish* Writers themſelves, this ſhould not ſeeme altogether true.

The hereſie of *Pelagius* had great decayed Chriſtian faith in the *West* parts of the world.

For they affirmed, that their Country was rather ſtill eſteemed as one of the vn-chriſtend Iſles, till about the yeare of our Lord, foure hundred twenty and ſix: when *Celeſtine*, the firſt of that name, gouerned the See of *Rome*, who, on conference had with his Cleargie, touching the reſtoring of the Chriſtian faith in the *West* parts of the world (greatly there decayed by the hereſie of *Pelagius*) vnderſtood that *Ireland* alſo, by reaſon of diſtance from the heart of Chriſtendome, and rudeneſſe of the Nation; had receiued little fruit at all of true Religion, a thing much to be lamented.

Paladius made offer to go into *Ireland*, and therupon was conſecrated Biſhop.

Among other, that then were aſſembled to treat of thoſe matters, was one *Paladius*, Arch-deacon of *Rome*, who offered his charitable trauaile, towards the conuerſion of thoſe lands, whither it ſhould pleaſe them to appoynt him to goe. *Celeſtine* knowing the ſufficiencie of the man, conſecrated him Biſhop, authorized his journey by Letters vnder his Scale, furniſhed him wants, and aſſociating to him, ſuch religious perſons and others, as were thought neceſſary to aſſiſt him: deliuered vnto him the Bible with great ſolemneſſe, and other monuments, in furtherance of his good ſpede, for ſo long and tedious a iourney.

Paladius landed in the north of *Ireland*, and conuerted many to the Faith.

At length hee landed in the North of *Ireland*, from whence he hardly eſcaped (with life) into the Iſles adioyning, where he preached the Goſpell, and conuerted no ſmall number of *Scots* to the Chriſtian faith and beleefe; purging alſo that part which was chriſtened, from the infection of the *Pelagians*, as in the *Scottiſh* hiſtorie more at large appeareth. He was required by the *Scots*, that dwell in *Britaine*, to leaue the Iſles, and come ouer to them, there to enſtruct the people in the way of true ſaluation: to the which (with the Popes licence) he ſeem'd willing enough. And the biſhop of *Rome*, the more readily conſcended thereto, becauſe at that inſtant time, when *Paladius* was to depart: one *Patrick* attended at *Rome*, ſuing for licence to be ſent into *Ireland*.

Patrick ſent into *Ireland*, and *Paladius* appointed to go into *Scotland*.

The Pope therefore graunted, that *Paladius* might paſſe ouer to the *Scottes* in *Britaine*, and appoynted *Patrick* to goe (with authoritie from him) into *Ireland*,

where, vpon his arriual, hee found the people ſo well bent to heare his admonitions (contrary to their accuſtomed forwardneſſe) that a man would haue imagined, vpon ſight of their readineſſe; that the Land had beene referred for him to conuert. And becauſe it pleaſed God, to beſtow ſuch an vniuerſall benefite on the Land, by his meanes; wee thought good (by following our Author herein) to touch ſome part of the courſe of his life.

This *Patrick*, in Latine called *Patricius*, was borne in the Marches betwene *England* and *Scotland*, in a Towne by the Sea ſide, named *Eiburne*, whoſe fathers name was likewiſe called *Calphurnius*, a Deacon, and ſonne to a Prieſt: his Mother, named *Concher*, was liſter to *S. Martine*, that famous Biſhoppe of *Tours* in *France*. *Patrick* (of a childe) was brought vp in learning, and well enſtructed in the faith, beeing much giuen to deuotion. The *Irishmen* (in thoſe daies) aſſiſted with ſome *Scots* and *Pictiſh*, were become arch-Pirats, greatly diſquieting the Seas about the Coaſts of *Britaine*, and vſed to ſacke little ſmall Villages, that lay ſcatteringly along the ſhore, and would leade away the Inhabitants captiue home into their Country. And as it chanced, *Patrick* being a Lad of ſixteen years olde, and a Scholler then in ſecular learning: was taken among other, and became ſlaue to an *Irish* Lord called *Macbuſaine*, from who (after the terme of ſixe yeares) he redeemed himſelfe, with a piece of gold, which he found in a clod of earth, that the ſwine had newly turned vp, as he followed the in the time of his captiuitie, beeing appointed (by his Maſter) to take charge of them, and keepe them.

And as affliction (commonly) maketh men religious; the regard of his former education, had ſtamped in him ſuch remorſe and humility, that beeing thenceforth weaned from the world: hee betooke himſelfe to contemplation, euer lamenting the lacke of grace and truth in that Land. And withall not deſpairing, but that (in continuance of time) ſome good might be wrought vpon them; hee learned the Language perfectly. And, alluring one of that Nation, to beare him company for exerciſe ſake; hee departed thence, and got him into *France*, euer hauing in his minde, a deſire to ſee the conuerſion

The towardneſſe of the *Irish* men, to heare *Patrick* preaching.

In what place *Saint Patrick* was borne.

The life of *S. Patrick* diſcouered brieflie.

Saint Patrick taken priſoner when he was young, and how hee redeemed himſelfe.

Affliction is an eſpeciall meanes to make men become religious.

The paſſage *Patrick* made into *France*.

uerion of the *Irish* people, whose babes yet vnborne, seemed to him in his dreaming, from forth their mothers wombs, to call for Christendome.

In this purpose, he fought out his vnkle *Martine*, by whose meanes he was placed with *Germanus* the Bith. of *Auxerre*, continuing with him as Scholler or Disciple for the space of fourtie yeares: all which time hee bestowed in the studie of holy Scriptures, Prayers, and such godly exercises. Afterwards, being renowned through the Latine Church, for his wisdom, vertue and learning: hee went to *Rome*, bearing Letters with him in his commendation from the French bishops vnto Pope *Celestine*, to whom hee vntered his whole minde and fecrer vow, which long before hee had conceived as touching *Ireland*. *Celestine* inuested him Archbishop and Primate of the whole Island, set him forward with all fauor he could deuise, bringing him and his disciples onward to their Countrey.

In the 23 yeare of the Emperour *Theodosius* the younger, being the yeare of our Lord, 430. *Patrick* landed in *Ireland*, and because he spake the tongue perfectly, and withall, being a reuerend personage in the eyes of all men; many listened and gaue eare to his preaching. And the rather, because (as some Writers haue recorded) he confirmed his Doctrine with diuerse miracles. But especially those men regarded his words before all others, that had some taste of the Christian Faith before, cyther by the coming into those partes of *Paladius* and his Disciple one *A'niu*, an *Irish* Bishop, or otherwise by some other. For, it is to be thought, that continually there remained some spak of knowledge of Christianity, euer since the first preaching of the Gospell, which was shortly after Christs Ascension, by *S. James* as before is mentioned. But in continuance of time, *Patrick* wonne the better part of that kingdome to the faith of Christ.

Laigerius son to *Nealus* the great Monarch, albeit he receiued not the Gospell himselfe; yet he permitted all that would to embrace it. But because he refused to be baptised, and apply to his doctrine; the Bishop denounced against him a curse from God accordingly, but yet tempered with mercy and iudgement, as thus: *That during his life he should be victorious: but*

after him, neither should the kingdome stand, nor his lineage inherit. Thence he tooke his way to *Conill*, lord of *Connagh*, who honorably receiued him, and was conuerted with all his people; sending him afterward to his brother *Lozen*, king of *Leinster*, who he also conuerted. In *Mounster* he found great friendship, by the means of an Earle there, called the Earle of *Daris*, who honored him highly, & gaue him a dwelling place in the East Angle of *Armagh*, called *Sorta*, where he erected many Celles and Monasteries, both for religious men and women. He trauelled 30. yeares in preaching through the land, planting Bishops and Priests in conuenient places, whose learning and conuersation, by the speciall grace & fauor of God, established the Faith in that rude nation. Other 30. yeares he spent in his prouince of *Armagh*, among his brethren placed in those houses of Religion, which by his meanes were founded. So he liued (in all) about 122. yeares, and lyeth buried in *Downe*.

Now, concerning the chiefe cities and townes of *Ireland*, we are first to speake of *Dublin*, termed the beaurie and eye of *Ireland*. I find it recorded, that about the yere 155. three noble Easterlings, being brethren, arrived in *Ireland*, whose names were *Auellanus*, *Sitaracus* and *Tuorus*. *Auellanus* being the eldest brother, built *Dublin*; *Sitaracus*, *Waterford* and *Tuorus*, *Limericke*. Of the founder *Auellanus*, *Dublin* was termed *Auellana*, and after, by corruption of speech, *Eblana*, and so *Palomus* calleth it. Some termed it *Dublin*, other, *Dublinia*, many *Dublinum*, but Authors of better skill name it *Dublinium*. This citie, as it is not inferior for Antiquity to any in *Ireland*, so in pleasant situation, gorgeous buildings, multitude of people, martiall Chivalry, obedience and loyalty, abundance of wealth, largeness of hospitality, in manners and ciuilitie, it is superiour to all other cities and townes in that realme: whereupon it is commonly called, the *Irish* or yong *London*. The Charter of this citie is large, King *Henry* the 4. gaue it the Sword, in the yere 1409. and was ruled by a Maior and two Bailiffes: which were changed into Sheriffs, by a Charter granted by king *Edward* the sixth, 1547. But it appeares by the ancient Seale of this citie called *Signum prepositurae*, that the Citie hath (in elder times) bene gouerned

Conill Lord of Connagh.

Logan King of Leinster.

The Earle of Daris.

The death of S. Patrick & his place of buriall in Downe.

The famous Cities & townes of Ireland.

Dublin, & the first founder thereof, who was Auellanus.

Dublin the Irish London.

The Sword quento Dublin. Sheriffs of Bayliffes.

uerned by a Pronott.

Waterford was founded by *Sitaracus*, in the yere 155. being a Citie properly builded, and very well compact. Both yong and old there are giuen to thriving, free from factions: the men deale in trafficke, the women in spinning & carding; and as they distill the best *Aqua vite*, so they spinne the cheefest Rugges in *Ireland*.

Of this Citie *Waterford* it is written, to haue continued loyall to the Crowne of *England*, that it is not found registred (in the Conquest) to haue bin stained with the smallest spot of treason, notwithstanding the sundry assaults of traiterous attempts. And therefore the Cities Armes are deckt with this golden word: *Intacta manet*.

Limericke, called in Latine *Limericum*, was builded by *Tuorus*, about the very same yere of 155. coasting on the Sea, hard vpon the River *Sennan*; whereby are most notably seuered *Mounster* and *Connagh*, the *Irish* name this Citie, *Loumneagh*, and therefore in English it is called *Limericke*.

Corke, in Latine *Corcium* or *Corracium*, the fourth Citie of *Ireland*, happily planted on the Sea: their Hauens being a Hauens royall. On the land-side they were so encumbered with euill neighbours, the *Irish* Out-laws, that they were faine to watch their gates hourly, to keepe them shut at seruice times, and at meales. And from Sun to Sun, not to suffer any stranger to enter the Citie with his weapon, but to leane it at a Lodge appointed.

Drogheda, accounted the best Towne in *Ireland*, and truly not farre behinde some of their Cities: the one moiety of this Towne is in *Meeth*, the other planted on the further side of the water, lyeth in *Ulster*.

There ranne a blinde Prophecie of this Towne, that *Rosse* was, *Dublin* is, *Drogheda* shall be the best of the three.

Rosse, a Hauens Towne in *Mounster*, not farre from *Waterford*, seeming to haue bene (in ancient time) a Towne of great port, whereof sundry and probable coniectures are giuen, by the olde Duchies, which are now a mile distant from the Walles of *Rosse*: betwene which walles and ditches, the reliques of the ancient Walles, Gates, and Towers (placed be-

tweene both) are to bee scene vnto this day.

Weisford, a Hauens Towne not farre from *Rosse*, where of no great matters are recorded: but only that it is to be esteemed by all the English posterity planted in *Ireland*, as a Towne that was the first Fortresse and Harbour, of the English Conquerors, doing them (from time to time) many great and acceptable seruices.

Kilkenny, the best vpland, or (as they term it) the properest dry Towne in *Ireland*, is diuided into the high Towne, and the *Irish* Towne. The high Towne was builded by the English, after the Conquest, and had a parcell of the *Irish* Towne vnto it, by the Bishops grant, made vnto the Founders vpon their earnest request. *Robert Talbot*, a worthy Gentleman, in the yere one thousand foure hundred, enclosed with walles the better part of this Towne.

Thomas Towne, a proper Towne builded in the County of *Kilkenny*, by one *Thomas Fitz-Antony*, an Englishman: thereof the *Irish* call it *Ballie mac-Andin*, that is, The Towne of *Fitz-Antony*. But because the Reader may perceiue, in what parts of the Countrey the Cities and cheefe Townes stand, I haue set them downe in this order.

Drogheda, *Curragh-fargus*, *Downe*, *Armagh*, *A'plasse*, *Clogher*, *Muncipian*, *Doonnegaulle*, *Karreg mac Raffe*, *Nerrie*, *Carlingford*, *Ardee*, *Downe-falke*, *Louth*, *Dublin*, *Buhradrie*, *Liske*, *Swords*, *Tushagard*, *Lions*, *Newcastle*, *Rathconle*, *Oughtraide*, *Natts*, *Clane*, *Minnab*, *Kilcocke*, *Rathmunn*, *Kildare*, *Llanane*, *Casfle-Towne*, *Phillips-Towne*, *May-borough*, *Kilcullen*, *Castle-Martin*, *Thistleclermet*, *Kilca*, *Athie*, *Catherlagh*, *Leighelen*, *Gauranne*, *Thomas Towne*, *Eneish ke*, *Casfle*, *Callanet*, *Kilkenny*, *Knockstefor*, *Rosse*, *Glennelle*, *Weisford*, *Ferner*, *Fidderd*, *Enisford*, *Talbotown*, *Wicklow*, *Acklols*, *Waterford*, *Lismore*, *Doonagarron*, *Yoghill*, *Corke*, *Limericke*, *Kilmallocke*, *Alonana*, *Gallogie*, *Anrick*, *Loughbrigh*, *Clare*, *Toome*, *Stagagh*, *Rosse comman*, *Arlowme*, *Trimme*, *Droghadblenne*, *Rathlouth*, *Nanunee*, *Dooge*, *Scrine*, *Taragagh*, *Kilmeeles*, *Doonboine*, *Greenocke*, *Dulceke*, *Alotigare*, *Fowra*, *Konghene*, *Kilkenny*, *Meinagagh*, *Delunne*.

Weisford.

Kilkenny.

Waller builded in Anno. 1100 by M. R. bert Talbot.

Thomas town

The names of the chiefe Townes in Ulster.

The names of the chiefe Townes in Leinster.

Chiefe townes in Mounster. Chiefe townes in Connagh. Chiefe townes in Meeth. Chiefe townes in Wellmeeth.

Disse made
of Meeth into
two Counties

The names of
the chieft
Hauen towns
in Ireland.

Of the Eccle-
siastical iurisdiction
in Ireland.

The Arch-
bishops.

Suffragans

Vnder Ar-
magh.

Vnder Dublin

In the foure and thirtie yeare of the Reigne of King *Henry* the eight, it was enacted in a Parliament holden at *Dublin*, before Sir *Anthony Senlesger*, Knight, Lord Deputy of Ireland: that *Meeth* should be diuided and made two Shires, one of them to bee called the County of *Meeth*, and the other to bee named the County of *Westmeeth*. And that there should be two Sheriffes, & Officers conuenient within the saide Shieres, as is more at large exprest in the Act.

Loughfoyle, the *Banne*, *Wolderfrith*, *Carrefergus*, *Strangford*, *Ardeals*, *Longbun*, *Carlingford*, *Kilkeale*, *Dunkalke*, *Kilclogher*, *Duane*, *Drogheda*, *Houlepatrike*, *Nanie*, *Balraie*, *Brimore*, *Balbrigen*, *Rogers-Towne*, *Skerrish*, *Rath*, *Malabide*, *Banledale*, *Houth*, *Dublin*, *Dalke*, *Wickincla*, *Arckloa*, *Weisford*, *Bigganbun*, the *Passage*, *Waterford*, *Dungarun*, *Rosse nowa*, *Toughille*, *Corke mabegge*, *Corke*, *Kinfale*, *Kierie*, *Rosse Ill-re*, *Dorrie*, *Baltinimore*, *Downenere*, *Downelouge*, *Attannanne*, *Craghaine*, *Downeburwe*, *Balinskiliedge*, *Dangine*, *Ichouse*, *Troile*, *Semme*, *Cajanne*, *Kilmerwine*, *Limerike*, *Innisbarre*, *Belanne*, *Arinnewing*, *Glanemaugh*, *Ballinweham*, *Binnarre*, *Dowris*, *Woran*, *Roskam*, *Galtwaie*, *Killmille*, *Innesbushinne*, *Owran*, *Moore*, *Kilcolken*, *Bursie*, *Belleclare*, *Rathsilbene*, *Bierweisowre*, *Bucaneis hare*, *Ardenamakow*, *Rosbare*, *Kilgolinnewallale*, *Rabranne*, *Strone*, *Berweis now*, *Zalra*, *Kalbalie*, *Adracke*, *Adrawfe*, *Sligaghe*, *Innes Bonfenne*.

The spirituall iurisdiction of Ireland, is ordered into foure Prouinces, whereof the Primacy was euer giuen (in reuereuce of *S. Patrick*, that conuerted the Country) to the Archbishoppricke of *Armagh*, who is called *Primas totius Hibernie*, and the Archbishop of *Dublin*, *Primas Hibernie*. Which custome was since confirmed by *Engelmus* the third, in Anno 1148. or 1152. Who lent withal three other palles of Archbishopps to be placed, one at *Dublin*, one at *Cashill*, and the last at *Twene*.

To these were Suffraganes in right, nine and twenty, and they all to the *Primas of Armagh*. Vnder whose Prouince are the Bishops of *Meeth* and *Derren*, *Ardach*, *Kilmore*, *Cloghere*, *Downe*, *Coner*, *Clenknos*, *Raboo*, *Dromore*.

Vnder *Dublin*, whereunto *Innocentius* the third vniued *Glandelagh*, the Bishop

of *Elphine*, *Kildare*, *Fernes*, *Offorie*, and *Leghlin*.

Vnder *Cashill*, the Bishop of *Waterford*, to whom *Lismore* is vniued, *Corke* and *Clone*, *Rosse*, *Ardrigh*, *Limerike*, *Emetle*, *Killaloe* and *Ardfert*.

Vnder *Twene*, *Kilmaco*, *Olfine*, *Anaghdonne*, *Clenferi* and *Morroo*.

In this recount some difference hap-peneth, by reason of personall and reall vniue of the Sees, and for other alterati-ons.

The Names of the Gouer-nours, Lieutenants, Lord Iustices, and Deputies of Ireland, since the Conquest thereof, by King Henry the second.



Richard Strongbow, Earle of *Pembroke*, Gouernour, *Reimond le Grace* beeing ioyued (for his more ease) in Commission with him.

Reimond le Grace, Lieutenant by him-selfe.

William Fitz-Adelme, Lieutenant, having *John de Curcy*, *Robert Fitz-Stephans*, and *Miles Cogean*, ioyued in Commission with him.

Hugh Lacie, Lieutenant.

John Lacie, Constible of *Cher* Gouer-ster, and *Richard de Peche*. J nouers.

Hugh Lacy, againe Lieutenant.

Henry Laundor, Archbishop of *Dublin*, Lord Iustice.

Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Lord Iustice.

John Fitz-Geffrey, Knight, Lord Iustice.

Alan de la Zouch, Lord Iustice.

Stephen de Long Espe, Lord Iustice.

William Deane, Lord Iustice.

Sir Richard Rochell, or *Capell*, Lord Iustice.

David Barry, Lord Iustice.

Robert fford, Lord Iustice.

Richard de Excester, Lord Iustice.

James Lord Audley, Lord Iustice.

Maurice Fitz-Maurice, Lord Iustice.

walter Lord Gennille, Lord Iustice.

Robert fford, againe Lord Iustice.

Fulborne,

Vnder Cashill

The yeares of
our Lord.

1174.

1177.

1182.

1227.

1228.

1253.

1258.

1261.

1267.

1268.

1269.

1270.

1272.

1181. *Fulborne*, Bishop of *Waterford*, Lord Iustice.

John Stamford, Archbischoppe of *Dublin*, Lord Iustice.

William Vesfale, Lord Iustice.

William Dodingfels, Lord Iustice.

Thomas Fitz-Maurice, Lord Iustice.

John Wozan, Lord Iustice.

Theobald Verdon, Lord Iustice.

Edmond Butler, Lord Iustice.

Roger Lord Mortimer, Lord Iustice.

Alexander Bignor, Archbischop of *Dublin*, Lord Iustice.

Roger Lord Mortimer, the second time Lord Iustice.

Thomas Fitz-John, Earle of *Kildare*, Lord Iustice.

John Birmingham, Earle of *Louth*, Lord Iustice.

John Lord Darcy, Lord Iustice.

Roger Outlaw, Prior of *Kilmannan*, Lord Iustice.

Anthony Lord Lucy, Lord Iustice.

John lord Darcy, second time Lord Iustice.

John Lord Charleton, Lord Iustice.

Thomas, Bishop of *Hereford*, Lord Iustice.

John Lord Darcy, ordayne Lord Iustice by Patent, during his life, by King *Edward* the third.

Raphe fford, Lord Iustice.

Robert Darcy, Lord Iustice.

John Fitz-Maurice, Lord Iustice.

Walter, Lord *Birmingham*, Lord Iustice: his Deputies were *John Archer*, Prior of *Kilmannan*, and *Baron Carew*, with *Sir Thomas Rokesby*.

Maurice Fitz-Thomas, Earle of *Desmond*, had the Office of Lord Iustice, for tearme of his life, by the grant of king *Edward* the third.

Thomas Rokesby, Knight, Lord Iustice.

Almerice de S. Amand.

John Butler, Earle of *Ormond*, appointed lord Iustices by *Sturmes*.

Maurice Fitz-Henry, Earle of *Kildare*.

Lionell, Duke of *Clarence*, Lord Iustice.

Gerald Fitz-Maurice, Earle of *Desmond*, Lord Iustice.

William Lord Windsor, the first Lieutenant in Ireland.

Roger Albion, Lord Iustice.

Roger Mortimer, Iustices & Lieutenants especially recorded, in the dayes of King *Richard* the second.

Robert Vere, Earle of *Oxford*, Marquesse of *Dublin*, created Duke of Ireland.

Roger Mortimer Earle of *March*, Lieutenant.

Roger Mortimer, Earle of *March* and *Wester*, Lieutenant.

Roger Grey, Lord Iustice.

John Stanley Knight, Lord Lieutenant.

Thomas of Lancaster, brother vnto King *Henry* the 4. Lord Lieutenant; whole Deputies at sundry times, were *Alexander*, Bishop of *Adeeth*, *Stephen Scroop*, Knight, and the Prior of *Kilmannan*.

James Butler, Earle of *Ormond*, Lord Iustice.

Gerald, Earle of *Kildare*, Lord Iustice.

James Butler, Earle of *Ormond*, sonne to the foresaid *James*, Lord Iustice.

John Stanley, againe Lord Lieutenant.

Thomas Cranley, Archbischop of *Dublin*, Lord Iustice.

John Lord Talbot of *Sheffield*, Lieutenant.

James Butler, earle of *Ormond*, the second time Lieutenant.

Edmond Earle of *March*, *James* Earle of *Ormond*, his Deputy.

John Sutton, Lord *Dudley*, Sir *Thomas Strange*, his Deputy.

Sir Thomas Stanley, Sir *Christopher Plunket* his Deputy.

Lion, Lord *Welles*, Deputy to the Earle of *Ormond*.

James Earle of *Ormond*, by him-selfe.

John Earle of *Shrewsbury*, the Archbishop of *Dublin* (in his absence) Lord Iustice.

Richard Plantagenet, Duke of *Torke*, Father to King *Edward* the 4. had the Office of Lieutenant, by letters Patents from King *Henry* the sixt, for ten yeares. His Deputies (at sundry times) were the Baron of *Deluin*, *Richard Fitz-Eastice*, Knight; *James* Earle of *Ormond*; and *Thomas Fitz-Morris*, Earle of *Kildare*.

Thomas Fitz-Morris, Earle of *Kildare*, Lord Iustice in the dayes of King *Edward* the fourth, vntill the third yeare of his reigne. After whom, *George* Duke of *Clarence*, brother to the King, had the Office of Lieutenant during his life, and made his Deputies (at sundry times) these men following:

Thomas, Earle of *Desmond*.

John Tiptoft, Earle of *Worcester*.

Thomas, Earle of *Kildare*.

Henry, Lord Grey of *Rathin*.

Sir Rowland Eniffce, Lord Deputy.

Richard

Richard

Richard

Richard

Richard

Richard

Richard

Richard

Richard

1394.

1401.

1403.

1407.

1413.

1414.

1420.

Lieute-nants to king Hē-ry the 6.

1470.

Richard, Duke of Yorke, younger sonneto King Edward the fourth, Lieutenant. Edward, sonneto King Richard the third, Lieutenant, his Deputy was Gerald, Earle of Kildare. Jasper, Duke of Bedford, and Earle of Pembroke, Lieutenant: his Deputy was Walter, Archbishop of Dublin.

1494. Edward Poyning's Knight, Lord Deputy. Henry, Duke of Yorke, afterward King, by the name of Henry the eight, Lieutenant: his Deputy was Gerald, Earle of Kildare.

1501. Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earle of Kildare, Lord Deputy.

1520. Thomas Howard, Earle of Surrey, afterward Duke of Norfolk, Lieutenant.

1523. Piers Butler, Earle of Ossory, L. Deputy. Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earl of Kildare, again Lord Deputy.

1529. The Baron of Dublin, Lord Deputy. Piers Butler, Earle of Ossory, againe Lord Deputy.

1535. William Skeffington Knight, Lord Deputy. Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earle of Kildare, the third time Lord Deputy.

1540. William Skeffington, againe Lord Deputy. Leonard Lord Grey, Lord Deputy.

1541. Sir William Bereton, Knight, Lord Justice. Sir Anthony Semler Knight, L. Deputy.

¶ The Names of all the Lords, Deputies, and Justices in Ireland, since the death of King Henry the eight, who dyed in January, 1546.

1546. SIR Anthony Semler Knight, by Patent, dated 24. Martij. Anno primo Edw. 6.

1547. Sir Edward Bellingham, Lord Deputy, 22. Aprilis. Anno eodem.

1548. Sir Francis Brian, Lord Justice.

1549. Sir William Brabazon, Lord Justice.

1550. Sir Anthony Semler, the third time Lord Deputy, 4. August.

1551. Sir James Croft, Lord Deputy, 29. Aprilis.

1553. Sir Anthony Semler, the fourth time Lord Deputy, September 1. Anno primo Reg. Marie.

1555. Thomas Lord Fitz-Walter, Lord Deputy, 27. Aprilis.

1556. Sir Henry Sidney. } Lords Justices. Doctor Coren, or Corwen. } ces.

Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Justice alone, 18. January. 1556.

Thomas Earle of Suffex, Lord Lieutenant 19. Martij. 1557.

Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord Justice. 1558.

Thomas Earle of Suffex, Lord Deputy, 6. May. Anno primo Reg. Elizabeth. 1559.

Sir Nicholas Arnold, Lord Justice. 1564.

Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy the third time. 1565.

Doctor Weston, Lord Chancellor. 1567.

Sir William Fitz-Williams. 1568.

Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy the fourth time. 1570.

Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord Deputy, 11. Decemb. Anno. 14. Elizabeth. 1571.

Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy the fifth time, August 3. 1572.

Sir William Drury, Lord Justice, 14. September, by Patent, 18. May. 1579.

Sir William Pelham, Lord Justice. 1580.

The Lord Arthur Grey. 1580.

Adam, Archbishop of Dublin. } Lords Justices. 1582.

Sir Henry Wallop. } 1584.

Sir John Perot, Lord Deputy. 1588.

Sir William Fitz-Williams, Lord Deputy. 1595.

Sir William Russell, Lord Deputy. 1597.

Thomas Lord Burrough, Lord Deputy. 1599.

Robert Earle of Essex, Lord Lieutenant. 1600.

Charles Blount, Baron Montjoy, Lord Deputy. 1602.

Sir George Carew, Lord Deputy. 1604.

Sir Arthur Chichester, Lord Deputy. 1618.

Sir Oliver S. John, Lord Deputy, who yet to this day, continueth in that honorable Office.

CHAP. II.

A briefe Discourse, how those parts and Countries, commonly called, The New World, were first found: Also by whom, and what things were there found, and seen, and brought away thence.



Caruall sayling on the Spanish Seas, where fell a tempest, coming so impetuously from the East, the Windes growing still so crosse and contrary; that at length it was transported into an unknowne Country,

The Windes and Weather will be Commanders at Sea.

which neuer was in any Cardes for Navigation. Staying there longer time, then was or could be allowed for returnings, no more remayned living then the Pilote or Maister, and three or foure Mariners beside: who also falling sicke, by extremitie of hunger and tedious labour, dyed also at a Port some few daies distance from thence.

But the Pilote, whose name was Andaluza, dyed in the house of one Christopher Columbus, a native of Cuzcuero, (as some others say) of Albizolo, a small village on the river of Genes, neare to Sauona. With this Columbus remayned all the Pilotes goods of the sayd Caruall, and especially the Papers and Memories of that whole voyage, reporting the height of the lands, which by them had beene discovered, and found. Some say, that the sayd Andaluza trafficked in Canaria and Madera, when this long and farall navigation happened.

Others also tearme him a Biscane, which dealt with England and France: and some repute him a Portuguese, that went and came from Myrrha or India. Others againe report, that the said Caruall went into Portugall, or to Madera, and other Islands; but none doe assure any thing for certaine. It is no maruell then, if Authors do disagree in many points, concerning things happening, or found by graue Antients, and that the Inuencers of them are not to be knowne; when our selues are ignorant of matters, within the compasse of so small time since, for finding the Occidentall or Westerne Isles (which we call the New-found World) and which was a matter so signall, nouell, and remarkable.

But all agree together, that this Andaluza dyed in the house of the sayd Christopher Columbus; who hauing (at the first) bene a Saylor or Mariner, had practised in diuers parts of the world. Afterward, hee learned diligently the measure of the two Tropiques, of the Equator, and of the Clymates, prouing an expert Maister, in making Cardes to sayle by. And to be informed concerning the Meridional coasts of Affrica, and of other places where the Portugalls had sayled: he went into Portugall, to the end he might make his Cardes the better, and there he married. Or, as some say, in the Ile of Madera: where it may be credited (as most likely)

that he dwelt when the said Caruall coasted there; and the Patron or Pilote thereof lodged in his house, where he recounted to him the voyage he had made, and the new lands by him discovered: to the end that Columbus might set them downe in his Cardes, wherein he was further entrusted by him.

It is generally supposed, that Columbus was a learned man, a good Geographer, very singularly experienced in Astronomy and Cosmography; and that he laboured to finde the land of the Antipodes, and El Rico Cango de Marco Polo. Moreover, he was often heard to say, that (necessarily) by good coniectures, there was another world, which extended it selfe towards the West: whereof Plato, Seneca, and many other Authors, both Greek and Latin, did leaue to Cosmographers some good and considerable arguments. Also, that he had read many good ancient Authors, who, in the place where they discourse on the great Atlantick Isle, make mention of a land unknowne and concealed, more great then Asia or Affrica. And especially Aristotle, writing, that certaine Merchants of Carthage, sayling in those parts of Gibraltar, towards the West & South, after many dayes, found a great Island inhabited, with Ruers navigable.

But, after all this so diuersly deliuered, on the behalfe of Columbus, it is most certaine, that he was not learned, but of good iudgement and vnderstanding, and receiving notice of these new Lands, by the means of Andaluza; he conferred with diuers learned and iudicious men, concerning what had aunciently bene written of other lands and worlds. And the sayd Columbus, wanting means to bring to passe what he so earnestly desired, because he was poore; stood in neede of some farre greater fauour, whereby hee might discover those lands.

Perceiving then, that the King of Portugall was hindered by his enterprize of Affrica, & navigation into the East, which he had then in readines, and that the king of Castile was busied about the warre of Granada: he sent his brother, named Bartholomew, to Henry the seauenth, king of England, a very rich and potent Prince, (who had at that present time no warres or troubles) to furnish him with fauour and shippes apt and fit for the enterprize,

Reasons of apparent likelihood in the case of Columbus.

The general opinion concerning Columbus, touching his sufficiency in learning and judgment.

The Authors further examination, and final conclusion as touching Columbus.

Kings, whose help hee intended to haue moued.

Columbus hindered in dealing with the King of Portugal.

Columbus though discouraged will yet see he wholly disheartened.

The 2 Dukes of Medina acquainted with this great offer, & refused it also

His petition to the Catholique King Ferdinand & his Queene, & neglecting where he had greatest hope.

promising to bring him home from those unknowne Islands (and in final time) y^e valuable treasures. But Bartholomew returning thence without any resolution; he began to negotiate with *Alphonso* the fifth King of Portugal: of whom he could neither have favour nor money, to finde such wealth as he had promised; because the Bishop of *Evora*, and one Master *Roderick*, men greatly experienced in Cosmography, contrariet him therein, confidently assuring; that there could not bee in the West any such gold or treasure, as *Columbus* spake of.

Being much dismayed and out of comfort (yet his heart encouraging him still, with hope of a happy and successful adventure) and being imbarqued at *Lisborne*: hee set thence to *Paly de Moguera*, where he spake with *Alphonso Pinzono*, a Pylot well skild in the arte of Navigation: there also he discovered his secret to *John Perez*, a Fryar Minor, in the Convent of *S. Frances de la Rubida*, a most excellent Cosmographer. These men encouraged him to follow his enterprize, counselling him further, to impart the businesse to *Henry*, Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, and then to *Loarick*, Duke of *Medina Calia*, who, in his Port of *S. Maria*, had good and commodious meanes to provide Shipping, and people apt for such a businesse. But these two Dukes helde this Voyage and Navigation, for no other then as a dreame or phantasma; even as the Kings of *England* and *Portugall* did. In regard whereof, the poore grey Fryar advised him to goe to the Court of the Catholique King, and (on his behalfe) wrote to Fryar *Ferdinando de Talaneta*, Confessor to the Queene.

Columbus followed this aduice of the Fryar, and came to the Court of *Castile*, in the yeare 1486. and (by written petition) presented both his sight and demand, to King *Ferdinand* and Queen *Elizabeth*, who made no great account thereof; as having their mindes troubled, for expelling the *Moor*es out of *Granada*. He grew then to speake with some, that had neerer eare about the King, and were of most employment with his Maiessty, to negotiate in affaires of importance. But because he was a stranger, meanly habited, and without any other credit, then being commended by a poore Fryar Minor: he

was no way beleened, and much worse listened vnto; whereat *Columbus* grew very greatly displeased.

Alphonso Quintanilla, Great Chamberlaine or Treasurer to the King, kept him in his house, and dieted him at his owne table, taking great delight to heare him talke of such things, as he made promise of in unknowne Countries. By the helpe of this Great Treasurer, *Columbus* found the meanes to haue access to audience with *Gonzales de Mendoza*, arch-Bishop of *Toledo*, and Cardinall, who had great credit and authority with their Maiessties. This Lord brought him to the Kings presence, and, after the case was well examined and understood (notwithstanding all was esteemed vaine and false, which *Columbus* had spoken off in the beginning) yet hope was giuen him of expedition, and employment in his voyage of Navigation, to those Islands unknowne, so soone as the King had taken order for the war of *Granada*, which then lay heavily on his hand.

Columbus, vpon this answer, began to mount his hopes farre higher then before, and was then graciously both heard and esteemed of all the Courtiers, who laughed and made a mockery of him at the first. After the surprisall of *Granada*, he prevailed so successfully, that the Catholique King consented vnto his requests, for passage into those unknowne parts: assigning vnto him in gift, the tenth part of the Rents and Royall tributes, in all the Lands found and conquered: but without prejudice (notwithstanding) to all rights belonging to the King of Portugal. And because the King was then vnprovided of money for this expedition; *Lodowick*, Secretary for his accounts, lent him seuentene thousand Ducats: by meanes whereof, *Columbus* armed & furnished three Caruells at *Paly de Moguera*, and in them fitted 120. men, diuall Mariners as Soldiers.

Of one, hee made *Martino Alphonso Pinzono* the Guide and Conductor. Of the second, *Francesco de Vincento Aeneis*, Brethren to the said *Martino*. And himselfe was Captain and Commander of the greatest Caruell among them; taking also with him his Brother *Bartholomew*, who (in like manner) was very practicke and well experienced on the Seas. From

Some meanes of entrance to Columbus to write.

Columbus was provided supply by the Catholique King.

Christopher Columbus (by meanes of the Catholique King) armed three Caruells to goe into the New World.

*Paulus Iouus faith true His ordering of the Caruells, and letting forth on his Voyage.

Paly

Paly he set forward on Friday, being the third day of August, and held on his voyage betweene the West and South, passing by *Gomera*, one of the *Canary* Islands, where he stayed for a small refreshing; & thence onward, followed the directions giuen him in the papers and memories of deceased *Abulhuza*.

Having sayled eight dayes, he espied so much grasse or Herbage, as if it seemed to be a Meadow; whereof (at first) he & all grew doubtfull, although there was no danger at all, and backe they would haue returned, but that they saw diuers Willow trees a farr off, which gaue an euident and most certaine signe, that some Land must needs be neere.

On the morrow following, which was the eleuenth day of Nouember, in the yeare 1492, *Rodericke de Triana*, began to cry out aloud, Land, Land: at which words, all ran to see whether they were true or no; and having likewise discovered that it was firme Land, they beganne to praise GOD, and sung *Te Deum Laudamus*, mourning euen with great excess of ioy, and proud of a hopefull proceeding.

The first land which they saw, was *Guanahany*, one of the *Iles Lucayas*, situated betweene *Florida* and *Cuba*, where suddenly they went on shoare, and there tooke possession of the New world. From *Guanahany* they went to *Barucon*, the Port of *Cuba*, & there tooke some Indians, and returning backe to the Isle of *Haiti*, cast anchor in the Port, which *Columbus* called *Porte Royall*. There hastily they were faine to land againe; because the chief Caruell smote against a rocke, and began to rift; but yet no person was in perill. When the inhabitants of the Isle saw the Spaniards come on shoare so speedily, and with their Armes: they fled from the sea side vnto the Mountaines, imagining them to bee the *Carybes* or *Canibales*, that came to assault them.

After them ran the Spaniards, as hastily as they might, and yet could take none but one woman, vnto whom they gaue Bread, Wine, and Confittes, as also a smocke, and other Garments, because she was naked, and so sent her away after the rest. She went and told her country people, how kindly they had bin vsed, shewing them the gifts bestowed vpon her:

which caused them presently to come downe againe to the Sea side, to speake with the Spaniards, without any understanding on either side, otherwise then by signes, euen as dumbe folke vse to do. They brought Birds, Bread, Fruits, Gold, and other things, to giue in exchange for Ballads, Beads, Glasses, Needles, Sizers, Pinnes, and other such like things, to the no little ioy and comfort of *Christopher Columbus*, who saluted, embraced, & reuerently entreated the Lord of that land, being of his people called *Cachico*. & gifts passed betwene one another, in signe of loue and amity.

The Indians brought boats of their owne, wherein to bellowe the goodnes of the cheefe Caruell that was broken, and brought them on Land with the Spaniards, so louingly, euen as if they hadde dwelt all their life time among them: falling downe in reuerence to the Crosse, and beating themselves on the breasts, like vnto Christians.

Now *Columbus*, thinking no time soon enough for his returne to Spaine, with newes to the Catholique King, of what he had seene and done, prevailed so wel with the prompt and sodaine consent of *Cachico*, and the assistance of his subjects: as to build a Castle of Wood and Earth; wherein hee left eight and thirty Spaniards, vnder the charge of Captaine *Rodrigo d'Arna*, of *Cordona*: to the end, that during his voyage, they might learne the Language and secrets, both of the Nation and Countrey. And this was the first inhabiting of the Spaniards in the *Indies*.

The Castle being finished, *Columbus* tooke with him tenne Indian men, forty Parrats, many Tortoises, Conies, and other strange things, farre differing from ours in forme and nature, as testimonies of the places where hee had found them. He brought aboard also into his ships, all the Golde which the people of the countrey had giuen him, in exchange of those toys and trifles which hee returned for them. And, after hee had taken leaue of his friendly Companions, appointed to remaine there in his absence, as also of *Guacanari* (for so was the *Cachico* or King of that Countrey named) who was verie sorry and loath, that hee should depart thence, he sent away with two Caruells, wherein

Cachico the first Indian Prince seene by Columbus.

The kind offices of the Indians to the Spaniards.

Columbus, by consent of *Cachico*, & help of his people, builded a Castle of Wood and earth.

Such things as Columbus carried aboard his Ships with in.

After 8. dayes sayling, Rodrick de Triana was the first man that discovered Land.

The first land landing at Guanahany, between Florida & Cuba.

The Indians fearful of the Spaniards at their landing.

A woman Indian taken & clothed, and let loose again.

wherein were all the other Spaniards of the voyage, except the eight and thirte before remembered, and (having a successful wind) arrived at *Paly* within 50 daies or somewhat lesse.

Columbus
goeth to Bar-
celona to the
King and Queen

The Catholike King and queene were then at *Barcellona*, whither *Columbus* went to see them; and although it was a long way, and he had many things to carry: yet notwithstanding, they were all conveyed with him by Land, and hee was welcomed vnto the Court with great Honour. Infinite people flocked about him, to see the things which hee brought from the New-found Worlde, which were of extraordinary wealth and riches, beside the strange men, of such colour and habit, as neuer hadde the like beene seene before. Some sayde, that hee had found the Navigation, concealed from the *Carthaginians*. And others affirmed it, to be that which *Plato* had written of to bee lost by fortune, and by an ouer-great quantity of mudde or slime increasing in the Sea. Some other helde another opinion, saying, That that which *Seneca* had foretold was now accomplished, speaking in his Tragedy of *Medea* after this manner. *The time will come, that (manie yeares hence) New worldes shall be found, and that their Toile could not bee the furthest part of the earth.*

Some in Tra-
gedy *Medea*.

Finally, *Columbus* entered the Court of Spaine, the third day of April, a yeare after he had departed thence, presenting to their Maiesties, the Golde and all things else which he had brought from the New World; whereat the King, Queene, and all then present, marvelled not a little, to see such rare things, all (but the gold) nouell and vnaccustomed vnto theyr sight. They highly commended the Parrats, being of many goodly colours; some of an extraordinary shining green, others of a liuely red or Vermillion colour, intermixed with many other of choise splendour, little or nothing at all resembling them that were brought from other places. The Conies were small, having their eares and tayles like vnto Rats, and their colour grizeld. Also they greatly praised the Cockes of those Countreies, being farre more beautifull then Pea-cockes, wondering besides, that those Countreies yielded no other Corne, and no other bread was gett felde on there, but such as

No more ad-
miration in
the King
Queene and
Courtiers at
the rare na-
turities brought
by Columbus

was made of rootes and the like things. But their chiefeest meruaile was at the men, who had little circletts or Buckles of Gold hanging in their eares, and finely pierced through their nostrilles: theyr bodies being neither white nor black, or browne, but like vnto an Oliue colour, or boyled Quinces.

The Indian
men were their
greatest mar-
tel of maruell

Very attentive was the King, to heare what a worthy Relation *Columbus* made, wondering greatly, that the people shold haue no Habite, Learning, Mony, Iron, Corne, Wine, neyther any Animall which was greater then a Dogge, nor Shippes or Boates of any bignesse. And much was his patience moued, when he heard him tell, that they did eate one another, being all Idolaters. But hee promised, that if God pleased to blesse him with life and health: he would free them from that horrible inhumanity, and root Idolatrie out of those Lands, that could bee reduced vnder his dominion and power. In like manner, hee extended great fauour and courtesie to *Columbus*, commanding that he should sit down before him, because (according to the custome of Spaine) the Gentlemen and other attendants, stand alwayes in the Kings presence, for greater honour to the Royall authority.

The people
did eate one
another, and
were Idolat-
ers.

Obseruance
in the Court
of Spaine.

Moreover, he confirmed his grant and priuiledge, concerning the tenth part of reuenues in the said Lands, giuing him the title and Office of Admirall of the *Indias*, and made his Brother *Bartholomew* Lieutenant or vice-Admirall to him. All which beeing done, a Courrier or Poaste was dispatched vnto Rome, with letters concerning the New-found lands, to his Maiesties ambassadors, whom (but some few months before) he had sent to congratulate Pope *Alexander* the fixt, at his new creation, and (on his behalfe) to do him obeyance. Which letters of full and further information, they deliuered to his Holinesse; he not a little reioycing at these good newes, as the like did all the Roman Court. In regard whereof, the holy Father, with consent of the whole Colledge of Cardinals, made a new donation to the Kings of *Castile* and *Leon*, of all the Isles and firme landsthat should be found in the West: with charge to send Preachers thither, for conuersion of the Infidels.

Columbus
made Admi-
rall of the
Indias.

News of these
Indian discou-
eries, sent to
Rome to pope
Alexander
the fixt.

When

Columbus
for a queene,
with more po-
wer to the In-
dians.

When the Catholike King had receyued this ioyfull answer from the Pope, he sent *Christopher Columbus* againe, with more store of people, for further trafficking in this New-found World, and for vtter destruction of Idolatry, and adoration giuen to false Gods. For the better furtherance hereof, by *John Fonsequedo*, Deane of *Sinell*, he sent eight Caruelles, making him President of those countries. He sent also twelue Priestes, of vertuous life, and good learning, with *Friar Bartolo Catellano*, of the order of *S. Benedict*, who went to be Vicar-Generall for the Pope: to the end, that those Ecclesiasticall persons might preach the word of God, conuertyng the people to the Faith of Iesus Christ, and do all things appertaining to the conuersion of soules.

A Vicar Ge-
nerall sent on
the Popes be-
halfe.

The King and
Queene Ca-
tholike sent
preachers and
handy-crafts-
men into the
Indians.

Beside all this, many Knights & courtiers, moued by the fame and desire of riches in the same Countreies, and earnest affection to see them; went along with them in company, having diuers Artizans among them, as Goldsmithes, Taylors, Malons, Carpenters, Laborers, Fishermen, and such like persons, fit for diuers employments. The King caused also (at his own charge) to be bought some store of Horses, Kine, Sheepe, Goates, Swine, and Affes, that breed might there ensue of them. Great store also was sent of Wheate, Barly, and Graine of all kindes to sowe; with Slips, Sprigs of Vines, Sugar Canes, and Plants of sweete fruites, as also Chalk and Lime to build withall. In breefe, they carried diuers other things for the like needefull vses; entertaining into this seruice 1500. Soldiers, which *Columbus* shipt at *Cadiz* the 25. day of September, 1493. and good prouision of Artillery.

His second
setting to sea
againe for the
West Indies.

Proceeding on in his voyage, & much more neere to the Equinoctiall then hee did before in his first passage, he came to arrive and take landing in an Island, which he termed by the name of *Desire*, and without any staying there, won the Port *D'Argent*, in the Isle called *Hipaniola*. Passing on thence to *Porte Royale*, where he had left the eight and thirte Spaniards, who were all slaine by the Indians, because they had lustfully forced their wives and done them many outrages besides. *Columbus* being displeased hereat, yet shewing no outward discontentment, imme-

diately commanded his Malons & other men to fall to worke, for the building of a Towne, which (in honour of the Queene) he named *Isabella*.

A Towne build-
ed by Co-
lumbus, and
called *Isabella*
in honour of
the queene.

He builded also a Fort or castle among the Mines of *Cibao*, where he established as Gouernor, *Morises Marguavito*, & sent twelue Caruels thence into Spain by *Antonio de Turco*, which carried many grains of Golde, one especially amongst them, weighing eight ounces, which was found by *Aphonso de Honieda*. Hee sent likewise many Parrats, very faire and goodly, and certaine Indian Caribes, being such as fed on the flesh of men, bred and born in the Island of *Ajay*, which hee called *Santa Cruz*, and hee himselfe, went with three Caruels more, to finde out other Lands: where he found *Cubo* on the South-side, and *Lianianca*, with other small Isles in diuers parts.

Columbus fin-
deth out di-
uers other
small Islands

At his returne backe, he found many Spaniards dead and sicke, and some that hadde carried themselves scarily home with their companions: whereof he commanded some to bee hanged, and others to be well beaten, that had giuen forth euill speeches of him. By means whereof, he had some talke with the Vicare to the Pope, who had written to the King; accusing *Columbus* of cruelty and countenance: which caused his Maiestie to send thither his Chamberlain *Iohn de Agnado*, who sent *Columbus* into Spaine prisoner, to render an account of his behaiour to the King.

Spaniards
hanged for
mildemeanor
and *Columbus*
accused to
the king by
the Popes Vi-
car.

Christopher Columbus obeying the kings command, went away to iustify himselfe. And arriving at *Medina del Campo* (where as then the Court was) hee came before the King and Queene, presenting infinite graines of Gold to them; some whereof, weighed fiftene, and twenty Ounces a peece, with great lumps of Amber, goodly wilde Oliue trees and wonderfull huge plumes of Parrats Feathers, used & worn by the Indians, beside many other strange things.

Columbus re-
turned as a
prisoner into
Spaine.

He made report also vnto their Maiesties, concerning the Countreies founde by him, greatly commending the Islands for their admirable riches; declaring beside, that in the moneth of December, which we hold to be the heauiest time of all Winter, that the Birds there, do then produce their yong ones on the trees; & in

Columbus his
arriving be-
fore the King
and Queene.

The wonder-
full plentie
yielded by the
earth.

in March, the wilde raiſins were ripe; and corne (ſowne in Ianuarie) yeelded graine within ſeautentie dayes, Lettice and all rootes grew to be very great. Afterward, he gaue a faithfull report to the king, concerning the behaviour of the Spaniards, how he had puniſhed ſome; and inflicted death vpon other, to the end, that his iuſtification might the more plainly appeare.

Greatly did the King both commend and thanke him for his good ſenſe, and knowing, that hee had doone no more then iuſtice, declared him to be abſolved of all imputations layed vnto his charge, furniſhing him with eight ſhippes, for the finding out of other Countries: two whereof *Columbus* ſent before with victualles and munition, and with the other three ſhippes, himſelfe ſet away from Saint

Columbus re-
turneth hono-
rably to the
Indies.

Luca de Barrameda, about the end of the month of Maie, in the year of our Lord God, one thouſand foure hundred ninctie and ſeauen. And becauſe fame and rumour of *Indian* treaſure did ſpread it ſelfe, exciting diuers Pirates of *France* to make voyages abroad: hee went to *Madera*, and from thence hee ſent three ſhippes, by the right way, for the Iſland called *Hipaniola*, with three hundred baniſhed men; and with the other three ſhippes, he went vnto the Iſle of *Cape de Verde*, to make his voyage very neare to the *Aequinoctiall*, arriving at the laſt in a great Countrey of firme land. On hee went coaſting three hundred leagues, beyond the Cape with full ſayle, and thwarting the Sea, came to Saint *Dominico*, a towne belonging to his brother *Bartholomew*, where hee was receiued to be gouernor, as was contained in his Letters of priuiledge and grant, which the King Catholique had made vnto him, and which hee brought thither with him. Albeit hee were much diſpleaſed thereat, and his brother *Bartholomew* did not greatly like it: becauſe (in his abſence) till now, he had the care and managing of all affaires.

Columbus hauing taken on him the gouernement, and made many enterprizes againſt them of the Countrey, finding out many other Iſlands beſides; grew to be enuied by the Spaniards, and in ſuch fort, that a man named *Roldan Simenes* (a great Potefſtate or Iudge) mutined againſt him,

and threeſcore and ten men more, all leagued and coniuſed againſt him, who forſaking *Columbus*, went to *Siracusa*, and wrote infinite euilles of him and his brethren to the King. His Maieſtie, beeing not a little moued, that matters ſhould be thus combuſtious in the *Indies*, and the Queene raking it very heauily: ſuddenly ſent *Franceſco de Bonadello*, a knight of good repute, to be gouernour in thoſe parts, and giuing him authoritie, eyther to puniſh or imprifon the faultie.

This man came to the Iſland of *Hipaniola*, and foure Caruells with him, in the year, one thouſand foure hundred ninctie and nine; and after hee had made inquisition in the Citie of *Dominico*, he ſent *Chriſtopher Columbus*, with *Bartholomew* and *Diego* his brethren, all priſoners to *Spaine*, with yron fetters on their feete. Being landed at *Cadez*, they were deliuered, by Commiſſion ſent from the King, and commanded to appeare at the court. *Columbus* readily obeyed thereto, and could ſo well ſhape his excuſes (mingled with teares and ſighes very paſſionately) that the King hauing heard him, and knowing his fidelitie, ſent him againe (three yeares after) with foure Caruells, to diſcouer more new Countries, and this was in the year of our Lord God, 1502. or thereabouts.

Columbus being come to the Iſland of *Hipaniola*, and arriving neare to the riuer *Ozama*, *Nicholas de Onanda* Gouernour of the Iſle, would not ſuffer his entrance into the Citie of Saint *Dominico*, whereat *Columbus* being much diſtaſted, ſent in to tell him: That if he might not come into the citie, which he himſelfe had cauſed to be builded; he would goe finde out another Port, where he might be in better affurance. So parting thence, and couering to ſearch the Straits, for paſſing beyond the *Aequinoctiall*, which he had promiſed the King to doe: hee drew directly towards the Weſt, withall, turning to the Cape of *Niguerra*, following till the Meridionall coaſt, returning then to *Cuba*, and aliter to *Lianues*, where hee loſt two Gallies, and with two other hee went to diſcouer new lands. But not without great haimes and perils endured before, for ſome of his followers grew ſicke, and certaine other Spaniards made warre vpon him.

Franceſco

Columbus and his two brethren *Bartholomew* and *Diego* ſent priſoners into *Spaine* fettered in yrons.

Columbus againe ſent into the *Indies* with foure Caruells.

Columbus deſcended entrance into Saint *Dominico*, goeth onto to ſeeke his brother fortifications.

The ingratitude of the people to *Columbus* in denying him victualles and conſpiring againſt his life.

Franceſco de Porras, Captaine of one Galley, and *Diego*, brother to *Columbus*, hauing taken certayne ſmall Barkes, went towards the Iſle of *Hipaniola*: where the Natiues and Inhabitants ſeeing them, would admit them to haue no victuals, but laide trappes and raines to kill them. Whereuppon, *Chriſtopher Columbus* calling ſome of them to him, reproued their lacke of kindneſſe and charity, entreating them to ſell him ſome victuals; aduiſing them further, that except they did ſuccor them, all they in the Iſland ſhould dye of the plague. And to giue them a ſigne as witneſſe of his words, he tolde them, that ſuch a day it would come to paſſe; as they ſhould ſee the Moone whollie as red as bloode, and quite contrarie to her former condition.

Afterwardes, when they behelde the Moone Ecclipted, at the ſame houre of the day, as *Columbus* had foretolde (not knowing any rules of *Aſtologie*) they verily beleued his words. And, craving pardon of him, deſired him not to be offended with them; & brought him what victuals he could deſire. By this meanes, *Columbus* hauing gotten the victorie againſt thoſe Spaniards, gaue a name vnto the Port, calling it *Porta S. Gloria*.

Returning home afterward into *Spain*, to yeelde an account of all that hee had done, being arrived at *Vallyadolid*; a ſickenneſſe ſeized on him, whereof hee dyed in May in the year, 1506. and was entred at *Seuill*, in the Monaftery of the Charter-houſe Monkes. During his life time, he was a man very patient in all his Trauails, and in foure voyages which hee made into the *Indies*, both founde and conquered many Countries, viterly vnknowne before: beſide, hee builded a great part of the Towns and Caſtles in the Iſle of *Hipaniola*, purchaſing great renowne, by bringing to end many actions, ſo well deſerving glory and fame; that his name can neuer be forgotten, or *Spaine* ceaſe to ſpeake, in giuing him ſuch true honour as hee worthily merited.

He had two Sonnes, *Don Diego*, who was married to *Madam Maria of Toledo*, daughter to *Don Ferdinando*, great Commandadore of *Leon*; and *Don Ferdinando*, who was neuer married, but hee had a Library, conſiſting of more then twelue thouſand Volumes, and which (at this

preſent) is in the Conuent of Saint *Dominica* at *Seuill*, a worthy deepe of the ſon to ſo famous a Father. As for King *Ferdinand*, he dyed in the year of our Lord, one thouſand five hundred and fixteene, hauing reigned fortie and two yeares, in the two kingdomes of *Caſtile* and *Aragon*: Queene *Elizabeth* his wife dyed before him, in the year of our Lord God, 1604.

Before wee cloſe vp this Diſcourſe of the *New-found World*, it ſhall not varie much from the matter, to ſpeake of a ſtrange opinion, among the people there naturally liuing, concerning the firſt men that euer were in the world, and likewiſe of the generall Flood or Deluge, as I doe finde it ſet downe by the worthy Gentleman of *France* *Anthony du Perdier*, lord of *Vaprinaz*, in this manner.

Among the Inhabitants of the *VVeſt Indies*, or *New world*, a common and generall receiued opinion was embraced with them, that (at the beginning of the world) from the Septentrionall or Northerne partes, there came a man called *Con*, or *Conon*, who had no bones in his whole body, and therefore went verie quicke and lightly, much ſhortening the wayes, abating the hills and mountaines, and raiſing the lowe-layd vallics, onelic with his word and will, and named himſelfe to be the ſonne of the Sunne.

This man filled the earth with men and women, which he produced, giuing vnto them diuers fruites, and other things neceſſary for humane life. But by a diſpleaſure hee receiued from them, hee conquered the earth (which hee before had freely giuen them) into a drie and barren ſandy, and tooke away the raine alſo, that it ſhould neuer more ſhowe downe, nor moiſture any place. Yet, as pitying their miſery, he left them riuers onely, to the end, that they might conſerue themſelues, in watering the grounds by theyr owne paine and labour.

At length came one *Pachama*, who was like-wiſe ſonne both to the Sunne and Moone, and (hauing expelled or baniſhed *Conon*) conquered thoſe men into Carres, and afterward created other men. The people tooke this man to be a God, and ſo he was generally reputed: vntill the Chriſtians came into thoſe countries, hauing erected a very good Temple vnto him,

The peoples opinion of the firſt men in the world, & of the deluge.

Con, or Conon, a man without bones in his ſkell.

A heauie diſpleaſure conceiued by *Conon* againſt men.

Pachama came and expelled *Conon*.

His voyage very neare to the *Aequinoctiall*.

Enny againſt *Columbus* by *Roldan Simenes* and his associates, and great complaints written againſt him to the King.

The death of *Chriſtopher Columbus* at *Vallyadolid* in *Spain*.

The two worthy ſonnes to *Chriſtopher Columbus*.

The Library of *Don Ferdinando*, ſon to *Chriſtopher Columbus*.

Oracles and
Answers ordi-
nary in their
Temple by
Lima.

Their opin-
ions concern-
ing a general
deluge or drow-
ning of the
world.

By what
meanes they
gathered the
deluge of the
wastels.

Their achon-
gement of the
worlds
ending.

him, neare to Lima, it being the most re-
nowned in all those lands: because of ex-
traordinary deuotion there vsed, in regard
of Oracles and Answers, which euells
gaue to Priests and Sacrificers there dwel-
ling in diuers places. The Spaniards car-
ried away all the golde and siluer (in won-
derfull heapes) out of this Temple, and
all the Oracles and Visions ceased, diuine
prayers hauing bene sayd there, the Sa-
craments administred, and the Crosse
placed where the Idolles stood, which
could no mean maruell and feare among
the Indians.

Moreover they sayd, that at a certaine
time it rained so extremely, that all the
lowe grounds and lands were drowned,
and all the world likewise: except such as
could hide themselves within some caues,
which were among the high mountaines,
hauing little doores or mouthes of en-
trance, and closed so fast to them, as no
water could gaine the least passage in,
and therein also they had store of fooode
and beasts. Afterwards, when they felt
the raine and water to be somewhat pas-
sed ouer, they sent forth two dogges,
which returned all wet and befeined:
whereby they iudged that the waters were
not (as yet) wholly thrinke and gone a-
way.

Within some while after, they put
forth many dogges together, which re-
turned in againe, drie and sleeke as when
they went abroade. And by this meanes
they conceived, that the waters were
quite spent; and so came forth againe
to dwell vpon the earth: where they
greatest paine and trauell was to kill in-
finite Serpents, which the mightie extre-
mitie of muddie and thine had engendred
euery where.

They beleene an end of the world; but
that a great drowning shall goe before it,
and that the Sunne and Moone (which
they all adore and reuerence) shall loose
themselves. And, vpon this occasion,
they make cries and lamentations when-
soever the Ecclypses happen: but especi-
ally them of the Sunne, as fearing then,
that the Sunne, they, and all the whole
World, shall be quite consumed and de-
stroyed together.

CHAP. III.

Of the Excellencie and Dignitie of Mar-
riage: with many singular and worthy ex-
amples, tending to that purpose.



Concerning our present ar-
gument, wee haue had a
chapter already in our for-
mer Volume, declaring ve-
rie much good matter to
that effect, but yet still, desiring this
addition or supplement; in regard, that
nothing can be sayd too much in the ho-
nour of Marriage. This holy institution
of Marriage, was made in the earthly Pa-
radise before sinne, in the time of Inno-
cencie, when as God said to our first Pa-
rents, *Bring forth fruit, and multiply, and
fill the earth.* But it was not brought to
effect, vntill the offence by them com-
mitted, and for which, they were expelled
out of the terrestriall Paradise: as Saint
Ierome hath obserued in his Booke against
Iovinian.

After the vniuersall Deluge, God gaue
command to the good Patriarch *Noah* a-
gain; *To encrease and multiply,* which is
the principall occasion, wherefore Mar-
riage was ordayned, and hath euer since
bene so generally recommended: that it
hath bene, and is permitted to aged and
decipite people (free from all power of
encreasing, and out of hope of any linage)
to marry: which yet is expedient for them
(if I might say so) to the end, that they
may passe their age the more ioyously,
as in the kinde company of husband and
wife, receiuing pleasure, solace, consolati-
on, and comfortable seruices each to o-
ther. Euen as hereof we haue an exam-
ple by *Dauid*, who (in his very olde age)
tooke a yong maidento wife, as namely,
Abigail the Shunamite, with whom hee
ordinarily lay, and shee slept in the bo-
some of the King, warming and comfort-
ing him, and yet the King knew her not
carnally.

What more holy, chaste, assured, and
acceptable societie can be amongst men,
then that of the husband and wife? Oh,
how heauenly an harmony, when the one

The Lord
Vnderstand
ation to the
former Chap-
ter of Pedro
Mexico.

Gen. 1.28.

Ierome in be
color a iuven.

Gen. 8.17

The oldest a
ged people
not prohibi-
ted to marry.

King Dauid
marriage in
his olde age.
3 Kings 1.4.

The iust and
worthy com-
mendations
of Marriage,
according to
the diuine &
original in-
stitution.

is as the other, two bodies, one soule, one
spirit, one will, and one mutual consent
sympathizing in two bodies: The sole
married man and his wife, eny not one
another, but loue infinitely together, each
depending vpon the other, thee reposing
in him, and he in her: euen as one selfe-
same flesh, one and the same concord, a-
like equally in all things, and all but one:
One ioy, one sorrow, one wealth, one po-
uerty, one gaine, one losse, and one selfe
same dignitie. They are alwayes compa-
nions of one selfe same bed, one and the
same table. Therefore they shall be two in
one flesh (said God) and not three, or many.

God would by no meanes haue in the
Ark of *Noah*, to be any more women then
men, to the end that they should all be as
one sole woman. In briefe, the loue of
the husband to the wife, and of the wife
to her husband, surpasseth that of father
and mother to their children, of children
vnto the father; and that which brothers
and sisters ought to haue together. And
like as the Ring which the husband (euen
as God) puts on the finger of his Spouse
or Wife (as the soule to the Church) ought
to be of golde, and round, as gold, being
the most excellent of all metals: euen
so this coniugal loue excelleth all other,
and ought to continue perpetually. And
as *Propertius* saith: *Omnis amor magnus, sed
apertus in coniuge maior. Enery loue is great,
but in wedlocke it appeareth to be much greater.*
For, Father, Mother, Children,
Brethren, Sisters, Cousins and Friends,
all these are the workes of Fortune: but
the Husband and the Wife are Mysteries
of Almighty GOD: And man had
his Wife, and Wife had her Husband,
before there was eyther Father, Mother,
or Children.

The fruits of Marriage are of Almightie
GOD, and not of Nature, from
whence it ensueth, that children borne
out of Marriage, that is to say, Bastards,
are called Naturall onely, but they which
proceede of lloyall Marriage, are sayd to
be Legitimate. And therefore, the opi-
nion of Lawyers, is, *That a childe borne
out of marriage, hath no certaine father, but
we may well say, a bad or lewd mother. He
(say they) is the Sonne of the people, or else
the Sonne of no body, that is the Sonne of an
unmarried woman.* Onely marriage then
(which *Baldus* calleth, *The principle, origi-*

nall and foundation of Mankind) maketh
Children and Heires certayne, augmen-
teth kindred, engendereth amitie among
Allies, reuerence and pleaseth God.

Holy Marriage was so pleasing to the
Author thereof, that he would haue his
only Sonne, to be borne of a married
woman, and although it was his will,
to be borne of a Virgine, without the feede
of a man; yet was it not without the ho-
nour of Marriage. For it pleased him, to
proceed from a Mother married, yet pure
neuertheless, exempt from any carnall
fouling: elected to be the Arke of the Tes-
tament, the Bush not burning, and the
Violl of golde to containe the celestiall
Manna; as well to declare the wonders of
his infinite power, as to make that sacred
estate so much the more honorable. Wre-
thes the preference of the same son of God
himselfe, at the marriage of *Cana in Galile*,
where expressing his gracious loue & fur-
therance; he conuerted water into wine;
by an especial and extraordinary miracle.

Moreover, there is not the name of any
house or stocke, but (without a woman) it
would be quite extinct, neither kindred per-
petuated, family increased, or a Common
wealth continue in intire condition, or a
ny Empire hold, without such help which
the first founders of the *Romaine* Empire
approved; for, they hauing no wives, de-
sired the Daughters of the *Sabines*, their
neighbors, but they would not gratifie the.
Wherevpon, they followed a waye of
stealth of 683, of them; which procured a
mighty & mortall warre, betwixt the *Ro-
mans* and the said *Sabines*: albeit *Romulus*
well foresawe, that his Empire could not
last, without women. For, the City be-
ing composed of houses, and the Com-
mon-wealth of chofen Princes, both do-
mesticks and familiars, how shall he go-
uerne a City, that hath not learned what
is to gouerne a priuate house? The
Philosopher *Socrates* testified, to haue
learned more morall Philosophie of wo-
men, then euer he could naturall, of *Is-
maxoras* and *Archelaus*.

Assuredly, Marriage giues exercitation
to morall Philosophie; there is a domesti-
call Common-wealth conioyned there-
with, and in it selfe. For the gouernement
whereof, a man may easily experiment
the power of wisdom, temperance, pie-
tie, & al other vertues; whereby louing his

The great glo-
rie done by
God to the ho-
norable estate
of Marriage,
as also at the
wedding in
*Cana in Ga-
lilee*.

The manifold
great blef-
sings that en-
sue to the
world by wo-
men in mar-
riage.

Diogenes Laertius,
in lib. 2.

Socrates lear-
ned Morall
Philosophy of
women.

Marriage ac-
cords great
exercite to
morall Philo-
sophie.

K k k k
wife,

Gols owne
appointment
in the Arke of
Noah.

The incom-
parable loue of
man and wife.

Comparison
of the Ring gi-
uen by the
husband to
his wife.

Propertius
of coniugal
loue:

Husband and
wife before
father, mother,
or children.

Bastards haue
no certain fa-
ther, but are
naturall chil-
dren onely.

Baldus in C.
Summa col.
de def.

wife, enstructing his children, ruling his family, protecting his goodes, ordering his house, and encreasing his race; the yeares of his life, will pace on the more happily. Whereas on the contrary, hee that seeketh to spend his life time without being married; is miserable, and worthe to be abandoned of all men.

For this cause, *Lycurgus* made a Lawe to the *Lacedemonians*, that all such as had attained vnto the age of eight and thirty yeares, without enioying women in marriage, should be banished in some time, from all publique playes, spectacles and pastimes, iudging them as vnworthie, to be seene there amongst other in an open assembly. And in winter, they were led out naked, in the common view of the people, because they should be outraged and abused by words and exclamations of euery one, detested as vnworthie the name of men. And themselves enioyned to confesse, that they suffered these afflictions iustly, as hauing scorned and despised that religion: whereof they were preuicacious, and disobedient to the ordinance of Nature.

As concerning the Romans, they were not altogether so strict and seuer, & yet ordained, that such as had liued without marriage till their olde age: should be condemned in payment of a great summe of money to the publike Treasury, according to their quality and facultie. *Plato* appointed in his lawes, that such men as were not married, should enioy no honor estate, or publike dignity: but to be more charged with fines and mulcts, then any of the other Citizens.

A young man of *Lacedemon*, would not arise out of his place in the publike Theater, to gae way and honour to a valiant ancient Capitaine (neuer married) named *Callidus*, who was come thither to see the pastimes. And the Capitaine growing offended at the arrogancy of the young man because hee disdained him in that manner, gaue him some words of heat and choler, whereto the young man returned him this answer. O *Callidus*, thou hast not (as yet) begotten, neither occasioned the birth of any one that being now at mine age, and unmarried as thou art, may arise hereafter to giue me place, and therefore no other esteeme is to be made of thee. The Romanes in the time of *Q. Metellus* Consul, established many fa-

mous and worthy priuileges for newe married persons, and for such as had three sons, as may be seen in the *Digest*, of such as had ten. And our greatest Diuines, let downe twelue causes, the which hinder a man from marriage, and doe yet dissuall marriage, although it be consummated & children procreated. As namely error, con ition, yow, parentage, sin, to wit, of adultery or murder, diuerity & difference in religion, violence, prophanes in Priesthood, or profession of a false religio, bond and promise of contrary marriage, as being otherwise contracted, honestly, affinity, and inhability. All these twelue, are bars and hinderances to marriage, according as *Cardinall Cicerone* hath comprehended them in these verses.

Error, conditio, votum, cognatio, crimen, Cultus disparitas, via, or do, ligamen, bonestas
Si sis affinis, si forte corre nequibus:
Hac socianda vetant connubia, facta retractant.

I haue a great desire to discourse particularly on euery one of these causes, if I had not such a multitude of other matters to speake of: let therefore (for this time) suffice that which hath bin said. And for such as are louers of Poetrie, I referre them to the renowned Poet *Scauala de S. Marthia*, partly turned and imitated out of the fift booke of *Marcellus Palingenius*, a Latine Poet, in his Zodiack of Life, where he singeth elegantly in the praise of Marriage.

CHAP. III.

Of Partharites, King of the Lombards, who being pursued by Grimoald, fledde first to Cacanus, King of the Auarians or Huns, afterwards into France. And in the end ofter many beaues and troubles from Trauayls; was (with great honor and renowne, seated in his owne kingdome.



Partharites was sonneto *Albert* King of the Lombards, who (after the death of his father) reigned at *Myllaine*; and *Gondebert* his brother, at *Paulia*. A strife and quarrell, growing betwene the two Brethren, *Gondebert*

(sent

sent *Garibald*, Duke of *Thurine*, towards *Grimoald*, Duke of *Beneuentum*, a verie generous Capitaine and Commander, requiring his assistance against *Partharites*, with tolemme promise, of giuing him his Sister in marriage. But *Garibald* intending treason to his Lord and Master, perswaded *Grimoald*, to come and possesse the kingdome to his owne vse, which (thorow discord betwene the two brethren) was growne to weake estate, and verie neare vpon vpon vtter ruine.

When *Grimoald* vnderstood this, hee gaue ouer his Dukedome of *Beneuentum* to his sonne, creating him there as absolute Duke, and, with the greatest forces he could get together, prepared his iourney for *Paulia*: and in all cities and towns as he passed along, begot himselfe store of friends, for his better helpe in obtaining the kingdome. Being come to *Paulia*, and entring into priuate conference with *Gondebert*: by close practise and intelligence with *Garibald*, *Gondebert* was slaine at a Banquet, and he made possessor of the kingdome. No sooner did *Partharites* heare these sad tydings, but, leauing faire *Rhodolinda* his wife and Queene, and a young sonne of his (both confined by *Grimoald* to *Beneuentum* for close custody) fled secretly away, making his recourse to *Cacanus*, King of the *Auarians* or *Hunnes*.

Grimoald hauing made sure his Kingdome at *Paulia*, and vnderstanding, that *Partharites* secured his safetie with *Cacanus*: sent Ambassadors to him, to let him know, that if hee kept *Partharites* in his kingdome, no long peace should continue betwene him and the *Lombardes*, but he must expect a King as his enemy. According to this Ambassage, the King of the *Auarians* called *Partharites* to him in secret, desiring him, that he would wander whither himselfe pleased: because (thorow his meanes) the *Auarians* might not fall into the hatred of the *Lombardes*. And so, vpon a royall, sad and mutual interchange of wofull lamentations on eyther side; the two kings parted, as might haue moued pity in Marble to behold it.

Partharites, frustrated now of all helpe and comfort, returning into *Italie* againe: purposed his repaire to his enemy *Grimoald*, confiding on his kingly clemencie, because he was left destitute of any other succour. And being come neare to the

City of *Lody*, he called to a Gentleman of his, named *Vaulphus*, in whom his intimate trust wholly consisted, sending him before, to acquaint *Grimoald* with his coming, and to deale iustly for his safetie. *Vaulphus* presented himselfe before the new-made King, vsing such wife and honourable language to him, concerning *Partharites* his King and Maister, making recourse to his royall mercie, and trusting onely in his goodness; that he would freely submit himselfe to him, if he (with the like benignitie) would vouchsafe to embrace him.

So effectually did *Vaulphus* deliuer his message, and *Grimoald* (eyther in pride or pleasure) accept it: that hee promised and swore vpon his faith, no displeasure should any way be dole to the King his maister, he might come when he would, & builde securely vpon his faith. *Vaulphus*, hauing brought backe this answer to *Partharites*, hee went and presented himselfe before *Grimoald*, meerey prostrate at his feete, who took him vp graciously, & in most friendly manner kissed him: where vpon, *Partharites* beganne thus: Sith I am your humble vassalle and seruant, and knowing you to be most Christian, and a faithfull louer of pietie: though I might liue safe among Pagans, yet, building vpon your mildnesse and mercy, I am come, and heere yeeld my selfe at your feete.

Grimoald vsing his accustomed oathes, promised him, saying, By him that made me to be borne, seeing you haue put your selfe into my power, you shall suffer no harme any way whatsoeuer; but I will take such order, that you shall liue well and honorably. So he commanded him a conuenient lodging, with entertainment answerable to his qualitie, and all things afforded to him in plentifull maner. *Partharites* being departed from the King, to such place as was appoynted for him; it came to passe, that the people flocked and resorted daily thither (hauing formerly knowne & honoured him) earnestly desiring to see and salute him.

But see how ready euill tongues are to commit mischief, diuers flatterers and audacious Informers, obseruing the peoples kind greetings to *Partharites*: reported it in such maner to *Grimoald*, that they incensed him very strangely, perswading him, that if he did not the sooner procure

Kkkk 2 the

Paulus Dracynets downe more at large.

Grimoald gaue ouer his Dukedome to his sonne, in hope of a Kingdome.

Partharites fled and left his kingdome.

Grimoald suffered not *Partharites* to abide with *Cacanus*.

A hard case, when a King is constrained to turne to his enemy for mercie.

Twelue especiall occasions that impede and hinder marriage.

Cerv. Ciceron in Sum. Dist. 19

Vaulphus a loyall seruant to *Partharites*

Partharites presenteth himselfe before *Grimoald*.

Conference between *Grimoald* and *Partharites*.

Grimoald his profections to *Partharites* and the honorable intertainment he gaue him.

Sycophantes and flatterers are alwayes too neare about kings and princes.

The Lawe of *Lycurgus* made for the vnmarried young men of *Lacedemon*.

The Roman Law for men vnmarried till their age.

Et in infinitis de excessu sat. vel curat.

the death of *Partharites*, hee would bee shaken out of his kingdom, yea, and lose his life likewise; for *Partharites* lodging seemed now, rather to be a Court then his. *Grimold* being a man over-casie in beleefe, and led away with the least persuasions; became so confounded with zealousie and distrust, that (neuer remembering his solemn oaths and promises) he fell into an extraordinary rage, and in extremity of heate and choller, swore the death of innocent *Partharites*, wanting nothing but aduice and meanes, how it might both safely and sodainly bee effected.

Now, because it grew somewhat late, and on the morrow the deed must needs be done; he caused (that Evening) great store of delicate meates and wines to bee sent to *Partharites*, purposely to make him drunke: that being overcome with eating and drinking, and all his senses possessed with drowlinesse, hee might haue the lesse care of his health, and so his life be the sooner betrayed. But a Gentleman who before had serued the father of *Partharites*, and brought him these lunkers from the King: stooping his head lowe beneath the table, as doing him reuerence and embracing his knee, secretly revealed to him, how *Grimold* had concluded his death, and that this nightes iouial drinking supper, must be a solemn induction thereto.

Heereupon, *Partharites* immediately, (but very covertly) gaue order vnto his Cup beater and Taster, to fill and bring him no other drinke all supper while, but some small quantities of water onely, and in his priuate silver Bowle. So that the Courtiers (who were sent to keepe him company) quaffing and carowing many healths of the King to *Partharites*, desiring him still to pledge them in like manner, as thereby expressing his loue to the King: *Partharites* accepted all their fearefull charges, protesting all honor and reuerence to *Grimold*, rowling vp cup after cup as readily as they, seeming as merrie as any of them all, and yet drank nothing else but water. Supper being ended, and the Courtiers returning back to the King, reported the iocund behavior of *Partharites*, and how forward still he was in turning off his owne Bolle, as readily as they did theirs, and neuer refused to pledge his

Highnesse health, thinking him to be very faire spent with wine. Vnderneath *Grimold* heartily reioycing, merrily saide; *Alas poore silly Drunkard, little thinkest hee, that the Wine and his blood will be mingled on the earth to morrow together, in despite of all the friends he hath.*

The same night, he sent strong guards to watch about the house where *Partharites* was lodged, because he should haue no meanes to escape, nor any friends com to giue him assistance. But the poor harmlesse Prince, when supper was past, and all the Courtiers departed thence (remaiyning alone in his Chamber, & none with him but *Vnulpus*, and a Page that vsed to waite nextest about, to helpe his Garmets both off and on, they being both his faithfull seruants, and in whom he reposed most confidence:) hee discovered plainly to them, how peremptorily his death was concluded on by *Grimold*, and what a strong watch was set round about his lodging, so that now their poor Lord and Masters life must needs perish by his treachery.

Vnulpus hauing a prompt and readie witte, louing his Lord dearly, & caring for no danger to himselfe, lo hee might set him free from perill: by means of certaine Blankets belonging to a bedde, and a Beares skinne which he found there in his chamber by chance, so substantially hee disguised *Partharites*, that it was impossible to distinguish him from a meere Country Boore or Pezant, and his countrefeiting drunkenesse, made the matter to seeme the more likely. *Vnulpus* had gotten a good Faggot-stick, and pretending sweating, with beating that drunken Rascall (for so, and sometimes worse hee commonly called him) tumbled him first downe the staires, and lastly out of doores, labouring still as if hee had giuen many fore blowes. Which when the Guardes there attending perceyued, they demanded of *Vnulpus*, what was the matter? Hee answered, saying: Here is a drunken slaue, who while the Lordes were heere at Supper with *Partharites*, hath secretly gotten in, and stolne himselfe starke drunke; keeping such a terrible noise, that my Lord (who is as drunk as mee) I feare can take no rest, and by no meanes would I haue him to bee disturbed.

The best and quickest witted drincker, may sometime be deceyued.

Partharites discouereth his danger to *Vnulpus* and his Page.

The cleynly stuit of *Vnulpus* to saue the life of his kingly master

Vnulpus cunningly beguileth the Guard and gaineth the escape of *Partharites*.

No

No doubt at all made the Guardes of *Vnulpus* his words, but laughing, to see the slaue belabored so lustily, suffered him to driue him on before him, bidding him beate still, and spare him not. While the Guardes stood laughing at this merry ielt, no man needed to bid them make hast, & *Partharites* being quickly got out of sight, *Vnulpus* returned to the lodging, which made the Guardes the more confidently perswaded, and secured the King from all pursuite. Moreouer, after the Kings departure in that manner, the faithfull Page kept the doores lockt vp fast, till *Vnulpus* was returned againe: where they two onely remained in the chamber, praying for their Kings prosperous successe; who arrived that night at the Towne of *Aste*, and from thence (passing the mountaines) went into *France*.

On the morrow morning, messengers came from the King, to bring *Partharites* to the Pallace, and beating at the doore, the Page spake out at the windowe, saying: Good Gentlemen forbear, his Maestie hath drunke somewhat hard, is very sleepey, and therefore I pray ye trouble not his rest. Whereunto they in modest yielding, went and reported the same to *Grimold*, who well liked that he should sleepe so long: yet sent them againe in all haste, and howsoever (awake or asleep) to bring him away with them. The Souldiers, earing to displease the king, came and knockt earnestly at the doore; but being intreated by the Page, as afore said, they boldly broke the doore open, & seeking for *Partharites* in his bed, found him not, which made them to demand, what was become of him; & the Page said, he was fled.

Presently were *Vnulpus* and the Page seized on, and haled furiously to the Pallace, where being brought before the king, with vnappalled countenance, they tolde, that the King had escaped with life, discovering the manner truly how, and dreading no infiction for the fact. When *Grimold* had aduisedly considered on their faith and loyalty, hee called them severally againe before him; wishing hee suddenly another faithfull Page, exhorting him earnestly, to keepe his loyalty to his Lord *Partharites*, promising to recompence him worthily for it. *Vnulpus* afterwards was brought againe before him, and the king greatly commending both his wisdom

& honesty, demanded, whether he would chuse to liue with him in good grace and acceptance, or follow *Partharites* in the extremity of his fortunes? whereto *Vnulpus* said, with an oath, that he would rather chuse to die with *Partharites*, yea for meynes whatsoever; then liue any where else, with all the pleasures and delights that the world could giue him.

The same demand was also made to the Page, & his answer was the like in effect: whereon the King highly extolling their vnparalleled loyalty, prayed them both, to commaund whatsoever his Court afforded, & go in all safety to seek their master. Provided of all things they could desire or carry with them, and securitie granted for their safe passage; they set onward to *France*, in a longing desire to meete with *Partharites*; as soone after they did, to great ioy and comfort on euery side. But first, newes being abroad, that *Grimold* had vnited peace with *Dagobert* King of *France*: it made *Partharites* fearful of some cloie ambushes to be layed for him, & so he might be sent backe to *Grimold* againe; which made him forlake *France*, & to ship himselfe for *England*: all which calamities happened to him, before his two faithfull seruants could any where finde him.

Being on the Sea all together, and (in hope of good successe) boord for *England*, they had not past a full league from land: But *Partharites* heard a voyce, seeming to come directly from the shoare where hee took shipping, demanding in this manner: *Speake there, is Partharites in the ship or not* *Partharites* replied without pausing: *Is he is it that calleth Partharites? I am that most unhappy man, and (blessed be heauen) heere I am. Tell him then (answered the voyce) his native Country calles him home, and further he may not goe; for, within three dayes, Grimold is dead. Partharites amazed at this strange accident, required fauor to be landed with his seruants againe; but could neuer know him that tolde those tidings of *Grimold*s death, which made him verily perswaded, that it was no mortal man, but his owne good Angell, that thus entrusted him, after his passing thorow so many miseries.*

Partharites returning home againe, to wardes his owne native Country, hee was no sooner arrived at the limites of *Italy*, but hee met there with a goodly com-

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The death of *Partharites* is vowed by *Grimold*.

One of *Grimold*s owne Gentlemen bewrayed the treason.

The wisdom of *Partharites* in preventing the Treason prepared for him.

Every thing faued well for the Kings safe deliuerance from his enemy.

Grimold sends for *Partharites* to the Pallace, in hope to execute his will vpon him.

Vnulpus and the Page vnderly haled to court, & the whole matter concluded.

The worthy a shew of a loyal and con stant seruant.

The honorable dealing of *Grimold* with *Vnulpus* and the Page, sending them after their royal master.

A strange and miraculous accident happening to *Partharites*, laying towards *England*.

pamy of Lombards, with Laurell wreathes on their heads, and Palme branches in their hands, who purposely attended there for his coming, and so conducted him joyfully to *Paula*; from whence, the Sonne of *Grimald* being expelled, he was there (by generall consent) created absolute King of the Lombards, within three moneths after the death of *Grimald*. He dispatched Posaits to *Beneuentum*, in quest of *Isolfin* his Queene and Wife, as also his sonne *Cambert*. And being a man pious, Catholique, a great observer of Iustice, and charitable to the poore; so soon as he was quietly seated in his kingdome, he builded a goodly Monastery, neere unto the River *Thesina*, in which sometime he had concealed himselfe, when he was enforced from place to place; dedicating the Temple to Gods service, and in honour of *S. Agatha* the Virgin & Martyr, planting therein many religious virgins, and endowing it with great liberality of rents and revenues. His Queene also, after her many troubles, and long separation from her husband, erected the Church of our Lady without the walles, bestowing infinite rich and precious ornaments thereon. And at length, *Partharicus* (having reigned eighteen yeares) changed this mostall life for a better, to the great griefe of his loving Subjects the Lombards.

Nor may we heere omit to say somewhat of *Garibald*, Duke of *Thurine*, the beginner of this poore Princes calamities. He having intiguated (as hath bin related) *Grimald*, Duke of *Beneuentum*, to murder *Gondebert*, King of the Lombards, treacherously: within no long while after, a certaine meane man, of little or no respect at all, comming to the City of *Thurine*, and vnderstanding, that *Garibald* would be in the cheefe Church on Easter day neere ensuing; stood on the steps of the Font for baptisme, leaning carelessly on his left arme, by a collome of the Tabernacle, being at the very entrance into the Church, having a weapon ready drawne vnder his Cloake. So soone as *Garibald* came to see neere him; he (not fearing all the traine about him) suddenly ran the Rapier quite through his body, that instantly he fell downe dead. Such as attended *Garibald*, being somewhat amazed at so vnexpected an accident, pursu-

ing the murderer, could fasten no hold on him, vntill they had slaine him, with many weapons being in his body at once. So, although he lost his life; yet courageously he reuenged the iniurious act, committed on *Gondebert* his Lord & Master.

CHAP. V.

What manner of men those were and are, that be called Doctors of Sorbonne, or Sorbonnists.



Am sure there are many, that neuer saw the goodly, rich, populous, commonious, and well governed City and Vniuersity of *Paris*; and yet diuers that haue seene it, or read the Antiquities thereof, may perhaps be ignorant, what kinde of men they are, that beare the title or name of Doctors of *Sorbonne*. For all other Doctors are honoured by those Citties names, wherein they received their degrees: As Doctors of *Louuaine*, of *Poitiers*, of *Doway*, of *Theolosa*, of *Montpelier*, of *Paula*, of *Bologna*, of *Twinge*, of *Fribourge*, and so of diuers other. But the Doctors in diuinity of *Sorbonne*, beare their name, not of the City where they received their licences and degrees Doctorall; but of the place peculiarly. A matter which hath much amazed many, & raised doubt in diuers other, that neuer had the happinesse to visit *Paris*; in which respect, I purpose to set down the true originall thereof, how, and vpon what occasion it came so to passe.

It is to be vnderstood, as I haue elsewhere said, that the course of nature will sooner faile; then people be any other but as their Princes are, as *Cassiodorus* saith. King *Leuis*, ninth of that name, reigning King in *France*, whereas other Princes deuied (euen as to this day many do) how to build Palaces & vnprofitable houses, for pride, luxury and prodigality: this holy & religious King caused Churches to be erected, Hospitals, Abbayes, Colledges, & other places of piety in imitation of whom, many of his Subjects, &

All Doctors, except they of Sorbonne, are instituted by many of the Cities & Vniuersities where they were graduated

The holy life of Leuis did not commonly called Saint Leuis.

other strangers did the like.

Amongst other, there was a Diuine of the Kings house, his Almoner, and one of his Preachers, who was thought to be provided of some good Benefice; yet neyther enriched his kindred, or spent his revenues in vanities, as too many churchmen now aduise vs to doe. This good man was called Master *Robert de Sorbonne*: but to relate further, of what Nation hee was, or of what Family, hath scarcely (as yet) bene discovered by any. In briefe, amouled in great pietie, and by the example of his King; hee bought a place, which usually was called in *Laine*, *Locum Termarum C. Ajaris*, that is to say, The place of *Casars Bathes*. And it is sayd, that *Julian*, Nephew to the Emperour *Constantine*, Governour of the *Gauls*, caused those Bathes to be builded, and the Lodgings of *Clany*, which then were without the City of *Paris*, and as places of pleasure: according as we read in some Epistles, which *Julian* wrote to them of *Antioche*. The said *Julian* was afterwards Emperour, surnamed the Apostata by the Christians. And then, such as pretended to the Imperial Crowne, termed themselves *Casars*: as now at this day, such as are designed Emperours after him liuing, are called Kings of the *Romaines*.

In this place there is apparance, that there the *Casars Bathes* were, as euidently may be discerned, by the channells of hewne stone, which were found in the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand five hundred forty and foure, at the gate of *Saint James*, when Bastions and Rampires were then made, to resist the forces of *Charles* the first, Emperour, who was entred into *France* with a mighty army. Which gutters or conduits of water, were continued from the village of *Arceuell* (so named, in regarde of Arches builded of Bricke, as yet to this present are to be seene; or of the Latine compounded word *Aqua ductio*) and reaching into *Paris*. Those conduits of water serued well for those Bathes, and were needfull now to be renewed, to water the higher parts of the Vniuersitie of *Paris* (which haue great neede thereof) if my maisters the *Escheniers*, would therein employ their paines.

As already hath bene sayd, this place was builded to bathe or wash the *Romain*

Emperours, Consulls, Proconsulls, and such like, and was bought by the said Master *Robert Sorbonne*, in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand two hundred thre-score and foure. If you desire to know, to whom (as then) that place appertyned; I must therein confesse mine ignorance, although I haue made good search in the euidences, belonging to that place of *Sorbonne*, & elsewhere (specifying large rents & reuenues thereto belonging, yet much enlarged by the bounty of *K. Lewis* 9. king of *France*, and others, calling it only *Sorbonne*) and finding it appoynted, to maintain a certayne number of Doctors, who should reade publicly in Diuinitie; and also of Bacheliers to study, there to be lodged and maintained. Whereupon, from that time to this present, the Professors, Bacheliers, and other Students in this Colledge, did endeavour themselves to indolistrously, and became so capable; as there is hardly any other Colledge throughout all Christendome, wherein may be found men so ready and exact in Diuinitie, as they are that belong to this *Sorbonne* Colledge.

The Students in this House, are not (as commonly else where) young men, but wel stept in yeares; because they haue read publicly, enstructing the course of Philosophie, which is performed in three yeares, in regard there are as many parts, which are *Loycke*, *Physicke* and *Metaphysicke*. And many times some such are there, that haue made three courses, which are nine yeares, and employed by them in publique Lectures; before they will adventure to study or reade publickly in Diuinitie; and therefore it is no matter of maruell, that there should continually be such singularly learned men in that Colledge.

The Doctors and Bacheliers, our & beside their being great Philosophers, are likewise very skilfull in humane learning, and vnderstand the tongues, *Greeke*, *Latine* and *Hebren*, speaking them (for the most part) eloquently. They are held in such reputation, that (commonly) they deale in the great st difficulties, and in all Ecclesiasticall occasions, their aduice is wholly vsed; the Colledge being reputed as one of the best Bulwarks to the *Romain* Catholique Church, and so accounted through Christendome.

Very

Doctors for the emperors and consulls of Rome.

Vpon what occasion, and to what end the Colledge of Sorbonne was erected.

The Bacheliers of Sorbonne, how they become so learned.

The place that at this day is called Sorbonne, how, and by whom it was bought.

Aqueducts or Gutters, for conveying of water from Arceuell to Paris.

A goodly Monastery builded by *Isolfin*, neere to the River *Thesina* in Italy.

A further pretence on the behalf of *Garibald*, concerning *Grimald*, Duke of *Thurine*.

Garibald slain in the Church, and with vpon Easter day by a pious childe fellow.

CHAP. VI.

That the Law of the Emperour Seuerus, and that of Solon, for promoting any one to Office and Authority in the Common-wealth (being first informed, of a mans life & good manners) was much better then those of the Venetians, Florentines, Genewaves, and Lucanes; examining after the time of their Jurisdiction is past.



He Emperour Seuerus, the eighteenth, reigning in the yeare of Iesus Christ, 196. albeit that he was no Christian; yet (after the example of Chri-

stianity) would ordinarily say: *That it was great shame, to bee lesse carefull of the life of a Governour, or one that exerciseth the place of iudgement; then the Christians were, in the quality of their Shepherds and Watchmen ouer their Flocks. For they obserued a kinde of Siquis, or a Bill fixed vpon Poasts, wherein were set downe the names of such as aspired to any Ecclesiasticall dignity, and examined their liues and behaviour with strictest severity.* In the very same manner, this good Emperour, when hee intended to provide any man for the government of a Prouince, or place where iudgement was to be vsed, or whatsoeuer else appeared requisite: would first set vp publicke Placards, or Bills of inscription, in diuers places about the City, to the ende, that if any notorious vice were knowne, or criminall cause deseruing open detection, in such as were named in those publicke Placards: it was lawfull for all men, to accuse or set downe their blemishes & incapacities, that no wicked or vnworthy person, might be advanced to such degree of eminency. Thus euery one, and all in generall were permitted to accuse; but yet on penalty of life, if it should be proued to be scandall or calumniation, and thereupon, an especiall Law was ordained and enrouled expressly.

In my poore opinion, this Law seemeth much more honest and equall, then those

Laupridius in the late of the said Alexander beaurus.

Placards Bills of Siquis, or publicke inscription fixed vpon Poasts, and to what end they were ordained.

The Authors comparison of precedency with present ordinations.

A good aduice against vnlawfull euasions.

It is better to chaffe life sinne late, then neuer.

What kinde of men are in equity to be advanced to places of authority.

Respect is the best rule to be ordered by.

Alexander Seuerus was no Christian, yet imitated the Christians in making this Edict.

those now adayes in vs, with the *Venetians, Florentines, Genewaves, and Lucanes*, who after the time of a mans Office is expired, or, that the limitation of his gouernment ceaseth: do then make enquiry, to cause him render an account of his administration, and then proceed against him according to his demerits. A wicked Magistrate, and publike Concessionary or extortioner, by giving a piece of bread to dogs barking at him, so to stop their mouths: may thus salue his thefts, and other depredations of his vile life.

It is much more expedient, to prevent a disface, then to tarry till it come, & then to expulse it: notwithstanding, it is better late, then neuer, to the ende (at the least) that feare of search and syndication, may retaine Officers within compasse of their duty.

And yet the ordination of *Solon* (methinks) was farre better, whereby the liues of Officers was to be examined, both before and after their authority, as we read in the lawes set downe by *Demoisthenes*. For by examining the life and manners of such, as couet or seeke after degrees of Offices, Benefices, Knighthood, exemptions, immunities, gifts and rewards, if they appeare to bee foule or deformed: not onely they may be reiected, but also directly (in iustice) punished, & rewards distributed to honest persons, according to the merit of euery man. And by an hermonious proportion, the purse shold be giuen to the most faithfull; Armes to the most valiant; Iustice degree to the vp-rightest; censure to the enurest; painfull trauaile to the strongest and best able; Prelacy to the most learned and deuoutest. And yet neuerthelesse, carrying respect to Nobility, wealth, age, and the power of euery one, as also the quality of their charges and offices: for it were very ridiculous, to make a Iudge a Warriour, a Prelate a common Lawyer, or a Soldiour to manage cases of conscience.

Now for the better comprehension of our purpose in this Chapter, it is to be obserued, that *Alexander Seuerus* neuer was a Christian: but a worthy man otherwise, and when he made that Edict. As being desirous to place good Magistrats, to gouerne in the Romaine Commonwealth vnder his Empire (finiding it full of exacting Officers) in imitation of the

Christians; euen (as it is saide) in the second time of the Primitive Church. And when (for any particular Church) any need appeared of a Bishoppe, a Priest, a Deacon, or some other Officer; the Christians (in those times) fixed vp their Placards, setting downe the name of him or them, that sought to haue such office and dignity: they did it to such ende, that if any vice were knowne in him or them; objection might bee made against the pretendant, so to debout him of his requisition and sute.

And questionlesse, great need there was, that this policy should bee obserued among the Christians; for the Pagans & Idolaters then (being their capitall enemies) sought nothing more, then some subiect or argument, whereby to inuene and caluminate the Pastors and Prelates among the Christians, onely to make the odious to the people. And they that were promoted vnto Ecclesiasticall Offices in those dayes, had no other stipend or reward, but only some collection of Corne and other matters, among the Christians of the Churches then, to make them garments, and maintaine them poorely enough, being provided of those places, & oftentimes their best assurance was most cruell martyrdome. And that which made men then desirous of Ecclesiasticall advancements, was not (as now adayes) to deriue thence large benefits & reuennues: for then, there were not any foundations ordained, neyther were any tenths leuied for or from them. But the Pastours then, in a most sacred kinde of charity, coueted to instruct the ignorant, and confirme in faith, intimidate, affrighted and disperfed Christians, persecuted by the Romanes and other Princes, onely for the Christian faith, and to encourage them for suffering martyrdome, according as *Ensebius* (who liued in those times) hath written at large.

As for the estates of the *Venetians, Genewaves, Lucanes*, and others now exercised in *Italy*, they are not during life, as it is in *France*: wherein yet it is not much amisse, to haue information of them, vpon the expiration of their charges, to cause terror in their offices successors, for best carriage and behavior in their dutie, least a further inquisition come vpon them. In *France*, estates and offices are exercised, during

The Pastours and Preachers among the Christians were very poore in the beginning of vnderstanding their charges

The desire of Pastours in the Primitive Church,

The estates & offices in Italy differing from the in France.

Admirable dispositions of the Doctors of Sorbonne, & how their order began at the first.

Doctors of Paris are vniuersally reuennued Doctors of worth and esteem.

Prouision
made by the
Statutes of
of France.

The obser-
uation of Spaine
in the admini-
stration of their
Officers.

How the
Kings of Spain
carry them-
selves to their
Substitutes.

during life of the party in possession: but yet with caution, that if he commit any vnbecoming acte, to bee instantly dismis- sed, and (oftentimes) death ensueeth there- upon. But before any man may bee so ad- uanced, the Statutes of *France* haue enioyned, that good information must be made, concerning the life and manners of the party to enioy it; before such per- sons as his Maieesty, or other soueraigne Iudges shall appoint.

The Kings of *Spainne*, cause information of life and behaviour, of any that aime at degrees and offices, before they are ad- mitted to them. And moreover, at every five yeares end, sometime in more, and in lesse compasse of yeares very often; se- cret enquiries & informations are made, of all Officers in every Seigneury: as in all the *Spaines*, the Kingdomes of *Na- ples*, *Sicily*, *Milaine*, the lower Countreies of *Germany*, the County of *Bourgongne*, the Duchy of *Luxembourg*, and other, & namely of the places where they exercise their Offices. And if the King do finde, that they mis-behaved themselves; his Countcell deposeeth them, appointing o- ther in their places, of whom (likewise) the life and conuersation is well ques- tioned. Sometimes they are put to death, but very rarely, and many times deposed, yet without note of infamy: only giuing them to vnderstand, that the King is not well contented with their seruice. Heere is also to be vnderstood, that information cometh not onely against Officers of Iustice, as *Advocates*, *Procurators*, *Preg- notaries*, Iudges soueraigne and subalter- nate: but likewise against Ecclesiasticks, and men of warre. By which means, every one is compelled to containe himselfe within compasse of duty; and beside, the estates & offices are not vendible.

CHAP. VII.

Of the reason and cause, why both some Princes, and also some Common-wealths, haue alwayes prosperously flourished in the times of warre, and in peacefull dayes haue runne to decay and ruine.

Although I discourse in this Chapter, that some Princes and Common-

wealths haue bin very happy and succes- full, in times of wars and molestations; and contrariwise, in times of peace haue become vicious, running on to ruine and delolation: yet I neither will, or do there- by inferre, that warre is to bee esteemed more necessary then peace. But I will shew the causes whereby (not all Com- mon-wealths, nor all Princes in generall) yet many liued more vertuously & happi- ly in the times of war, then in their easier dayes of peace. And that so soone as they came to enioy peace; they fell into ruine, vtterly losing all their greatnesse & splen- dour. Euen like vnto Iron, which not be- ing vsed or handled, or whereof no fre- quent employment is made; rusteth and consumeth of it selfe. And this ensued by no other occasion, but only through ne- gligence and want of respect, that when they enioyed the Sunny daies of peace; no discrete order was taken, for instituti- on of good life and pollicie, and how to make vse (as men ought to doe) of such sweet tranquillity.

Before I come to approue my say- ings by examples, I would first make a briefe relation, concerning the actions of men of warre; to demonstrate, that it is (almost) vtterly incredible, that any good nesse can deriue it selfe from war. For, who is a greater enemy to the peacefull man, then the furious Soldior? To the milde, meeke countriman, then the bloo- dy Warriour? To the Philosopher, then the fierce Capitaine? To the wife, then fooler? Because the greatest delight and felicity of warriors, is, to forradge Coun- tries, rob the husbandmen, burne Towns and Villages, to massacre good men, to giue all licence to the wicked, to besiege, batter, force and ransacke houses, to kill olde and young, to spare no age or sexe, to rauish Wiues and Virgins, to bathe their hands brutishly in innocent blood, to make a spoile of sacred things, to ru- inate Temples, to blasphem the Name of God, to trample (vnder their foule feet) all right both diuine and humane. These are the fruites of warre, highly ac- ceptable and pleasing to fiery-eye Sol- diors, abhominable to good men, & de- testable before God. Needlesse is it to amplify with words, that which hath bin too well seene and felt in ouer-many pla- ces, whose very memory hath startled the

Peace is al-
ways to be
preferred be-
fore war in a-
ny Kingdom.

In Sunshine
dayes men
haue greatli
need to leate
thems.

The fruit is
but bad that
proceed from
warre: it in-
ueter to iustly
followed.

Where warre
keepe his re-
ueill, all goes
to wracke and
ruine, without
any pity or
remotie.

Vertue is ma-
ny times vic-
tious with-
out any
blowes giuen.

The Romanes
had more ver-
tuous men in
warre then in
peace.

Furius Ca-
millus.

Fabritius.

Scipio.

Vertue can
neuer con-
quer by cow-
ardie.

soules of them in best safety, and made their haire stand on ende, that thought themselves of boldest resolution.

If then the case stand thus, and that war hath so many discommodities and mis- chiefs waiting vpon it: how can any good ensue from it?

Further wee are to vnderstand, that when Soldiours are guided by Captaines voide of iudgement, vnderstanding and vertue: all the forenamed evils and mis- chiefs are ordinarily committed. But if they haue a vertuous Commander, hee will carry himselfe so much the more mo- destly. And like as greatnesse of cou- rage & magnanimity, is a bright flaming Beacon, leading the way to all other ver- tues, and exalteth Princes vnto the very highest point of honor: euen so it is ver- tue (only) likewise, that most discoura- geth the hearts of enemies, be they neuer so potent or powerfull warriors, and (oftentimes) gaineth the victory, without a blow deliuered on either side.

Heereof I intend to set downe some examples, that in the Roman Common- wealth, and in the times of their warre, there was greater store of vertuous minded men, then when they liued in peace and quietnesse. First let vs remember *Furius Camillus*, who hauing sent backe the chil- dren, which the Schoole-Master had brought into his Campe, to make them bondslauies to the Romanes; conquered the City without one blow smitten, which neuertheless was very strong, and well furnished with all warlike munition.

And *Fabritius*, hauing sent the Physitian to king *Pyrrhus*, that had promised to poi- son him, and refused the moiety of his Kingdome: although he was one of the very pooreste Roman Gentleman, and caused the prisoners ransome to be paid, which *Pyrrhus* had freely deliuered, not suffering the meaneest of them to stand beholding to so great a King. And *Scipio*, who (without any paine) conquered a great part of both the *Spaines*: by send- ing a lady of rare beauty to her husband, the Prince of *Celiberia*, according to the example of *Cyrus*. These so generous and vertuous actions, tooke away all courage from enemies, to make war any longer against such magnanimous peo- ple; who neither could conquer, nor yet be conquered, by bafe or vnbecoming

behaviour.

And yet this was much better made knowne, after the great day at *Cannas*, when *Hanniball* had put eight thousand prisoners to their ransome, at an hundred Crownes each man, and one bearing cre- dite for another: hoping vndoubtedly, that the Romanes hauing lost so many men, would not be slacke in paying their ransome. But it was flatly forbidden (by the Senates especiall decree) that not one prisoner of them al should be redeemed. Whereat *Hanniball* (saith *Polybius*) was so amazed, as all his courage quite for-ooke him. Whereas on the contrary, the Romanes secured their state the bet- ter, which was fiersly shaken, and vtterly abandoned (as it were) of all friends and confederates. For the iudgement of the Senate was wise and honourable, because *Hanniball*, hauing so much Ro- mane blood spilt at his pleasure, thought to empty their Treasury of money, and draw eight hundred thousand Crownes from them; which they rather chose to spare, then to redeeme the very scum and cowards of all the Roman Army. Vpon, and thence forward, euery one took a resolution to conquer or dye, & so be- came dreadfull and inuincible. And like as their hearts neuer failed them in their greatest losses; so were they neuer conquered by arrogancy in their victo- ries. And therefore, in the time of war, the Romanes more exprest their great- nesse in courage, then in peace they could do.

Charles the eight of that name, King of *France*, in the voyage which hee made into *Italy*, to conquer the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicily*, they belonging to him, as he pretended: at the surprizall of a Ci- ty, a very goodly Lady was brought vnto him, whom he would not touch; but sent her away (and great gifts with her) to her husband. By this acte of chastity he sped so well, that most part of the Townes and Cities as he passed along, brought their keyes vnto him, and conquered (the more easily) the Kingdomes hee laide clayme to. And yet neuertheless, this King had Ladies (sometimes) at command in his owne Court, albeit very secretly.

So long as *Caius Marius* followed war, he performed many braue and vertuous exploits therein, largely encreasing (with

Hanniball &
his 8000 Ro-
mane pris-
oners.

The generous
and uncon-
querable cou-
rage of the
Romanes, and
grounded on
good reason.

The honoura-
ble action of
Charles the
8. King of
France.

The fame &
reputation of
Marius, so
long as he
continued a
Warriour.

great Provinces) his Country and Common-wealth of Rome. As having conquered *Murthe*, King of the *Numidians*, and made an absolute furerder of his Kingdome to Rome: hee likewise vanquished the *Cymberians* in *Gaul*, and the *Germanes* that were entred into *Italy*, and seauen times was he made Confull, euen in iust regard of his great deseruings. But when he ceased from being a Warriour, adding himselfe to idlenesse, and desir- ing to liue in peace: aspiring by his ambition to tyranny, he caused about tenne thousand Citizens to dye wretchedly, & ended his owne life in miserable exile. And the very same did *Sylla*, who was esteemed one of the most fortunate men in his time; who in a ranged battaile, ouerthrew *Mithridates* neere to *Charones*; and his Lieutenant at another time after, not farre from *Athens*. He vanquished also the *Medes*, and the *Dardaniens* or *Trojans*; he put *Carbo* to flight, & droue him quite out of *Italy*; winning the battaile likewise against *Marius*; and so long as he followed the warres, liued most nobly and vertuously. But being returned home to his house, and liuing there in peace; hee became a tyrant and butcher of the Citizens; so that (in one day) he commanded nine thousand of them to be slaine, promising a certaine stipend or wages, to any one that brought him a *Romane* Citizens head.

While *Pompey* managed Armes, and was a braue Commander in Armies; hee was esteemed the most vertuous man the liuing. For he restored the Kingdome of *Numidia* to *Masinijsa*, which *Hiarbas* had vsurped from him. He vanquished *Sertorius*, King of *Portugall*, ending also the most dangerous warre of the Pyrats, and ouercame *Mithridates*, King of *Pontus*, confraining him to slay himselfe. He warred in the Northerne parts, conquered *Albania*, *Morea*, the *Henoches*, *Cappia*, *Hiberia*, and afterwards (in the East) surmounted the *Parthians*, *Arabians*, and subiected *Iudea* beside. But afterward, the *Romane* people hauing no longer warre, and he returning home to his abiding, grew enuious against his kinsman *Cesar*, and as by the precedent warres, the *Romane* Empire had attained vnto vspeakable greatness: so by peace it impayed too much, onely through ciuill warre, engen-

dred among themselves. In which respect, many people and Kings shooke off the yoke, wherein they stood tributaries to the *Romanes*, and so their Empire (by little and little came to decadence.

Great *Alexander*, so long as hee continued warre in the East, hee was accounted most valiant and temperate. And hauing vanquished *Darius*, finding none other to resist against him, he grew to such insolence; that he would be often drunk, & made himselfe so contemptible, as he became despised of his owne people, his friends and kindred, who caused him to dye by poison, hauing scarcely attained to the age of thirty yeares.

So long as the *Lacedemonians* had braue warlike Kings and Capitaines, and found them employment in warres, eyther whether it were for defence of their owne Country, or for conquering others, such men as were *Agesslaw*, *Agis*, *Archidamus*, *Brasidas*, *Damodidas*, *Euricratidas*, *Temistocles*, *Callistratidas*, and more such like beside; they daily prospered in all attempts they vnderooke. But so soone as they had conquered the *Athenians*, & pillaged and polled their City vnder *Lysander*, and had filled their purses with money, making no more account or care of war: the sweet ease and goodnesse of the time then seized on them, & concerning both exercise and military discipline, they became quickly ruined. For, from all former times of antiquity, they commonly employed painfull diligence, rather by stratagems and pollicies of warre to conquer their enemies, then by power: which was more commended in *Archidamus*, then any other vertue else. They alwayes shunned peace, not as disallowing it to be good; but because it continually enticed them to too many vices. For the *Lacedemonian* Lawes ordained, that men might walke through the City in the night time without light; because a Soldiour, most often being in war, might (by all meanes) march against his enemy, and at all houres as occasion presented it selfe, eyther by day or night. Patient also they were in all externall iniuries, as raines, windes, heats, frosts, mysts, and in greatest hungers; being euermore constantly resolu'd, eyther to conquer, or dye in the field. Which extremities, could not be exercised by slothfull people, or liuing in peace.

The

Idlenesse and negligence was the ruine of Great Alexander.

Through sloth and idlenesse, the Lacedemonians vicerly ouerthrew themselves.

* A Noblesse of Sparta, son to Telis that would adventure any danger whatsoever for his Countries safety.

The Grecian Philosophers banished out of Rome, and the reason why.

A poet banished out of Lacedemon for writing against warre.

The gods of the Lacedemonians were painted armed, and those of the Greekes effeminately.

The French nation entred into long continued sedition, onely by peace.

The *Romans*, in those times, when they were not corrupted with forces of foren nations, banished all the *Grecian* Philosophers, and would not admit any knowledge of letters among them, but for their vse; and no lesse hated they the professors of questionary sciences, then their books. They would not practise or learne anie thing, but to know how they might best bee obedient to Magistrates, and endure the hardest travels in battels, to liue or die. A *Thesalian* being demanded, who were the worst conditioned people in his country, answered; Such as had withdrawn themselves from Military labour and discipline.

A poet, named *Archilochus*, being come to dwell in *Lacedemon*, was banished presently thence, being knowne to haue written: That it was much better to forsake the Target and Armes, then to die in warre. Among the *Lacedemonians*, it was an especiall obseruation, to figure all the Images of their gods and goddesses armed, holding lances in their hands, as signifying themselves to be warriors: Because they reputed nothing to be more vile & infamous, then idlenesse and vnarmed peace, being no way fo goodly in appurance, as Military vertue: and therefore they paynted their gods in such forme, as themselves alwayes wished to be. Contrariwise, the *Grecians* Theology instructed them; to figure their gods, idle, peaceable, and lying all along. And it seemed, that the *Lacedemonians* had good reason fo to do, because they imagined, that all our actions should be conformable to those of the gods: for, in painting the shapes of the gods effeminately, and so to follow them in like qualities; is to be pernicious, and vnprofitable to the Common-wealth.

So soone as *Henry*, second of that name king of *France*, had contracted peace with the Emperor, the Kings of *Spain* and *England*, with all the princes of *Italy*, and with the countries of high and lower *Germany*, they all being enemies to him: he was verry shortly after slaine in a iousting, with a spie of a lance, entring in at the sight of his Beauer. All the great Capitaines of *France* esteemed vertuous among all other Nations, in times of peace, fell to killing one another, keeping neither faith nor promise, but proditoriously massacring their very best friends: feining assemblies

about the State affaires: some vnder colour of marriages; others, by pretended feasts and banquets, proceeding on so far in this wicked courte, till they killed eiey king, yea & sought to murder his successor. In briefe, they leagued themselves daily one against another, and some against the State, growing into such factious and treacherous coniuurations, that the *French* were thought to be a most barbarous kind of people. All which had hapned, but thorough discontinuing exercise of Armes against ancient enemies, and calling them in, to depoyl them of their goods. Like as the ancient *Gauls* formerly did, who in meere enuy one to another, and hauing giuen ouer the exercise of Armes, one part called in the *Romanes*, and another the *Almanes* or *Germanes*, who were their vetter ruine in the end. And so they became tributaries, who were wont to bee the onely terror of the *Romanes*, *Grecians*, *Spaniards*, yea, and likewise of the *Germanes*.

Seeing then it cometh so to passe, that some Princes, and likewise some Common-wealths (as appeareth by our passed Discourse) attained to much honor, and order their affaires better in their forms of warre, then in the calmer seasons of peace; and because it is not possible that warres should continually endure, but Peace must, and will haue some time of liway and diminution: Let vs now see, if there be not as good meanes of vertuous containment, as well in the dayes of peace as of warre; doubtlesse it may be done more commodiously, and the waies of compassing it I will briefly declare.

First of all, when there is no more occasion, for employing men of warre in a Kingdome or Common-wealth: aduice is to be had, what Princes, friends or confederats of strangers, haue any need of men of such martiall qualitie, and thither to send them in their assistance, with charge of returning from thence agayne, when they shall bee summoned thereto. Not onely shall the State or Common-wealth be thus disburthened of paying such wages: but also of such celebrates, as ordinarily doe follow men of warre, the more safely to commit their thefts and villanies, without checke, law, or punishment.

In like manner did *Charles* the fifth of that name, and King of *France*, who

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hauing

Discipline breeds no mean store of enuys in any peaceable nation.

The Author falleth to reprehend his first proposition, and confesseth his error.

How Souldiers are to be dealt withall, when they were wanted employment for them.

having taken truce with the *English, Narrians, and Britains*, being entreated by *Henry of Castile*, the Bastard, who made warre vpon his legitimate brother for the kingdome. For *Pope Urban* had conferred the Crowne vpon him, in regard that *Don Peter*, king of *Castile*, had intelligence and confederacy with the King of *Granada*, who was of the Mahometane Religion. Moreover, he was a tyrant, doing many things vnbecoming the name or credit of a Christian. King *Charles* sent him fieur of souldiers, vnder conduct of the Constable *Bertrand du Guesclin*, who (by that voyage) purged *France* of an infinite number of Theues, the greater part whereof were slaine in that warre. The like did *Lewes* the cleuenth, who, having peace with all his enemies, sent all his souldiers (that rauaged strangely in his kingdome) to the Earle of *Richmond*, who passed them ouer with him into England, because he laid claime to the kingdome. By this meane, hee ridde his realme of rascality, and had some reuenge also vpon his ancient enemies.

Augustus Caesar, hauing overcome his Competitor *Mark Anthony*, and hauing no further employment for war; was not so improvident or indiscreet, as to suffer his souldiers lue idle and negligently; but sent forty Legions into remote Prouinces, and to the frontiers of barbarous nations, still to support their militarie discipline, and to keepe all occasions of ciuill war, so farre off as might bee. But Great *Constantine* the Emperor, following the counsell of diuers Bythops and Priestes, who were slenderly experienced in State affaires: threw off his Legionaries and men of warre; which was the cause, that ancient Military Discipline became quite lost, and opened a gate to such enemies, as (afterward) invaded the Romane Empire on all sides. For they vnderstood not, that Lawe, Iustice, and the whole State (next vnder God) are in the protection of Armes, as vnder a foueraign & safe buckler of defence.

Yet there is one point more, very considerable, to shew, that Militarie Discipline ought to be maintained, and warre made, vpon good and iust occasions; for there haue alwayes bene (and neuer shall we bee without) some theues, murderers, idle loyterers, vagabonds, murmur-

ers, and sturdy vagrants, which (in any Common-wealth) do hurt and spoyle the honest simplicity of good subiects, & notwithstanding the verie best Iustice that may be vied, yet can no country bee intirely cleared of such Cankers. The best helpe (in this case) is warre, to fend such vnecessary members farre off from home-abiding, whereoeuer any fitting employment happeneth. Because it serueth as a purge-ue medicine, very cordiall and conuenient, for expelling such corrupted humours, out of the Common-wealths vniuersall body. Furthermore, in times of peace, and for better enjoying the benefit thereof; no tolleration is any way to bee suffered, of such as haue not trade or vocation; for idleness and negligence, cause too many cuils in any kingdome. By this discourse then may bee obserued those reasons, why many Princes & Commonweales flourish in times of war, & fell to ruine in the daies of peace; the best meane also in both of them hath briefly bin deliuered.

CHAP. VIII

That Princes ought not to erect sumptuous and stately buildings; as hoping thereby to make their names immortal.



OME Flatterers cannot be sufficiently blamed, that perswade Kings and great Monarks, to build sumptuous houses and Palaces, thereby to make their names immortal, contrary to the iudgment of Count *Balthazar* the *Castilian*, in his booke of the Courtier, who (in mine opinion) hath highly erred, to write and approoue such a vanitie. For, *the end of all certuous actions* (according to the saying of *Cicero*, in the 3. booke of his *Tuſculanes*) is honour, glory, and good renown; not a dumb building, which is composed of the sweat, blood, and means of poor people. Palaces cannot moue out of the places where they are builded, nor can they make knowne the generous deeds of such as erected them: And men that dwell

How Magistrates are & ought to carry their authority in times of peace.

That no man should build vainly to immortalize his name.

Cicero in *Tuſcul* lib. 3. cap. 7.

Chap. 8.

Of sumptuous Buildings.

Men's names running out by their buildings.

Princes are apply compared to Swallows in theyr houe to theyr buildings.

Example of Catharine de Medicis, not long since Mother of Fr.

The Qu. Mother of France liked not the building of sumptuous houses, which were indeed to small vie.

by those places, and strangers that see or passe by them, when some fifty yeares (or so) are ouer-passed, can scarcely bee informed, who were the founders, albeit their names may be engrauen vpon some stone or other matter; whereby the erecters of Pallaces and proude Buildings, are often frustrated of theyr hope and intention.

Moreover, if it be well pondered and considered, the sayrest building is but a matter of frailtie, and subiect to no long continuance: for, when men cease from dwelling there, they runne in poasting speede to ruine and decay. And Princes are the occasion hercof: Resembling Swallows, who will neuer neastle twice in one neast: Euen so, the most parte of Princes dwellings become desert, like to King *Frances*, who buylded a great Tower in the Castell of the *Louure* in *Paris*, made after the auncient manner, and ruined the body of the Lodging, by causing another to be erected. Afterward he builded *Madrie*, and then agayne the house of *Fontaine bleau*, yet neuer dwelt in any of the sayd buildings.

Catharine de Medicis, widow to King *Henry* the second deceased, when she was Regent (although shee was well furnished with vnderstanding, and a Lady of great honour) yet notwithstanding, shee suffered her selfe, to be ouermuch perswaded by some flatterers in the Court about her: that, to render her memory to posteritie euerlastingly, shee should erect some goodly Pallace; whereto she yielded, after a long time of sollicitation. Shee had not seene the fourth part of the building out of the ground, but shee began to repent her selfe, saying: Shee knew well enough, that it was meere vanity, to hope for immortalizing by buildings, frailty, & subiect to ruine in a short time, and so left off, from proceeding any further in so fruitlesse a businesse.

The sayd Lady had houses of pleasure abroad, passably fayre and commodious: but in *Paris* shee had not a dwelling, her children being come to age. The *Louure*, a royall habitation, was not sufficient to receiue her and her traine: wherefore, seeing that the Court (in those times) kept ordinarily at *Paris*: shee built an other of indifferent cost, in the place where was founded the order and religion of *Adrie*

Magdalen, for sinfull women and maides, converted to repentance, and transported the religious women thence, vnto the Abbey of *Saint Mary Magdalen*, being much more commodious for them. Reproouing the counsell formerly giuen to her, she would vsually say: That money might be better employed, in redeeming the Crowne lands, paying of debts, easing the people oppressed with grieuous taxation; then to bee wasted in such vaine manner, which wordes right well became so great a Princeesse as shee was.

Oftentimes she commended the good Emperour *Vespasian*, who neuer builded any Pallace, but contented himselfe with such as were erected by his predecessors: yet did hee re-edifie diuers and sundry ruined Temples and Theaters, and gaue very bounteously to Hospitals. As shee like did the Emperour *Dominian*, who was well satisfied with a small dwelling: and yet builded hee the Capitole, which was greatly decayed by age, and a Temple of his owne, dedicated vnto *Iupiter*.

The sacred Scriptures tell vs, that the magnificence and ouer great sumptuousnesse of *Salomon*, in building his pallaces and houses, were the cause, that tenne Tribes of *Israel* did separte themselves from obedience to his heyre *Rehoboam*, and reigned onely but ouer two. I will not speake here of the Temples building, for his father left him all the stufte and the meane, as needed for the erection of so holy a Temple. But the immesurable expences layde out on his Pallace, for furnishment whereof, the people themselves so pressed after his decease: that they were constrained to seeke another King, then his Sonne *Rehoboam*, who would continue the prodigall expences of his father in building, and so (of twelue parts) hee lost ten in his kingdome.

It is right well knowne, by the Text of the Iewish Chronicles, that King *Salomon* abused the Graces and Blessings both of Almighty God and men: for, it was not sufficient for him, to make walls in his pallace of the very goodliest stones, the best polished, and most splendant in all the world; but hee would needs illuminate them also with exquisite colors, ce- uering them besides with massie golde, as

This Qu. Mother was reputed a very wise Lady.

Prouide build- ing lost ba- tions some- time of the Tribes of Is- rael.

The exceed- ing great cost of Salomons pallace.

Costly wood
of Cedar and
Cethin, wher-
of the planks
and flowers
were made.

making lesse account of siluer, then hee did of leade or yron. The like is to be vnderstood of the planchers and floores, all made of curious and strange woods, the very worst being of Cedar and Cethin, without corruption, and smelling most sweetly, resembling in color, the beames of the Sun, being so ingeniously handled in the working, that they appeared like most curious shapcs and figures, as no men in the world were able to iment, or counterfeite the like. And yet neuerthelesse, hee couered those costly woods with plates of gold, enshafed with infinite precious stones: so that the very floores seemed to be second starry Heauens; whereby may easily be presupposed, what the other parts of his Pallace were.

Salomon build
ded many
more Pallaces
beside thain
Ierusalem, &
all as rich as
that.

Moreover, *Saloman* did not onely build one Pallace in *Ierusalem*, but many more beside in diuers places, euen as rich, or rather more costly then the other. As that which hee erected for his Summers recreation, in the Wood of *Lybanus*, abounding in all variety of vanities. In two Halls he placed five hundred Shields or Targets, of immeasurable greatnesse, and all of massiue gold, each Target valuing (at the least) two thousand and foure hundred Crownes, as *Empelemus* hath recorded. The said Bucklers or Targets were beaten with the hammer, and engrauen with rare and costly branched workes. He builded another Pallace in *Gazer*, more sumptuous then the two former were: which was quickly ruined after his death, and at this day the places are not knowne where those Pallaces stood. For the building of these, hee trauailed and molested his people, who reuolted from him, losing thereby his heyre and successe, and (well neere) all his Kingdome; his Reigne (beside) being full of many warres and other miseries. Behold what goodly benefit redounded to him, by erecting such ouer-sumptuous buildings: for, the *Egyptian* people destroyed and pilld his Pallace before his eyes.

Salomons
people reuol-
ted from him
for oppressing
them with his
buildings.

The vanity of
Nero Claud-
ius Caesar.

Tranquillus declarcth, that *Nero Claudius Caesar*, the sixt Romane Emperour, was so ambitious; that he desired to make his name immortal, by the meanes of buildings, which he intended to erect, and valued the price of his life, whereof I pur-

pose to sette downe a briefe description.

First, he would haue had all *Rome* to be pulled downe, and then to be built againe at the Cittizens charges: saying, that the streets were not strait nor large enough. Heereupon, diuers leud persons (by him subborned) fiered the City in sundry places: hee intending afterward to haue it beare his name, and to be called *Neropolis*: which partly was put in execution, albeit the eight part could hardly be burned, and because many houses were built all of stone, with engines he caused them to be destroyed. And as he persecuted thus in ruinating the houses, certaine conspiracies (intended against him) chanced to be discovered to him; which made him leaue off, and proceed therein no further. *Cornelius Tacitus* writeth, that hee caused a false fame to be noysed in *Rome*, throwing scandalous aspersions vpon the Christians, as if that they had fired the city. And great likelihood there was, that this imposture should proceed from him, and to be imposed on the Christians: because he was a vowed enemy to all vertuous, holy and well affected people. In which respect, so many Christians as hee could apprehend, were bathed and anointed on their naked bodies, with greafe and pitch, and then tyed to pillars, and fire put vnto them, so they seemed as flaming Linkes or Torches, for passengers and night-walkers through the Citie.

For continuance of his names immortalizing, and onely by such buildings he intended; I meane to describe one, another manner of thing, then those which *Saloman* caused to be erected, what store of gold foueuer he bestowed vpon them: whereof let the Reader be Iudge, for what is heere inserted. I haue traduced out of the said *Tranquillus*, who both taw that *Nero*, and his Pallace, and auoucheth, that *Nero* neuer did more harmes in all his actions, then in his buildings. He erected a house, extending from his Pallace so farre as Mount *Esquiline*, which hee named, *The House of Gold*: and being almost finished, it was wholly destroyed with thunder and lightning falling from Heauen, and yet neuerthelesse, hee builded it againe. It was so spacious, that it had a place for him to walke in, which was a

There was
why Nero com-
manded that
Rome should
be burned.

Cornel. Tacitus
Annal. lib. vi.
Nero & *Agrippa*
Slandrous
imputations
laide on the
Christians.

One Pallace
built by *Nero*,
comparted
with all them
erected by
Saloman.

The descrip-
tion of *Neros*
costly build-
ing, called,
The House of
Gold.

Gallery at the very entrance, containing a thousand paces in length, hauing three ranks of Marble pillars, all made with Arches, most proudly glittering with goodly colors, hauing infinite fabulous Histories, and Poeticall figures. In that place also was a Colossus, of an hundred and twenty foote in height, formed after his owne effigie and resemblance. There was likewise a Poole or Pond, seeming as if it had bene an huge spacious Sea: on the Bankes wherof (all round about) were stately houses builded, so that it appeared to be a faire great City.

The building
must needs
containe a
wonderfull
compassse, so
haue so many
measures
within it.

Within the compassse of this building, were careable grounds, Vineyards, Pasturages, Medowes and Forrests, with multitudes of diuers kinds of Beastes, as well wilde as tame, enclosed within high walles, in the manner of a Parke, and furnished with very artificall cunning. All other parts of this Pallace, were richly gilded, thickly powdered with precious stones, and mother of Pearle, the floores of the Halls for Dinners and Suppers, were all in-layed with Iuory, and curious wrought plates of fine gold, so subtilly turning each against other, that flowers and sweete waters descending from the Roofe, by conuoyes of artificiall conuincance, fell on them sitting at the Table, & after were receiued into the floores. Among all the Halls for banquetting, there was one entirely round, which (by imitable arte) was so composed, that it turned round night and day, like vnto the world.

Planchers &
Tables of
mirable cut-
ting.

An admirable
Fifth pond, &
a strange Ditch
for Baragers.

Ouer and beside all these, hee caused a Fifth-Pond to be made, from *Misena*, so farre as the Lake *Auerna*, all engirt with Galleries: where the warme waters of the gulfe *Baiæ* fell into it. Beside, he had a trench or ditch made, reaching from *Auerna* to *Ostia*, for boates to float on, containing foure score French miles in length, and of such widenesse, that two great Gallies, with five ranks of Oares might passe on front. Because if one should mount one way, and the other come againe to meet it: they might freely passe without danger of touching one another.

A counterfeite
Sea made at
the charge of
infinite ex-
pences.

ry farre off, cutting through Mountaines, Rocks, pulling downe Forrests, and such like: so that it seemed a worke of no mortal power, but as if it were done by God himselfe. To perfect this mighty labour, he gaue command, that so many prisoners as could be found, were it for criminal causes, debts, or any case else whatsoever throughout the whole Romane Empire (which contained then almost our Hemisphere) should be brought to *Rome*, and there to be employed in this seruice.

And because these mighty workes could not be effected without inestimable expences; he imposed on the City of *Rome* (without exempting people of any quality) great and extraordinary subsidies, and vpon the whole Lands of the Empire, wherein the *Gaulles* (among other Prouinces) felt no meane affliction, although they were (well neere) quite ruined by the precedent warres, so that they were constrained to reuolt from his obedience. The like did *Spain*, and great store of the Prouinces in *Asia* and *Affrica*, and (in the end) all *Italy*. Heereupon, he sent out strickt prohibitions, that no Officer of the Empire should be paid his wages, no, nor the Bishops & Priests, who were paid by the hands of the public Receiueurs; neither could the Legions haue their pay, which caused great hauck in the Prouinces whether they were sent. For he employed all his monyes, about those admirable Workes and Buildings, and yet could not prouide sufficient for that purpose.

In regard whereof, the Senate and whole body of the people, being no longer able to support those prodigall expences; conspired against him. Which coming to his knowledge, & he perceiving approaching danger (being forsaken of all his owne followers) fled out of the City, to a Country Farme belonging to one of his Libertines; where, by the help of one of his friends, he had his throat cut; for he was such a cowardly slaue, that he durst not do it himselfe.

Such was the deferred and miserable end of this Emperour, which happened to him, by employing his reuenues, and the goodes of his Subjects so prodigally, in erecting proude buildings, and to no profit.

The horrible
taxations im-
posed on the
people, for ef-
fecting the
idle vanities.

The next way
to ouerthrow
all together.

The end of
Nero like to
that of *Sardan-
apalus*.

Neroes Palace was more sumptuous than all them of Salomon.

This one worke of his, was three or foure times more costly, and of greater admiration, then either the Temple, or all the Pallaces of *Salomon*, King of *Israel*. Of which (as also of *Neroes*) not anie kinde of noate or memory remaineth to be seene, and the places are not knowne where they stood. And although men commune and speake of *Neroes* in these our dayes, it is not in regarde of his sumptuous buildings, whereby hee thought to immortalize his name: but for his abominable whooredomes, parricides, and infamous life, which hee leede so long as hee liued. Whereof, at this time, I desire not to make anie more mention: for so many Historians haue written thereof, and especially *Tranquillus* (Author of all that hitherto hath bene spoken) as I must fend them to his Volumes, which are desirous to reade any more of his life and actions.

CHAP. IX.

¶ Who was the first, among all other Monarches and Princes, that commaunded, to present by writing, what power was to be negotiated with him.



Very man of iudgement wel may thinke, that a Prince, who hath manie Prouinces vnder his charge, and giueth command to diuers people; must needs be much hindered, from answering all such as are to negotiate with him. And it would be a matter vterly impossible for him to satisfie all suites and demands made vnto him: if hee were not eased by some especiall persons, of good vnderstanding in the State affaires, as a Chancellor, Secretary, and some such other beside. In like maner, that which giueth him greatest contentment, is, when men make their suites to him by writing, as in these dayes is discretely vsed: which was well inuented (and to good purpose) by the Emperor *Tiberius*, who commaunded it to be so done, for any matter whatsoever, and likewise deliuered his answers by writing.

The reason was, to the end that nothing might escape, till it had bene considered on so well as possibly might be: For, by ouer much talking, and communicating himselfe too often, a Prince may commit diuers errors, which will cause him to be misprised, or meanely esteemed. And it neuer ought to bee (as an ancient Greeke said) *That a Prince should speake any otherwise before the people, then as if he were in a fairly Tragedy.*

But some may object vnto mee, That this is not the true state of a Prince; for, in doing iustice to his people, hee should heare their complaints and greeuances, vnderstanding from each mans mouth, the vrgent occasions constraining them thereunto, which are ordinarily suppressed, or else disguised by others mannaing.

I am not of the minde, to haue him so conceale himselfe, that hee should not be seene but very seldome, or neuer. As now-a-days the Kings in the East *Indies* vse to doe, and especially the King of *Borneo*, who neuer speaketh, but only to his wife and children. When hee is to speake to other, hee doth it by a Gentleman, through a place made of purpose, where he can not be seene, but hath the wordes conueyed from the Gentlemans mouth to his eare, thorow the hollow passage of a Truncke: as hee did vnto the Ambassadour of the King Catholique, and as we reade in the Histories of the *Indies*.

But although he shew himselfe very little, as standing vpon his greatnesse and maiestie; regarde is yet to be had to his quality and power. For, it is not seemely, that a petty Prince should counterfeite the great Kings of *Aethiopia*, of *Tartaria*, *Perfia* and *Turkie*, who (indeed) will not haue their Subiects to looke directly vpon them: because, they are not so much repected for power, as they are for maiestie, as they expresse sufficiently, when they will be seene of their Subiects. And if some say, that the Princes of the East and South should gouerne in that maner, and not they of the West and North: I holde it to be all one in the maiue regard. For, it is knowne well enough, that the Kings of *England*, *Sweden*, *Denmarke* and *Poland*, do containe farre more greatnesse towards their Subiects, then the King of *France*.

An objection in this case alledged, and to good purpose.

The Kings in the East Indies are daunted of their sight and audience.

Kings more are daunted for maiestie then power.

Difference in the maiestie of princes to their Subiects.

France, and the King of *Moscovia*, much more then all the rest: and yet perhappes they are not lesse, but (it may bee) better obeyed.

Now let vs returne againe to our purpose, of conferring with a Prince by petition or writing, whereby many commodities ensue vnto him. For first (as hath already bene said) he vseth no communication by that meanes, nor shewes himselfe too familiar with his people, which contayneth him still in the farre greater esteeme.

Another reason is, that either if he will not, or cannot grant the demands moued vnto him: if he make refusal, he can receiue no shame or disgrace thereby: considering, that the written paper will not blush.

Moreouer, answer is returned with the more assured iudgment, by the time allowed to set downe the Princes Will; which cannot be so well done, speaking with him face to face. For oftentimes, he may be incited to anger, by mouing the matter disorderly, or else vpon some other occasion, whereby he may answer farre from his owne minde. Or els it may happen in some intemperate time; for all Princes are not alike in diet; & then, gifts so imment, and of such importance may be granted, as the whole State shall fare the worse for it.

All which approoueth not, that hee should despise to answer requests, being made to him by his people: least it happen to him, as it did to *Demetrius*, who quarrelled the kingdome of *Egypte* against *Ptolemy*. Hee hauing receiued a great number of petitions, kept them all in the lap of his cloake; and, passing ouer the bridge of a Riuer; he let them all fall downe into the water, according as we reade in *Plutarch*. Whereupon, his Subiects seeing themselves so contemned, conceived capital hatred against him: & (soone after) he was forsaken of his Army, who yielded themselves & the kingdome to *Ptolemy*, and so hee won it without fighting.

It hath bene obserued also, that princes, listning verbally to the suites and requests of their Subiects, haue mette with bold and insolent confronters. As the woman, who was put off day by day by *Philip*, King of *Macedon*, in some matter

of expedition which the require of him, whereupon she sayd: *If thou neither wilt, nor canst do iustice: depose thy selfe, and another will succie me*: faulciely seeming (by this meanes) to take the King with neglect and carelesnesse. The very like words vsed *Jaime de Pierre lusiére*, a Ladie of *Chambare*, to King *Charles* the ninth, he being in the City of *Bordeaux*, where the demanded iustice of him against the murderer of her husband.

A certaine Rouer of the Sea was taken, who was reported, to bee the most cruell and detestable Pyrat, that euer was heard of. *Alexander* the Great, would needes see him and speake with him, to the end hee might the sooner condemne him. Wherefore hee demanded of him: whence it proceeded, that he would be a Pyrate, and leade such an infamous kind of life; hauing meanes to provide for himselfe otherwise: As to be in pay with some Warlike Navy, where hee might receiue good respect; considering, that hee was strong, stout, and a good Soldier, as it had appeared by his passed course of life? With a bold and vndanted countenance, the Rouer returned him this answer. *I am sayd to be a Pirate and Rouer on the Sea, because I saile with a small Vessel, without any other Followers: and when I meete with another, being weaker then my selfe; then I make some appropriation of him. But thou, that makest thy Navigations, with great multitudes of Gallies, and other Shippes of Warre, robbing and ransacking all Maritime Townes and places, yea, and vpon the firme land likewise: Thou must be called an Emperour and a Monarch.* Full well knew *Alexander* by the Pyrates answer, that his behaviour differed verie little from the others, and that hee deferred as well to bee punished as hee: and therefore, being ashamed of so fowle a detection, hee freely pardoned him.

Frances, Duke of *Anjou*, and a sonne of *France*, not long since deceased, being desirous to settle himselfe, and to match with some Queene or Princess that was an heyre: made meanes of marriage vnto *Elizabeth* Queene of *England*, letters passing betwene them to that purpose, and their pictures. In the end, the Queen sent him word, that she would neuer contract with any that fought her, except shee might

A Pirat of the sea, that was taken and brought before Great Alexander.

The bold answer of this Pirate to Alexander.

Monsieur of France his suite for marriage with Elizabeth Q. of England.

A great trouble to any Prince, to answer many suites made vnto him by word or mouth.

The Emperor Tyberius, the giving of petitions was first disused by him.

Demetrius made a scorn of his Subiects suites.

Plutarch of Demetrius.

Bold affrontings receiued by Princes, only through speaking with their people.

might see his perfon, otherwife there needed no further ſpeech. The Prince, being perſwaded by yong heads (as little aduiled in ſuch a buſineſſe, as himſelfe) and leauing the counſell of more graue experience, went into England to bee ſcene, and with a very ſlender train. But being well obſerued by that Lady, he was found ſo deformed by the ſmall pockes, which had left ſuch a deep driving into his face, his noſe alſo much miſhapen, and ſome kernels riſing in his necke beſide, as might bee the cauſes of looſing the fauour of ſo fayre a Queene. Some were of opinion, that hee ſhould not haue gone, but to haue continued the treatie of Marriage ſtill by Letters; which peraduenture (at length) would haue wonne him grace and fauour.

The Arch-
duke of Au-
ſtria, & Henry
Prince of
Sweden much
better ſuited

More wiſely dealt the Arch-duke of *Auſtria*, and Prince *Henry*, afterwards King of *Sweden*, who made ſuite alſo to the ſayde Queene to eſpouſe her, but at ſundry times, and were ſent for likewiſe to be ſcene. But they ſatisfied themſelues to treat with the Queene by their Letters, and not verbally: for, by this means, they were aſſured that ſhe could not cauſe them to bluſh.

The Authors
advice vpon
this Chapter.

I conclude then, that this inuention of *Tyberius*, was, and is very convenient for great Monarches and Soueraigne Princes, not to negotiate by words with their Subjects; but to expedite by Writings, becauſe thereby they ſhall ſo much the ſooner diſpatch, and a great deale more equally.

Moreover, if Princes or Princeſſes, haue any matters betwene them to diſentangle; to performe the ſame by Letters and Deputies ſent from either ſide: for by enter-view and ſpeaking together, little good can be done, at leaſt verie ſeldom.

CHAP. X.

Of ſuch qualities and carriage, as (neceſſarily) is required to be in a Prince.



Each as couet to command ouer any one whole Nation, ſhould firſt propounde two things to himſelfe: one is, to be liberal; the other is, to be clement and gentle. For the Prince, which exerciſeth liberality, ſhall make his enemies to become his friends; thoſe of all other places to be his owne; and of diſloyall, faithfull ſeruant. Hee muſt bee affable to ſtrangers, chiefly ſuch as dwell in the furtheſt parts of his Land: And as a Prince endued with clemencie, is admired of all men, and honoured as a God: So by theſe two Vertues, Liberality and Clemencie, hee is made like vnto God; becauſe his Office is, to doe good vnto all, and to pardon ſuch as are delinquents.

I confeſſe it to bee true, that a Prince ought not (alwayes) to be facile and benigne to his ſubiectes: but that (with his facility and mildeneſſe) he may commixe a grauity and ſeuerity, ſuch as may be termed a kinde of rigour, at ſuch times as neede requireth; to cauſe feare and terror in bad liuers, and to puniſh them rigorouſly, if neceſſary enforce it, for the preuention of a greater euill. Otherwiſe, the Prince may bee the cauſe of his peoples loſſe, if hee permit too much licence and libertie, in the performance of diſhoneſt actions; like to *Alciades*, who thorough too much eaſie carriage in himſelfe, corrupted and ſpoyled his people. And yet ſeuerity ought to be moderated; for when it is exceſſiue, and ouer-ſharpe ſeueritie: it aſſiſteth Townes and Citties with great miſeries: euen as when licence is facetiouſly accommodated to the onely grace and fauour of the people, it prooueth to be the cauſe of their ruine, by the lacke of a leuell temperature both in the one and other.

Howbeit that in time & place, according to cir-

Pontanus in
his booke of a
Prince.

Of Liberality
and clemency
in a Prince.

Seuerity
ought to bee
mingled with
mildeneſſe.

Seuerity ouer
ſharpe is the
occaſion of
much annoy-
ance.

Reſpect of
time, place &
difference of
perſons.

Sophocles in
dictig. Pomp. Trag.

The office of
Discipline in
a prince.

The ſpirits &
maies of the
people are by
the prince to
be vnderſtood

The diuerſitie
and vniuenes
of mens com-
plexions.

The difference
betwene *Ly-
curgus* & *Nu-
ma Pompilius*

circumſtances and difference of perſons, the Prince ought to vſe, eyther more ſeueritie, or ſometimes more facilitie (according to reaſon) and as Wiſedome iudgeth it fitteſt to be done, or ſpared for general good.

Aſſuredly, in regard that the people is as a Monſter with many heads; there is great neede (as *Sophocles* ſayth) of a maine and ſtrong bridle. And as it is a principall poynct of Arte in a good Querrie, to make a horſe pace milde and obediently; euen ſuch is the office of diſcipline in a Prince, to render his ſubiectes obedient and modeſt. And yet notwithstanding, to do it in gentle manner, and by benigne means, not rudely conſtraying them alwayes: but perſwading, admoniſhing, and reprehending ſometimes, not purſuing euerie ſuſpition; but conuiuing in light matters, deferring a buſineſſe in time of danger and doubt, to redreſſe it at ſome other ſeaſon, more apte and proper. For, by reſpreſſing and puniſhing all arrogance and wickedneſſe; he may the more benignely entertaine the good, when humbly they preſent their aſſiduations and requests vnto him. All which is the eaſier done, by vnderſtanding the manners and ſpirites of the people, becauſe, ſuch as are of rude and harſh brain (like vnto thoſe of barbarous nations) muſt bee governed with more ſeueritie; then they that be of more docible nature, who ought to be mannaed with mildeneſſe and benignitie, without ſtearne looks, or vnkinde manner of dealing.

The complexions of men are diuers and diſſembleable, eyther by the nature of the place and ayre; or elſe by cuſtome and manner of life. The *Athenians*, were eaſie to anger and mercy, the *Carthaginians* ſad, opinionatiue and obſtinate; the *Romans* great, benigne, louers of their Country, ambitious and couetous of glory and honor. And therefore, ignorance in the manners of ſuch as wee conuerſe withall, doth oft deceiue and diſappoint vs in our opinions and enterpriſes; wherefore, by the diuers nature and cuſtome of the people, *Lycurgus* was rather a ſeſticator of power, then iuſtice; and *Numa Pompilius* of iuſtice, rather then of power.

For, as a Prince (in ciuile actions) imitateth the ſkilfull behauiour of a Lute-

niſt, who tendeth and diſtendeth their cordes of the inſtrument, to bring an accord of tune as he would haue it; ſo doth hee likewiſe follow the Chirurgical, in order and means for tempering with liſe; becauſe light infirmities hee can cure eaſily, whereas to them of more perill, hee applyeth both yron and fire. In the ſame manner, a Prince maketh vſe of the Rod and the Sword, according to the ſeueral occurrences, and as they appeare.

It ſolloweth, that a Prince ought to entertaine good Lawes, and to obſerue the chiefſt of ſuch as hee hath made: but a boue all other) to haue the honour and feare of God before his eyes. It is neceſſary alſo for a Prince to haue the command of himſelfe, and beare a ſtriſt hand on the bridle of his owne affections: directing firſt a good courſe of liſe to himſelfe, to the ende, that it may ſerue as a Square or Rule, to meaſure the liues of other after his manners. For, very hardly ſhall hee commaund others (ſayth *Pindarus*) that hath not learned himſelfe to obey reaſon, which is the Queene of all things, and a Law, not engrauen in Marble, but in our ſpirites, commanding to perſorme lawfull actions, and prohibiting ſuch as are contrary, and bad. Her woorthy enſtructions, wicked Kings (being ſlaues to their owne affections) will not immitate: For, if hee were their Queene & Gouernneſſe, they ſhould bee conſtrained to contemne their vilenneſſe, and honeſtly to enter faire Vertues ſeruite.

The *Pythian Oracle*, by the anſwere it gaue to King *Craſus*, That he ſhould know himſelfe, was not to be vnderſtoode; that he ſhould know the glory and greatneſſe of his Empire: but Reaſon, Queene and miſtris of humane liſe, which appeareth the perturbations of the minde, and reſtrayneth the mightineſſe of power: For, the Poet *Horace* ſayth (by way of enſtruction) that it is a matter no leſſe royall, to repreſſe appetites and affections, then to rule ouer people.

*Latins regnes audiam domum do
Spiratum, quam ſi Lybiam remotis
Gallibus iungas, & iteris, Pœmones
Seruiat vni.*

And *Aggeſilans* gloried, that hee had learned better to commaund himſelfe, then

Arte compa-
ſition of a
princes imi-
tation.

For the feare
of God, and
maintaining of
good Lawes.

A good direc-
tion giuen
by *Pindarus*
the poet.

The anſwere
of the *Pythian*
Oracle to
King *Craſus*.

The enſtruc-
tion giuen by
Horace.

Flattery ought
to be surounded
by a Prince.

Ambition the
Mother of
many mis-
chiefs: & the
bane of King-
domes.

Of care and
respect in a
Princes pro-
mises.

An ancient
and excellent
ordination
for faithful-
nesse.

Of assiduity
in his looks
& language.

then other. *Alexander* the Great, ac-
counted it much more honest and glori-
ous, to conquer himselfe, rather then to
conquer enemies. A Prince should
shunne flattery, for if he lend his eares to
flatterers, he will not alwayes bee him-
selfe. Credulity is accompanied with
rashnesse and folly, and there is no greater
argument of folly, then credulity:
therefore a Prince should not be too cre-
dulous, that is, over-light in beleefe.

Ambition also, which is the Mother
and Nurfe of many great evils, and the
plague of Kingdomes and Common-
wealths, should bee excluded from the
heart of a Prince. A Prince that remem-
bers himselfe to be but a man, and con-
sequently mortall, will neuer mount vp
his thoughts in pride; but pursue equali-
ty. If he perceiue all things prosper, and
succeed according as hee can wish: hee
will then beleefe, that God commandeth
ouer humane occasions, whereof him-
selfe only hath care, and pride is highly
displeasing to him.

I would aduise a Prince, to be carefull
of what he promisseth, and to whom hee
maketh any promise; to be respectiue of
mens merits and their faculties, as also
the times of his giuing promise, for the
better perseruacion of his faith: because
there is nothing more vnworthy, and vil-
lainlike, then to breake fidelity, and the
force of faith is so great, that it ought to
be kept, euē with an enemy, if it be promi-
sed. And in regard that faith (according
as our graue Auncients haue defined it)
is constancy and truth in words and con-
ventions: a Prince ought to be true, and
to loue truth, in regard whereof, our bet-
ters and elders ordained, and by them it
was most wisely instituted; that the Booke
of the holy Euangelists (wherein the di-
uine verity is contained) should daily (in
the time of diuine seruice) be giuen to the
Prince to kisse, to the end, that being ad-
monished thereby, to pursue and honour
truth; he should likewise remember, how
studious he must be in louing her vpright-
ly.

I could wish also, that a Prince should
suffer no man to depart sad and discon-
tent from his presence: but with cheer-
full looks and gracious language, and
so expresse himselfe both vnto small and
great. Whosoever knoweth his Prince

to be endued with temperance, dare ne-
uer urge any vile or vnbebecoming motion
to him. *Ohappy Marcus Cato* (said *Cice-
ro*) to whom no man durst make any vncom-
mendable demand: He shall bee thought worthy of
authority and soueraigne power, and bee
reputed a hopefull Prince by his people;
that sharply punisheth wicked men, hateth
the intemperate, reiecteth liars, & flyeth
(as from the plague) such as aduise him
to follow voluptuousnesse: for whoso-
euer takes pleasure in crediting such con-
fellers; his childhood in rule shall be im-
modestly, his youth effeminacy, and his
age infamy.

Whosoever holdeth gouernment ou-
er the people, ought to be free from af-
fections; for anger hindereth knowledge
of whatsoever is good; hatred puffeth him
on to imperfect actions; loue blindeth
his iudgement; pleasure and inordinate
will induceth him to violence; passion
pricketh him on to reuenge; and enuy en-
flameth him, with a more hasty and fiery
temper, then is expedient in him. One
and the same constancy in courage (at all
times) is most required and commended
in a King, as well in cases of aduersity, as
prosperity. And if God please to visite
him, with any seuerge of his diuine lu-
stice; he ought to reioyce, and remem-
ber, that God chastiseth such as hee lo-
ueth; learning thereby, to support all with
the vertue of patience in contrary for-
tunes, and not to mount vp in pride, whē
affaires are fitting to his owne desires.

Sloth, accompanied with negligence,
is greatly hurtfull to a Prince, which in
times of safety, begetteth (oftentimes)
feare and distrust, whereof the Poet saith,

*Optim Reges prius, et beatas
Perdidit urbes.*

Wherefore, to shunne such inconue-
niences, some honest exercise is very fit
for him; to play at Tennis (euē till hee
sweates) is wholesome for him, and Mu-
sicke is very commendable; sometimes
to hunt, and to ride great Horses is ne-
cessary, for which *Virgil* gaue recom-
mendations to *Picus*, King of the Latines.

Picus equum domitor, debellatorque ferarū.

Which exercises of hunting & mana-
ging

cheron Of
10.1.1.1.1.1.

Particular re-
spects being
to be in a King
or Gouernor.

Of constancy
in courage in
all occasions
whatsoever,
but becom-
ming any
Prince.

For the pre-
paration of
cloth & ne-
gience by
some honest
exercises.

Enfranchises
to Militarie
Discipline.

Historie and
Morall philo-
sophie for
princes: and
Poetrie a day-
ly companion.

What benefits
it receiue
from the
education by
erudition.

Comparati-
ons of an ig-
norant man.

Councell is
held to be la-
ced.

An excellent
lesson, shall
for all Kings
and princes.

ging horses, were (about all other) fre-
quent with King *Cyrus*, for encreasing
the strength of his body, and greatly ser-
uing for the instruction of Militarie dis-
cipline. And patience, to endure both
heate and colde, is laudable in a Prince,
and is many times more expedient for
him, then strict abstinence from meate
and drinke.

It is very necessary also, that he should
haue good knowledge in Histories, and
(if it were possible) not to bee ignorant in
Morall Philosophie, which may well be
learned the Hunt-vic: also, to under-
stand Naturall Philosophie, the Science of
Ciuile right, and Mathematicall Disci-
plines. He should be assiduate in reading
Poets, as *Homer*, whome *Alexander* had
alwayes in his hand: and *Virgill*, singularly
affected by the Emperor *Octauianus Au-
gustus*. A Prince being endued with all
these Sciences, shall receiue inestimable
benefite thereby.

First, he shall become wise, for learning
begetteth wisdom, next, they will yeeld
him such vnspokeable pleasure, as no de-
lectation can be thought or vttered, com-
parable to those that come from erudi-
tion: for, inquisition after truth, is the
proper worke and perfection of the Spirit.
What is more woorthy in a Prince,
then to vnderstand true & honest things?
To discerne falshood from truth, and
villany from honestie? In mine owne
iudgement, I account an ignorant man,
I will not say onely, like vnto a Statue or
Image, or the trunk of a tree: but (al-
most) differing in nothing from a brute
beast.

If the Prince himselfe be not seene in
all these Sciences and Disciplines, it shall
be a good quality in him, to cherish and
affect the Professors of them, alwayes ha-
uing wife and learned men about him,
and to execute nothing, vntill he haue first
heard the counsell of them; For, *Coun-
cell is a sacred thing* said *Epicharmus*. And
he should strue to be like vnto them, in
as much as possibly he may: according to
the example of many great Kings, Prin-
ces and Captains, who highly loued and
maintained Philosophers, Poets and skil-
full men.

A Prince may perceiue, what account
Great *Alexander* made of *Aristotle*, and
how much he admired learned men; what

dignitie and praisie *Pericles* wonne by the
institutions of *Anaxagoras*; and *Epimi-
nondas* by the study of philosophy, who
(almost of himselfe) subdued the *Lacedæ-
monians*, that commanded all *Greece*. He
may further obserue, how *Scipio* kept
company with *Panctius* and *Polybius*, lear-
ned men; how *Augustus* would walke be-
tweene *Virgil* and *Horace*; and what hon-
ours he gaue to *Arrius*. Finally, what
deportments were vsed by many other
Emperours and Kings, on the behalfe of
learned men; and, by the example of such
persons, himselfe ought to performe the
like. The Prince that attaineth to the is-
sue of the qualities before remembred,
and are required necessarily in him: shall
reigne happily, and the people that liue
vnder the lawes of such a Gouernor, will
finde themselves more happy then he.

CHAP. XI.

That the eldest Sonne ought alwayes to be
preferred before any other, especially in the
succession of Kingdomes and Principali-
ties, according to the Lawe of Nature.
And what lawes haue followed, by doing
the contrary.



N *Allemagne* or
Germany, this bad
custome they haue
(I meane among
the Noblemen)
that if they per-
ceiue their yout-
gest Sonnes able
of spirit, and ad-
dressed themselves to Armes, and not to en-
dure any injuries; they make them their
heires. And the elder, perhaps more
discreete, following naturall goodnesse,
& being nothing so turbulent; they make
them beleue, that they are idiots and
fooles, confining them in prison, or else
appointing them to Church-seruice. This
manner of dealing, hath caused much war
in the Realmes where it is put in practise:
and the reason is, because it becometh al-
wayes, to keepe the order and command-
ment of God. For, although that the eld-
est

A custome ob-
serued in Ger-
many, not ve-
ry commen-
dable.

The Lawe of
God and Na-
ture is for the
eldst.
Deut. 21.16.

eldest Sonne be ill-fighted, lame, crooked, and wholly mis-shapen, provided, that hee have a reasonable soule remaining in him; he is not to be excluded from his naturall right. This is not onely to holde, and take place, when question is made about the right of eldership: but also, when the very nearest male by the fathers side, ought to succeed in the crown, how much deformed soever he be. Because, for one inconvenience, a good law should not be infringed, and so daungerous an ouerture made in Monarchies. Nor ought that to be followed, or held as a good lawe, which was made by *Lycurgus*, commanding, that deformed or mis-shapen children, should be slaine.

Hereupon, Judgement passed for the Realme of *Hungarie*, by the States of the Countrey, against the disposition of *Launcelot*, King of *Hungarie*: who adopted *Alanus*, the youngest sonne of his brother, to make him King, and sent *Colomanus*, his eldest brother to study at *Paris*, causing him afterward, to undergoe the Orders of Priesthood, and bestowed a Bishoppricke vpon him, to deprive him of all hope of succeeding in the Crowne; because he was quinte-eyed, crook-backed, lame and flammered. Neuerthelesse, the State and people expelled the younger brother: and would have none other to be King then the eldest, who was brought backe againe, dispensation being graunted for his Orders, and he married.

Pompey, being gone into the East parts, to make Conquests, and coming into *Indea*, found it full of warre, because two brethren warred each with other, onely for the kingly dignity. For *Aristobolus* the younger brother, had invaded the best places of the Kingdome, and quite expelled his brother *Hyrchanus*: because hee sayd, that hee was not borne for apte for Armes. Notwithstanding, *Pompey* adjudged the Kingdome to *Hyrchanus*, and the high-Priesthood to *Aristobolus*, which was the chiefest degree next to the King; and thus the stowr warriour was stayed from prosecution of his purpose.

Ptolomie, the first of that name, King of *Egypt*, preferred the youngest before the eldest, Against the Lawe of Nations, saith *Justin*, and so caused the one to kill the other. In the same kingdome, an other *Ptolomie*, named *Physconius*, at the entrea-

tie of his wife *Cleopatra*, preferred the youngest sonne before the eldest: but after the fathers death, the people repealed the eldest, and excluded the youngest, as *Pausanias* affirmeth.

In like manner, *Anaxandrides*, King of *Lacedemon*, preferred *Coricus* before *Cleomenes* his elder brother, because hee was more gentle; and yet notwithstanding, *Herodotus* in his fourth Booke sayth, That the people would not permit or suffer it, because it was against the rights of Nations.

King *Pyrrhus* making election of an heyre amongst his Sonnes, chose him that had the best and keenest Sword: neuerthelesse, after his death, the eldest (who was lesse valiant) carried the inheritance away. For, whatsoeuer hardines, gentleness, fayre feature and wisdom, that may be in the younger, more then in the elder: yet it is not anie occasion, whereby the father should forget himselfe, as to preferre the youngest before the eldest, as did the father of *Attreus* and *Tyestes*, who would needs preferre the youngest Sonne, because hee had better, and more vnderstanding in the affaires of State, but thereon ensued bloudie tragedies.

Hereunto likewise I may adde, *Lewes* the Pittifull, King of *France*, who (at the request of his second wife) preferred *Charles* the Baulde, before his elder Brother *Lotharius*, whereby the Realme became embraced with warres.

The like consequence came by *Robert*, King of *France*, in preferring *Henry*, the first of that name, before his eldest brother, who contented himselfe with *Borgogne*, because he was a coward and false to his owne heart.

Charles the seventh, could neuer obtaine of Pope *Pius* the second, to advance *Charles* the youngest Sonne, before *Lewes* the eleauenth, although the King had then good occasion: because the sayde *Lewes* made two attempts to take the Crowne, and to teare away the Scepter from his father, without anie occasion whatsoever. And in very truth (as *Herodotus* saith) Throughout the whole world, the eldest are advanced to the dominion, even amongst the most illiterate and barbarous on the earth, they obserue the course of Nature.

When *Frances Bizarro*, a Spanish Captayne, conquered the kingdome of *Peru*,

Pausanias lib. 1.

The greater son of King *Pyrrhus*.

They were the sonnes of *Pelops* and *Hypodamia*.

Lewes the mercifull.

Robert King of *France*.

Example of King *Charles* the seventh.

Herodotus lib. 2. Barbarous, illiterate and Savage initiated nature.

Concerning right in the succession of kingdomes.

The Hungarians held their by the right of the eldest brother.

The journey of *Pompey* into *Iudea*.

The equall judgement of *Pompey*.

Initiacion is such any the first king of *Egypt*.

he put to death king *Attabaliba*: whereof all the people were very ioyfull, to see him dye, that had slaine his elder brother, to make himselfe King, contrary to the custome of the Countrey, & conforme to the testament of the Father, who hauing two sonnes, willed, that *Gysar* the eldest, should succede him in the Kingdome, without any diuision.

Concerning two Twins.

There might also arise a doubt, to wit, if two infants be twins, which of them both should be reputed the eldest; that must needs bee the eldest, which came forth first to the worlds light. Another doubt also may be moued in this case, that if any man (not being a king) hauing a sonne, shall afterward conquer a Kingdome, or some other such like dignity, be it eith by Armes, or by donation. It falleth out in following dayes or yeares, that he hath another sonne; to which of these shall belong the kingdome or other honor? It is held for certain, that he who was or shal be borne, after that the Father became a king in right ought to succede: for the eldest son was not of royal blood, but holds of his fathers first condition, who was not then royall by nature. But the other younger-borne sonne, though coming longer after the first, is truly & really a Prince by blood. Like as he is not to be accounted for infamous, and out of hope for being legitimate, who was begot by a man neuer made Priest: but afterward, when he commeth to vndergoe the order of Priesthood, he begetteth then another Sonne; that Son is to remaine impeached, and can neuer come to such legitimacy, as the first borne.

Tit. Livius lib. 8. *Edo* Propt.

A pretence of inheritance decided by combat.

Another difficulty there remaineth yet vndecided, to wit, whether the sonne of the eldest ought to succede his grandfather, or else the Crown appertaine to the younger brother (as it should seeme) because he is the nearest to the King, & the younger standeth withdrawne in degree. It was the opinion of some, and this difficulty hapned for the Kingdome of *Nubidia*, where the younger son would succede next after his elder brother, without any respect to the children of the eldest. Hereupon, *Scipio* the *Africane* being arraigned, not knowing what to answere in this case, betweene the Vnkle and the Nephew: gaue order, that the Kingdome should be enjoyed, by a combat fought

betweene them, as it hath often hapned in *Germany*.

Now at this instant, the Kingdome of *Moscovia* is deferred vnto the younger sonne, after the death of the grandfather, without any regard of the sonne to him that was eldest. Nay, which is more, the elder brother succedeth to the younger in the Kingdome, although hee haue sonnes: As great *Basilus*, King of *Moscovia*, succeeded in the Kingdome after his elder Brother, who had sonnes. And this was vsuall, not onely among the *Vindales*; but also in all the Northerne countries, according to the affirmation of *Procopius*, as also in *England*. And for this cause, *Richard*, sonne to the heire & eldest, was defeated of the Crowne, which was adjudged by the States to *Henry of Lancaster*, younger brother to the Father of *Richard*, in the year 1399. And in the like case, *Robert of Naples*, the younger sonne, enjoyed the kingdome of *Naples*, by sentence of the Pope, and the sonne to the elder brother, King of *Hungary*, was dispossessed. But now adays, this rule holdeth not in the countries hitherward, neither doth it carrie any praefice in the Crowne of *France*, since then when it happened: the sonnes of the eldest are alwaies preferred before the younger brother, and the *English* obserue the same course.

Some kings haue bin so superstitiously affected, and (beside) veru ill aduised, that they would needs make search for the natiuities of their childre, to giue to him the Crowne, whose Stars appeared most to fauor him. In the number of whom, was *Alphonus*, king of *Castile*, who by this means would needs preferre the younger son before the elder; but he slew the younger, and caused his father to die in prison: by which I find, that he was but a poore Prognosticator. Wherefore, to auoyde ciuile war, which is the ruine of kingdomes and common-weales, the law of nature, (or rather the Lawe of God) ought to be followed, which commandeth, to conserue kingdomes vpon the eldest, as alwaies it was practised among the Hebrewes: and as we further finde, that the kingdome of *Inda* was conferred vpon *Ichoram*, because he was the eldest, as the Scripture affirmeth. Which also the wife *Lycurgus* imitated; for, although the *Lacedemonians* had created him King, after the death of *Charilaus*:

M m m m yet

Concerning the Kingdome of *Moscovia*.

An vesting law deleterious to be abolished.

Kings becoming superstitious Astrologers.

Alphonus, K. of *Castile*.

Paraphrasis, cap. 21. 3.

The honest
conscience of
Ligurat.

yet notwithstanding, hee would not accept the crowne; but kept it, and rendred it to the sonne of the others brother, whie he was come to competent age.

CHAP. XII.

The Monarchy of the Cæsars, or Romanes.



Iulius Cæsar, a very gracious Prince, and one of the Worldes cheefest Capitaines; reigned 5. yeares. He vanquished Pompey

& his confederats: Ptolomy he slew, & restored Cleopatra his friend (sister to Ptolomy) to the Kingdome of Egypt. Returning home to Rome, hee was slaine in the Senate house, by Brutus, Cassius, and other Conspirators. *Dioscorides* then lived: but if you would have more of Cæsars life, reade *Suetonius* and *Florus*, in the life of Cæsar.

Octavius Augustus the last Nephew of *Iulius*, by the sisters side, and h's adopted Sonne, reigned 56. yeares: he was happy in warre, moderate in peace, and liberal to eury one. Then lived *Virgil*, *Horace*, *Tibullus*, *Propertius*, *Vitruvius*, *Mecenas*: And then died *Cleopatra*, and her husband *Marke Anthony*, Egypt being then reduced into a Prouince. *Herod* a stranger (fauoured by *Augustus*) was then King of *Iudea*. So the Scepter being wholly taken from *Iuda*; *Iesus Christ*, God and man, the Sauour of the world, was then borne of a Virgin in *Bethlehem*, according to the Propheties of *Iacob*, *Genes. 49. EJay 7. Michas 5.*

Iesus Christ came in the yeare of *Augustus*, 42. and of the world, 3963. *Ouid* was then in exile: the City of *Lyons* founded: and then lived *Titus Livius*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Serabo*: and *Francus*, King of the *Sicambrians*, in the lower *Allemagne*: *Aquila*, *Tiberius*, *Galla*, *Labrus* and *Caius*,

were then Law-giuers, or Law-makers. *Herod* the great murderer of Innocents; and there were numbered then at *Rome*, foure hundred, sixty foure thousand men.

Claudius Tiberius, the sonne of *Livia*, afterward Wife to *Augustus*, reigned 23. yeares, beginning very well, but prouing afterward to bee most wicked. *Iesus Christ* (for our saluation) was then crucified in *Iherusalem*, vnder *Pilate* the Prouoost of *Iudea*: he saide, that *A good Shepherd should clip his Sheepe, and not deuoure them.*

C. Caligula, Sonne of *Germanus*, a most wicked mā, reigned 13. yeares. This beault, the ruine of men, made himselfe to be adored as God: hee poisoned his Vnckle *Tiberius*, and deflowed all his Sisters, leauing them then vnto others like abusing.

T. Claudius, Vnckle of *Caligula*, and monster of men, reigned fouretee yeares. He preferred *Nero* before his owne Son, by the treason of whom, he was poisoned with a Mithrome. *Messalina*, his first Wife, peerelesse in all lubricity and wickednesse, then flourished: And Saint *Peter* the Apostle lived (reported to bee first Bishop of *Rome*): Then lived likewise *Philo* the Jew, *Perseus*, *Mela*, *Pliny* the elder, and *Columella*. Saint *Paul* the Apostle went then through the World, proclaiming *Iesus Christ*, accompanied with Saint *Luke*. Then lived *Dionysius Areopagita*: And then was the first council of *Ierusalem*.

Nero, the sonne of *Agripina*, afterward the Wife of *Claudius*, reigned thirtie yeares. He was the first Persecutor of the Church, and did put Saint *Peter* and Saint *Paul* to death: he slew likewise his Master *Seneca*, allo his owne Mother, and *Lucan* the Poet. Then lived *Simon Magus*, and *Appoloni*, *Nero* being expelled from *Rome*, slew himselfe; after he had set *Rome* on fire, to make himselfe partake of a Bon-fire.

Sergius Galba, in the seventh Month of his Empire, was slaine by *Otho*. *Suetonius*, *Egefin*, lib. 4. cap. 21.

M. Siluius Otho, hee also most wickedly slew himselfe, in the third Moneth of his Empire: confessing, that hee had cruelly tormented the spirit of *Galba*. According to *Suetonius*, and *Tacitus*, lib. 7.

Annius

The yeares of
Christ.

17.

39.

43.

57.

70.

71.

Aulus Vitellius, brought vp at *Bordeaus* de *Caprea*, being a vicious man and a glutton, was hewed in peeces, and cast into *Tyber*, hauing reigned eight Moneths. He caused himselfe to be seuered at his table, with two thousand seuerall kindes of Fishes, and seauen thousand of Fowles, all at one supper. *Suetonius*, lib. 9. *Iosephus*, lib. 5. de *Bel. Iuda*.

71.

Vespasian, a modest & gracious Prince, a lover of skilfull men, and good Artizans, reigned tenne yeares, accompanied with his sonne *Titus*, who ruinated *Ierusalem*: *Iosephus*, *Proculus*, *Epictetus*. This ruine was the most lamentable that euer happened, for therein dyed eleuen hundred thousand men: Reade *Iosephus*, in his sixe and seauen Bookes of the Iewish wars, and *Egeppus*.

81.

Titus, the delight and solace of mankind, reigned two yeares. He vied to say, *That no man ought to depart from a Prince, with a sad countenance*: *Cassius*, *Neracius*, *Proculus* & *Pezasus* were then Lawyers, and Saint *Bartholomew* was then martyred in *Iudia*: Saint *Matthias* in *Iudea*: Saint *Andrew* in *Scythia*: Saint *Matthew* in *Ethiopia*: Saint *Thomas* in *Bragmania*. *Iherusalem* was then taken; the famine being so extreame, as Mothers were compelled to eate their owne children.

83.

Domitian, brother to *Titus*, was a most wicked man, and persecutor of the Christians: he reigned fiftene yeares: then lived *Martiall*, *Iuuenall*, *Statius*, *Trogus*: and Saint *John* wrote the Gospell, as also *Iosephus* did the warres of the *Iewes*. *Domitian* would needs afterward bee called God and Lord of his people, wherefore (being greatly hated of all men) hee was slaine.

97.

Nerva, a good Prince, and the adopted Father of *Traian*, reigned one yeare: he gaue more then an hundred thousand Crownes, to releue poore Citizens. He tooke away extreame taxations, & (wanting money) he sold his garments, plate and Pallace, esteeming his owne Parents and Kindred much lesse, then hee did the publike benefit. The Christians were in great quiet vnder him, and the banished repealed, among whom was Saint *John*.

99.

Traian, a good Emperour, but that hee persecuted the Church; reigned nineteene yeares. Being admonished,

that he was ouer-gracious to all men, hee answered; *That he was such to his Subiects, as hee could wish others should bee to him, if he were a Subiect*. Then lived *S. Ignatius*, *S. Eustachius*, *Pliny* the younger, *Plutarch*, *Aulus Gellius*, *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, *Solinus*.

Aelius Adrianus, a man studious and skilfull in all Sciences, and the first Emperour that suffered a Beard on his Face, reigned 21. yeares: *Iulius Celsus*, *Iulian*, and *Neracius Priscus*, were Lawyers and Councillors to the Emperour. Then were living *Ptolomy* the great Astrologer, *Phavorinus*, *Dionysius the Milesian*, and *Hicliolus*. *Iherusalem* was repaired by *Adrian*, who therefore had his name changed, and was called *Heli*.

Antoninus Pius, reigned twenty three yeares. He was a Prince of such esteeme, as strange Nations would resort vnto him, and make him Iudge of their differences; for he had alway this saying ready: *I had rather saue one Citizzen, then kill a thousand Enemies*. In this time were *Polycarpus*, *Ireneus*, *Iustine Martire*, *Egeppus*, *Appian*, *Florus*, *Macrobis*, *Iustine*, *Galen*, and *Palladius*: *Lucian* the Atheist, also was then torne with Dogs. This Emperour tooke away the wages or hyre of Scrumpties, punished idle Magistrates, and was called, *Father of his Country*. Reade *Europsus*, lib. 8. *Thelephorus* the ninth Pope (as some report) did then institute, or rather restore the time of Lent.

M. Antoninus the Philosopher (called *Aurelius*, borne in *Gaul*, with *L. Commodus Verus*, and called Brethren in the Bookes of the *Pamphlettes*) reigned nineteen yeares. This yong Prince being vnwilling to oppress his subiects, made sale of all his fairest and richest Jewels, Plate, and wearing garments belonging vnto him and his Wife. *Europsus*, lib. 8.

Lucius Aurelius Verus, governed the Empire with his brother *Marcus Antoninus*, the space of eleuen yeares: By some Authors, he is set downe in order before his brother, and by others after him.

L. Commodus, the most wicked sonne of good *Antoninus*, reigned 13. yeares. He was strangled by his Concubine, & other Conspirators. *Europsus*, lib. 8. *Orosius*, lib. 8. cap. 18. *Lampridius* doth most amply describe his life at large.

Aelius Pertinax reigned fixe Moneths. M m m m Hc

118.

139.

A diuine
George a Page

162.

181.

194.

He had refused the Empire, and being desirous to reforme the government, hee was slaine by *Iulian* his Successor; who bought the name of *Cæsar* of the Warriors. The people much bemoaned this Prince, crying out aloud: O Father of goodnesse; Father of the Senate; Father of all bounty: Farewell.

V. Iulian, reigned seven Moneths, and being hated of all men, for slaying his predecessor, himselfe was also slaine by appointment of the Senate. Diffention grew amongst the Christians, for the celebration of Easter; And the second Councell appointed the day of Sunday, and five other after, *Eusebius lib. 5. cap. 24. Metianus, Seneca, Martianus and Cassius*, were now Iurif-consults: *Aphrodisius* and *Aphronius* Sophisters.

Presennius Niger, or *Nigerius*, the sonne of *Annius Fuscus*, indifferently learned, fierce, proud, and inclined to all vices; was saluted as Emperor, by the Soldiours of Syria, where he commanded, and was slaine by *Seuerus*.

L. Septimius Seuerus, reigned 18. years. He was a persecutor of the Church, but otherwise a valiant Prince, addicted both to good Letters and Armes. He was so wel beloued, and gouerned so nobly, that the Senate said of him: *Ester hee should neuer haue bene borne, or else hee deserved neuer to dye*. Reade *Spart.* and *Vit.* Then liued *Origen*, *Tertullian*, *Philastrius* the Sophister, and *Apolonius*.

Cl. Albinus, issued of the Romane Families, of the *Posthumians* and *Albines*, made himselfe Emperor in France. He was surprized by the Soldiours, & brought halfe alive to *Seuerus*: where hauing his head smitten off, he was hanged on a gibbet, and being torne with dogs, he was throwne into the Riuier.

A. B. Caracalla, the sonne of *Seuerus*, and husband to his stepmother, reigned seauen yeares. He slew *Geta* his brother, and *Papinian* the great and famous Lawyer, with diuers other. At last, himselfe was slaine by a Soldiour of his Guard. Herod. lib. 4.

Antoninus Geta, the sonne of *Seuerus* and *Iulia*, borne at *Milane*; After the *Partisan* warre, wherein hee wonne great fauour, was called *Cæsar Antoninus*, in the life of his Father.

Op. Macrinus, with his sonne *Diadume-*

nus, reigned one yeare. Both the one and other had their heads smitten off, by their men of warre. *Macrinus* was learned and seuer, but (withall) cerefiable and crafty, causing his Predecessour to bee murdered.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Heliogabalus, the bastard of *Caracalla*, who was a dishonest whore-hunter, and most abominable in life beside; gaue great estates to wicked Bawds, Panders, Iesters, &c. And being generally despised, hee was slaine by his Soldiours, in the fourth yeare of his Reigne: both his owne body and his Mothers being dragged along the Streetes, and cast into the common lay-stall.

Alexander Seuerus, reigned peaceably without effusion of blood, 13. yeares. He was a good Prince, & did vterly forbid the selling of Offices. *Flavianus, Paulus, Pomponius, Apuleius, Affricanus, Callistratus*, and other excellent Ciuil Lawyers (the Schollers of *Papinian*) then liued, with *Dion* the Historian, and *Philistratus*. The Kingdome of the *Persians* was then founded by *Artaxerxes*, and attert transported to the *Sarrazins*, and now commanded by the *Sophi*.

Maximinus, a persecutor of the Christians, reigned three yeares. Being at first but a silly Shepheard; he was made Emperour by the Soldiours (without authority of the Senate) and then by them was slaine.

Gordianus, a Prince of a Noble spirit, with his Son named *Gordianus* the younger, a good Prince, reigned fixe yeares, and was slaine by *Phillip* his successor. In his time was a wonderfull Eclipse of the Sonne. Reade *I. Capitolinus*, who placeth also *Pupienus* and *Balbinus* (created by the Senate) with *Gordianus* the elder.

Pupienus Maximus, a new man, and sonne to a Smith, gaue himselfe alwayes to vertue and Military seruices, prouoing fortunate against the *Polonians* and *Germanes*.

M. Calpurnius Bathyas, and *Pupienus*, after they had bin Consuls, and that the *Gordians* were slaine in *Africa*; were created Emperours, by appointment of the Senate, against *Maximinus*, and both of the were vnderferuedly slaine.

Gordianus the second, yongest son of *Gordianus* by his Daughter, borne at *Rome*;

224.

225.

The kingdom of Persia.

238.

241.

was slaine in a sedition of Soldiours, by *Phillip*, Prefect of the pretorians.

C. Valens Hostilianus, is not placed in this ranke by some Historians, because immediately hee dyed, smitten with the pestilence, so that scarcely there remaineth any memory of him.

Phillip, an *Arabian* by Nation, was the first Christian of the *Cæsars*, and reigned fixe yeares. He gaue (by his Testament) all his rights and treasures to *Pope Fabian*; and heere began the riches of the Romane Church. He was likewise slaine by his successor, as he had kild his Predecessour.

Decius Traian, a persecutor of the Christians, reigned two yeares. *S. Saturnine* the Bishop was martyred at *Toulouse*. *S. Laurence, Hippolita, Cecily, Agatha*, and *Appollina*.

Q. Herennius Etruscus, is not by any Historian placed among the Emperours. Neuertheless, in this ranke is his picture found in the Booke of *Hubert Goltzius*, and there it is recorded of him, that hee was the sonne of *Decius*, and that he was slaine in *Hungaria*, in a battell against the *Gothes*.

Vibius Gallus, with his soune *Volusianus*, reigned two yeares: Being persecutors of the Church, were both slaine by the Soldiours. At this time there was such a contagious pestilence, and almost so generally dispersed, that in many places ther was left no creature liuing. This pestilence continued fifteene yeares, and seemed to be partly occasioned through the wicked gouernment of this Emperor.

Aemilianus Lybicus, borne in *Mauritania*, in his young yeares followed armes, and soone after he was made Emperour. He was slaine at *Spoleta*, being aged forty yeares.

Licinius Valerianus, with his Son *Gallen*, persecuting the Church, reigned fifteene yeares. He was Captiue to *Sapor*, King of *Persia*, who vsed him as a footstoolle when he mounted on horse-backe. *S. Cyprian* & *S. Cornelia*, were then martyred. *Porphyrius* wrote against the christians: The thirte Tyrants vsurped the Empire. Reade *Trebellius Pollio*, &c. *S. Paul* the first Hermit began the solitary life.

Gallen the son of *Valerian*, suffered the Christians to liue in quiet, and reigned 9. yeares alone, after that his Father was led

captiue into *Persia* by *Sapor*. He was exceeding wise, but addicted to Lust.

Saloninus Valerianus, the sonne of *Gallen*, was slaine with his Father, being retired to *Milane*, and was but tenne yeares olde.

Cassius Labienus Posthumus, from being a simple Souldior, attained to great dignities: and being in *France*, was made Emperour in the time of *Galien*, where he was slaine.

Flavius Claudius (of whom issued the family of the *Constantines*) a good Prince, of Noble Linnage, and highly esteemed, reigned two yeares. *Dionysius* being then Pope, diuided the Diocesess and Parishes of the Christians. *Tom. x. de Concil. Lamblicus, Plotinus*, and *Inuencus* Priest, reduced the foure Gospels into *Hexameter* Verses.

Aurelius Quintillus, brother to *Claudius*, after the death of his brother, was saluted as Emperour by the Senate, and slaine 17. dayes after.

Valerius Aurelianus, a cruell man, reigned fixe yeares. He tormented the Christians, and repulled the *Francomenes*, entering out of *Germany* into *Gaul*. He was the first that wore an Emperiall Crowne: a louer of Military discipline, and one that rigorously punished the vices of his Soldiours. He vanquished *Zenobia*, a very Warlike Lady, holding the Empire of the East.

Tacitus was slaine the first Moneth of his Empire. This good Prince caused the Bookes of *Cornelius Tacitus* to bee recited into all Libraries. The *Amnicheans* began (from the time of *Aurelianus*) to infect the Church.

Ammius Florianus, brother to *Tacitus*, being desirous to reigne, vsurped the Empire as by inheritance: but in a short time he was slaine at *Tharfus*, by his Soldiours.

Probus, a good Prince, the Authour of peace in the high and lower *Germany* or *Almaine*, reigned fixe yeares and foure Moneths. He said, *That he had no neede of Warriors, hauing no enemies; and that the Souldior (not doing any thing) ought not to cate up publick prouision*.

Carus, a good and wise Prince, reigned two yeares, with his sonnes *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, two Brethren of very different nature. The first was most wicked, and full of cruelty: The other was full of

M m m 3 good.

273.

279.

279.

286.

194.

195.

213.

220.

WAS

288.

goodnesse, valour and knowledge. Then lived *Volcatius*, *Herodian*, *Lampadius*, *Spartianus*, *Pollus*, *Vopiscus* and *Capitolinus* Historians.

Dioclesian with *Maximianus Herculeus*, reigned 20. yeares: hee was a most cruell persecutor of the Christians, and would haue himselfe to be worshipped. *Katharine*, *Lucy*, *Agnes*, *Barbus*, *Sebastian*, *Vincent*, *Cosmo* and *Damian*, and innumerable other Martyrs through the world (in his Reign, to the number of 17. thousand) were put to death in thirty dayes.

Valerius Maximus, fir-named *Herculeus*, a man of fierce and cruell nature, was very out-ragious in lust, especially with his owne sisters: blockish in giuing counsell, without ciuility and government, & therefore had *Dioclesian* to assist him in the Empire.

308.

Constantinus Chlorus, father of *Constantine* and *Galerius*, the one gouerned in the East, the other in the West, 4. yeares together. *Constantine* commaunded in *Gaul*, *Spaine*, *Africa*, and *Italy*: The other in *Greece*. *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *Dorotheus*, Bishop of *Tyre*, *Eusebius* and other learned personages lived at this time.

Galerius Maximianus, rearme'd *Armenarius*, because he was a Neat-heards son, was made Emperor, being a goodly person, and a fortunate warrior. *Maximianus*, Nephew to *Armenarius* by his sister, was Emperor, and persecuted the Christians in the East. *Seuerus*, Prefect of *Italy* and *Affricke*, was published Emperor by *Galerius*, and fighting with *Maxentius*, was taken at *Rauenna*, and slaine.

Maxentius, elected Emperour by his Soldiours, reigned a Tyrant, and was like voto his Father *Maximianus*. Being vanquished by *Constantine*, neere to *Pont-Miluius*, he was drowned in a Gulfe, and his body neuer after found.

Licinius Licinianus, borne of Country Parents, was fortunate in the wars which he had against *Maximianus*. Afterward, he became a mocker of Christ, and persecuted such as beleued in him; and because he was ignorant, he was a great enemy to all that were learned.

Martinianus, was created *Cæsar* by *Licinius* against *Constantine*; hee was in his Camp at night, but fled before next morning.

310.

Constantine the Great, sonne of *Helen*

an holy woman, with *Maxentius* and *Licinius*, reigned 31. yeares. He was religious and affable, and transported the Bible into diuers Countries. He assembled the Council of *Nice*, against *Arius* the Hereticke. He builded the City of *Constantinople*, calling it after his owne Name: whither the Imperiall seate was transla- ted, and changed from *Rome* into *Greece*, after he had granted *Siluester* to be Pope. *Eusebius*, 10. *Nicephorus*.

The Council of Nice.

Crispus was made *Cæsar* by his Father *Constantine*, but beeing afterward falsely accused to his Father, he was put to death, for that hee would not consent to the inordinate appetite of *Faulstine* his stepmother.

Constantine the second, with his Brethren reigned 17. yeares, ioyning thereto the three yeares reigne of *Maxentius*. *Themistius*, *Donatus*, and *Libanius* the Sophister then lived: and *Saint Anthony* the Hermite was knowne in *Egipt*; by many miracles.

341.

Julian the Apostata, held the true Religion ten yeares, and was named Emperour by the men of warre in *Paris*, against his will. Hee forbade the Christians the study of letters: and beeing wounded to death, he cryed out: *At length thou hast vanquished*, O *Galilean*. *S. Cyrill*, *Optatus*, *Basil*, *Nazianzen*, *Epiphanius*, *Hilary*, *Didimus*, *Exuperius* (all learned Diuines) then flourished.

358.

Iouianus, a kind and learned man, reigned eight Moneths, and made confession to his Warriours, of the name of Iesus Christ. Now was the first order of Monks instituted by *S. Basil*, vnder certaine rules of living.

368.

Valentinian, a good and Catholique Prince, and *Valens* his brother, reigned 15. yeares. This man held the error of the *Arians*, and constrained the Monkes to vnder- take Armes in warre: he dyed vnhap- pily.

368.

Gratian, the sonne of *Valentinian*, during whose life time, he was an associate in the Empire. He reigned afterward with *Valentinian* the second, his younger Brother, and *Theodosius* sixe yeares.

381.

Maximus, rearme'd Emperour by his Soldiours, slew *Gratian*, and held the Empire foure yeares: after which time, *Valentinian* returned to the Empire againe sixe yeares.

387.

Theodosius,

395.

Theodosius, after that *Gratian* was slaine by *Maximus*, reigned three yeares with his brother *Valentinian*: the death of who was benomed by *S. Ambrose*, for the great zeale hee had to Christian Religion. *S. Hierome*, *S. Augustine*, and *P. Orosius* then lived.

399.

Arcadius and *Honorius*, the sonnes of *Theodosius*, reigned twenty nine yeares, as well in the East as in the West. About this time, the great empire of *Rome* began to decline (by the infidelity of *Ruffinus* & *Stilico* their Tutors.) The very greatest part thereof was vied by the *Scythians*, *Burgundians*, *Lombards*, *Hugarians*, *French*, *Goths*, and *Vandales*: And *Rome* was four times taken by the *Goths* and *Vandals*, within one hundred thirty nine yeares. Then lived *S. Chrysostome* and *Claudian*.

Rome foure times surprized.

411.

Honorius reigned with *Theodosius*, Son to his Brother, sixteen yeares.

427.

Theodosius the second, youngest sonne of *Arcadius*, reigned at *Constantinople* 27. yeares, after the death of *Honorius*; ha- uing assisted *Valentinian* the third, the son of *Constantine*, and *Placida*, daughter to *Theodosius*, who reigned five yeares in the West. At this time, the *Frenchmen* lea- uing *Francia*, began to enter vpon the *Gauls*; vnder *Clodion* their second King.

453.

F. Valerius Martiannus, reigned in the East, seauen yeares, and *Valentinian* the third (at the same time) in the West: during their Reigne, the *Burgundians* and other Westerne Nations, were conuerted to the Faith. The *Vandals* came out of *Spaine* into *Affrica*, and afterward they tooke *Rome*, vnder the conduct of their King *Genferichus*. *Attila*, King of the *Hunnes*, entered into *Gaul* with five hundred thousand men: deliuered battaile to *Merocius* their second King, who had ioynd with *Attila*, Lieutenant vnto the Emperour. There he lost an hundred and fourecore thousand men, and fled into *Hungaria*, not any man beeing wounded behinde. About this time was great *Arthur* King of *Britaine*.

460.

Leo the first, reigned 17. yeares, associated by *Leo* the Sonne of his Daughter; who after he had reigned one year alone, gaue vp the Empire to *Zeno* his Grand- sire, who reigned tyrannically 17. yeares. The estate of the Church was then very greatly troubled, as also that of the Westerne Empire. *Italy* had then nine Em-

476.

perors in twenty yeares, who all slew one another.

Anastasius reigned twenty five yeares: he was an *Eutichian* Heretique, was smitten with lightning, and dyed (as a iust punishment) for his heresie. *Fulgentius*.

493.

Iustine reigned nine yeares: hee was first a Swine-herd, afterward a Cow- heard, next a Carpenter, a Souldior, a Captaine, and last of all Emperour, gouerning very well and godly, and expelling the *Arrian* Heretiques. Then lived *Boetius*, and *S. Benet* or *Benedict* began this Order.

519.

Iustinian reigned thirty eight yeares. All his care and study, was to re- pare the decayed Empire, and re-establish ciuill right; in the execution whereof, hee was seconded by excellent personages, especially by *Belisarius*, *Narces*, and *Tribonianus*. They first chased the *Vandals* out of *Affrica*, which they had held 95. yeares: and deliuered *Rome* from the *Goths*, who had conquered it, & yet were once more expelled thence by *Narces*.

528.

Iustine the second, reigned ten yeares, beloued of all men for his liberality. *Sophia* his wife mocked him with *Narces*, the Gouernour of *Italy*, whereat he being offended, called the *Lombards*, by whose helpe he reuenged himselfe. Now was the Kingdom of the *Lombards* founded by *Clebus*, who reigned thirty two kings, vntill the time of *Charles* the Great.

566.

Tiberius the second, reigned 7. yeares: he was a very charitable man, one that lo- ued God and his Saints, and therefore (no doubt) was beloued of him againe.

The kingdom of the Lombards.

577.

Mauritius reigned twenty yeares: he was defended of very meane Parentage, and (in the end) was murdered for his co- uetousnesse: a vice as much discommen- dable in a Prince, as liberality is becom- ing, and maketh him renowned.

584.

Phocas reigned eight yeares: and be- ing the murderer of his Predecessor, him- selfe was likewise murdered, with all his Race. Now was the contention for the Primacy of the Church, betwene *Rome* and *Constantinople*, and now was *S. Gre- gory*.

Contention for Primacy of the church.

604.

Heraclius reigned thirty yeares, who was the murderer of *Phocas*. The fifteenth yeare of his reigne, began the rule of *Mahomet*, the false Prophet of *Arabia*, where were the *Agarens* & *Sarrasins*: to whom the

612.

the Egyptian and Arabian princes (called *Solamans*) next succeeded. After them came the Turkes, about the yeare of our Lord God, one thousand and three hundred, *Alibonets* false doctrine (through the negligence of the Emperors & Christian princes) grew to such an head, that it not only poisoned *Asia* and *Africa*, but also a very great part of *Europe*.

640 *Constantine* the third, reigned foure moneths, being a good prince, and verie young: He was poysoned by his stepmother, that her sonne might reigne.

641 *Heracion*, who having his nose and tongue cut out, was banished two yeares after.

642 *Constantins*, the sonne of *Constantine*, reigned twenty and seauen yeares: And beeing very courteous, hee was slayne by his owne followers, in the Bathes of *Syracusa*.

670 *Constantine* the fourth, reigned seauenteene yeares. Hee ouercame in one battell, thirty thousand *Syracusans*, and afterward fell to great wickednesse. The learned and venerable *Beda* lived in this time.

687 *Iustinian* the second, a wicked man, reigned fixteene yeares, but not without interruption, being delected by *Leontius*, and *Leontius* by *Tyberius Abismaris*, who reigned other three yeares; therefore these three are sayde to reigne fixteene yeares. Now was the beginning of the Dukes of *Venice*, which had beene gouerned before (for the space of two hundred and thirty yeares) by Tribunes.

The State of the Venetians.

712 *Phillip Bardasanes*, reigned two yeres. Hee was cast out of his Empire by his Lieutenant: and after that, they plucked forth his eyes. Hee had much talke and little wisdom, disposing badly of the Empire, he became after a schismaticall Monke.

715 *Anthemius*, called also *Athanasius* the second, reigned three yeares: He was delected from his Empire by *Theodosius* chiefe of his Armie, and turned into a Monastery. He had taken away the Empire, and then plucked out the eyes of his predecessour.

718 *Theodosius* the third, reigned one yeare. He left the Empire, seeing himselfe to be assailed by *Leo* his succesor, and became a Monke.

719 *Leo* the third, a wicked man, reigned

five and twenty yeares. Hee was called *Iconomachus*, a Defacer of Images, and would not suffer the Christians to haue any in their Temples. He was excommunicated by *Gregorie*, and by authoritie of a Councell held at *Rome*, against his owne of *Constantinople*. *Blond*, in his tenth booke. The *Sarazins* besieged *Constantinople* three yeares together, in which time died three hundred thousand of the pestilence and famine.

742 *Constantine*, the sixt of that name, the sonne of *Leo* the *Isaurian*, succeeded his father in the Empire of *Constantinople*, in the yeare of our Saluation, seauen hundred fortie and two. Hee was surnamed *Copronymus*, because he would discharge his belly in the Font, appoynted for Christian Baptisme. Hee was an viter enemy, not only to the Images of Saints, but also to their Reliques, causing them to be burned. Hee did put to death many of the best and most respected persons, and (amongst others) two Patriarchs of *Constantinople*. He made warre against the *Bulgarians*, both by Land and Sea, Fortune smiling vpon him, other-whiles lowring. In his absence, one *Artabasdus* was made Emperour at *Constantinople*. But he receiuing news thereof, returned, and either put out, or rent forth the new Emperours eyes, and caused his children to be slaine. In his time, there was so cold a Winter, that the Sea of *Constantinople* was frozen. After many cruelties, this Emperour dyed a Leaper.

743 *Artabasdus*, albeith he was descended of meane birth; yet notwithstanding, for the faithfulness, good vertues, and commendable qualities which were in him, he was liked of the Senate and Souldiers, & afterward was elected Emperour by the zealous Christians, for the hatred that euery one bare to *Constantine* the sixt. Hee became a better louer of the Saints, and fortified the City of *Constantinople* against *Constantine*, who had beene expelled from thence. Neuertheless, both hee and it were besieged; and the City being surprized, his eyes were plucked out, and his children put to death.

745 *Leo* the fourth, was Emperour after his father *Constantine* the sixt. He was not only heyre to the Empire, but also to his fathers vices: And his mother, who was deuout, and one that loued God, would giue

giue no consent, that he should be Emperour. Hee made some attempts vpon the *Sarazins* that dwelt in *Syria*. Hee tooke the Crowne, which *Mauritius* had dedicated vnto Almighty God, and set it on his owne head, it being very richly beautified with rich pretious stones: But soon after, hee had an Impostume in his head, with a fiery Ague, whereof he dyed.

780 *Constantine*, the sixt of that name, and sonne to *Leo* the fourth, was Emperour after his father: Hee reigned nine yeares (very young) with his mother, who with his consent also, was perswaded by *The-rasius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, to call a general Councell of three hundred and fifty Bishops. In a short while after, *Constantine* excluded his Mother from the Empires gouernement. Hee caused the eyes and tongue of *Nicephorus* to be pulled and cut out, hearing of a secret intention, to make him Emperour. Also he did shut vp in a Monastery, his wife *Marie*, who was the daughter of King *Charle-maine*, and then tooke a Concubine, by the counsell of his Mother, who pretended that her sonne was hated of the people. Hereupon not long after, shee caused him to be taken, and plucking forth his eyes, shut him vp in prison, where hee dyed in the yeare 798, and then the reigned alone, about the space of five yeares.

798 *Irene*, issued from *Attica*, was Wife to the Emperour *Leo* the fourth, by whom he had *Constantine* the sixt before mentioned, and reigned with him nine yeares, & afterward (alone by herselfe) five yeares, or little more, as hath already beene sayd. She was thence expelled by *Nicephorus*, and sent into exile to the Isle of *Lesbos*, which at this instant is called *Mitilene*. At the time when this Lady gouerned the Empire of *Constantinople*, *Charle-maine* was sacred and crowned Emperour of *Rome*, (or of the West) for his vertues.

CHAP. XIII

The ancient and honourable Historie of the life, fortunes and admired vertues, of faire Landgartha, the royall Queene of Norway.

It is a case most certayne and assured, that a generous spirit, a gentle soule, and

an vnderstanding fild with cheareful delicacie, is much sooner seized with amorous apprehensions; then that which is farr off from this quēt temper, and which subtilizeth the same perfection of the soule. Considering that loue, pure and perfectly naturall, being a vertue, and vertue euermore biding in such subiects, where the hearts are best and most functioniously nourished, and gentle spirits hauing (I know not how) a rellish more diuine then vulgar, or apted for grosse populartie: It followeth, without any question to the contrary, that men, the more remarkable they are for greatnesse, gentleness, good spirit, & illustrious blood; doe also best discourse on louely occasions, and effect them with clearer iudgement, then such as fayne in the accomplishments of the soule.

And, to fitt this poynt the more seriously; Is it for a Clowne or peazant, to iudge on the raritie of vertues, on the singular giftes of the Spirit, of that which is beloued, and what offices and duties are in the partie affectionate? Effectes doe plainly approue the contrary; for Poets, who are the very subtillest Painters of humane affections, that I know, and which trace Truth vnder the disguised colours of witty Fables, can not better let vs behold the picture of such an impression; then by the iudgement (so often sung) and periourned by the *Trojan*, on the beautie of the three Goddesses. For, the rudenesse of the Shepheard, hauing extincted the bright beams of bloud frō his Parents, among the base and grosse thoughts fit for flock-keepers, not knowing the spirites forces, the beautie of the soule, the gentleness of vnderstanding, and the galliardie of the bodie it selfe, in being gouerned by interior reason; gaue the p.ize (he knew not how) of beauty, by appearing in the exterior shape of a lasciuious Lady.

Beholde how farre Poeticall Philosophy extendeth it selfe, and iudge, if the forth Shephead degenerat.d not from his Parents, who should more haue cherished vertue, which lieth and continueth for euer; then that which withereth, and looeth it selfe by the steppes of age. And if that indiscreet Iudge pronounced the Sentence, in fauour of the most v. worthie, and lent his affections to the onlie

The reason why good spirits are much more canorous then will and leaden ca. acities.

It is not for the Buzzards et cetero gaze on the Sunnes radiant splendour.

The interpretation of the Fable, concerning the iudgement of Paris.

The exordie of poeticall Philosophy in the Fable.

onely tickling of desire, full of wretched folly: so was he as well recompensed according to his merit, and felt in the ende, that a manly *Hero's* desseignes, saouering of that which is proper to the vertue of a man; was much rather to be chosen, then the light promise of a hurtful thing, how pleasant soeuer in wish, and alluring the sensuall part of a man.

Corporall
Beauty & fea-
ture in a wo-
man, is no
matter of any
great moment

Also, to speake truly, so many famous women, as haue honoured all the Ages past and ours, by effect and memory of their commendable vertues; if they had had no other rarities to renowne them, but only beauty of the body: questionlesse, their names had long since bin buried in a more obscure graue, then euer time ordained for things to be forgotten. No, no, it was vertue, generosity, height of courage, and great enterprizes; which made them immortal, and equalled their glory with the renowne of men, yea, of the most signall and illustrious.

Against the venomous tongues of such, as neuer cease to taxe the reputation of so honourable a sexe; no boast need to be made, either of search into the valliances of *Semyramis*, whose memorie is somewhat too farre off; neyther the incredible forces of the *Amazones*, the History being (I know not how) doubtfull in the occurrences. Nor will I induce *Zenobia* the *Asian* Queene, the dreadfull astonishment (sometime) of the *Romane* Empire: whose wisdom also was as much to bee commended, as any of the very chiefest Generals, her direction, policy and good carriage, all making her reputed (long time) for one of the *Worlds* Monarchs. Nor am I willing (feareing to make men bluish, by reading how many women haue managed Armes, and with no meane felicity) to insert *Cinana*, Daughter to *Phillip* King of *Macedon*, who made head against the ingratefull successours of her Brother *Alexander*, pursuing the vttter ruine of his blood that had advanced them. After many foughten Battailles, hauing carried herselfe beyond the compasse of man-like valiancy; in the ende, the affected rather to dye, then to see the vttter ruine of the famous House of her Ancestors, being vnable any way to helpe it. I will be silent also, in speaking of the braue *Valasica*, a young Lady of *Bohemia*, who arming

the Ladies of her Country against their Husbands; made a happy course of long warre against the men: vntill such time, as (being betrayed) shee crowded into the throngs of her enemies, of whom (before she could be slaine) shee slew a great number.

I will not (I say) discourse so many examples, being satisfied with a History most true and memorable, collected from famous Antiquity, and from among the Ladies of a people, heretofore accounted very barbarous: wherein (by my slender opinion) honest Gentlewomen shall receive some taste of vertue, without learning the fierce obstinacy of any; and Gentlemen, may haue meanes to see and consider, how to make choise of vertue in louing; and faire minded Maidens, obserue a rule, how to contain their thoughts in loyall affection, to them whom they haue dedicated their desires.

In the time when *Dayobert*, sonne to *Charles* the Great, reigned in *France*, and ouer the Empire, there was a King in *Swetia*, named *Froll*, or *Frollo*, a cruell man, a tyrant, and insupportable to euery one. This King, being neuer contented with his owne Royalties, began to insult obstinately on his neighbours lands; but especially to flesh on the King of *Norway*, vpon whose Countries entering without challenge or defiance, he made such great spoyle; that hauing pilld, sacked, and well-neere ruined the whole Country, he vanquished and slew the King, with all his Family. Nor did it suffice this rauenous Wolfe, to haue shed so much innocent blood, for the glutting of his greedy desire: but hee must needs also foyle his name with all kindes of cruelty and villany, in somuch, that hee left neyther Lady of the House Royall, nor any other that he could lay hold on, but he abused them as villanously, as wickedly hee had robbed other of their inheritable rights. They that were not (as yet) fallen into the gripes of this abominable Goate, and not knowing how to thinne falling into his cunning and treacherous snares, made such a private consultation among themselves by secret intelligence; that at length, they mette together in a corner of the desert belonging vnto the Kingdome, to haue a more free understanding of particular grieuances, and

Valasica a young Lady, entered into Armes into Bohemia, against the men of the Country.

The Author referreth his Readers to this History only.

King Froll the cruelty-tyrant of Swetia

A bloody tyrant makes no spare of any thing, so he may compass his own wilde desires.

Semyramis the Assyrian Queene. The Amazones women warriors.

Queene Zenobia that made warre vpon the Romanes.

Cinana daughter to Phillip King of Macedon.

how they might best defend their honor and innocence.

Newes likewise ran cursorily among them, that the Nobilitie of the Country (who had withdrawne themselves into *Denmarke*) solicited King *Reyner*, to bring thither his forces, in reuenge of a dishonourable injury done to his owne blood (for his mother was illused from *Norway*) and the *Dane* being easily spurred on to warre, in regarde he was very youthfull, his blood chearefully boyling, and desirous to archieue honour by Armes, gaue the easier eare to the motion. Beside desire of reuenge, to see his reputation so much interested, by the tyrannies of *Swetia*, with pretending a right and title vnto the kingdome of *Norway*: These were no meane motives to incite him on the foener. And these considerations, gaue hart also to the distressed Ladies, for hope of good successe thereby: but feareing, that matter and meanes (in this case) were not as yet sufficiently ready; this intimated perswasion vanished into smoake, euen (well-neere) as sodainly as it was conceived, being no way able to resolue on anie thing.

At length, one in their goodly troupe, and (almost) one of the youngest, fairest and gentlest Virgines, and such a one as had propounded to herselfe, neuer to submit vnder any Lawe, that gaue a man power ouer his wife: She, beholding the sad astonishment of the whole company, and what iust reason they had to be so dreadfully dismayed; making a reuerent obedience vnto them all, deliuered her minde in this manner.

The Oration of Landgartha, to the whole Company of Ladies.

Can it be (faire Ladies of Norway) that illustrious blood, appeareth only in the strength and dexteritie, which fondly wee presume proper and peculiar to men: and we that haue hearts, spirits, bodies and members like vnto theirs, must make them reuengers, and defenders of our continence & chastity? If Fate be so maleuolently affected, that our fathers, brothers and husbands, can obayne

no succour, to recover their lands, and expulse the Tyrant out of their territories: shall it therefore be said, that we must needs serue the inordinate appetits of a villaine? Frollo must abuse those remaying Ladies, that neuer tasted his abominable embracements. Let Landgartha live no longer, if she be voyde of allover duties and deuotion, then to attend the pleasures of a Tyrant, and (without resistance) suffer violence to be done to her honour and modestie.

Why Ladies, the *Lyonesse* and *Tygresse* whet their claws and sharpen their teeth, to defend their young ones, and preserve their luses from the Hunts mens hands. The wren (smallest Bird will vyle both the beake and Wing, to reuenge the wrong offered by rape of her brood. And we, that surmount the one, in sense and reason, the other in strength, & all in wisdom and counsell for bolde attempts; shall we suffer that a Stranger (not one iate stronger then our owne Countries strength) shall make a mockery and abusive pastime, of the most honourable Matrones & Gentlewomen in our Land? No, no, it is not for Landgartha to endure such indignities, or that (without effusion of her blood) can geeld to the best-like Prince of *Swetia*.

Are we inferior in courage and generosity of spirit, to braue *Aluinda*, who so long time fought on the Seas, and amazed the very boldest warriors of the world? Are wee defective in any thing she had? We are healthfull, young, gallant, strong and rich enough, to winne what soeuer is needfull for vs, by service eyther on Sea or Land. And if *Aluinda* (moued by vnjust means) prosper in her actions, and had Fortune fauorable to all her attempts: can you imagine, that Heauen hath not farre sayrer successe in store for vs, hauing Reason and vertue on our side, and vpright iustice to support our cause? were our iourney to death onely, and that the ending of this wretched life, could appease the Tyrants cruelty, without proceeding any further: I would be the foremost, freely offering myselfe as a Sacrifice, to satiate the furie of his raging lust. If hee conetied and would haue nothing else but our wealth and treasure; I would aduise you to deliuer all, and rather then spare aught, let vs goe seeke future fortune, and beg our bread through all strange countries in the world.

Al, no, no, (sweete Ladies) hee likes our liues too well, and by taking pleasure in them, defresh our euertlasting dispaire. He will suffer

The noble me of Norway to iustice Reyntling of Denmark to redress their wofull miserie.

Distressed no nor, especially in Ladies, by cruelty of distress.

A Council called among the Ladies of Norway.

In extremities all meane convenient are to be sought and vied.

Voreconable creatures arme themselves in their owne defence & theirs

Aluinda was daughter to Swardking of the Gutes, & raged on the seas as a Pirate

Shame and
inimie waite
continually at
the heeles of
vanquished lust.

suffer us to enjoy our wealth, for his free-
er wallowing in wicked dalliances, which
prey is the maine purchase whereat hee most
aymth: for hee more delighteth in our Ho-
nours violation, then by massacring our bo-
dies, to become Lord of all our Iewells, lands,
and inheritances. What remaineth then for
our deliuerance? Shall we tarry for them that
are in Denmarke, expecting when they will
come to succour us? No, rather let Ladies
arme themselves, and appearing in open fields,
fight valiantly against the villaine, that seek-
eth to rob vs of our true repute. Let vs giue
him plainly to vnderstand, that effeminate
persons are more soft, and lesse valiant then
we are; that chafie and virtuous Ladies are
of other temper, then Souldiers mollified by
his familiar life: yea that they are more true-
ly constant then the Tyrant, whose confici-
ous guiltinesse in foule offences, is his owne con-
tinuall torturing hangman. On then valiant
Prin esses, and Ladies of no meane liures,)
away with our wanton tires, paintings, per-
rings, and ylle deckings: Let vs change our
Spindles, Needles and Samplers into Horfes,
Launces, Swords and Armour, and trie, if
Frollo be as furious in warre, as hee is ferie
wanton in his lasciuious Pallace. Let vs re-
uenge the wrongs our Parents and Kindred
haue receiued; or die most gloriously, in the
pursuite of so holy, iust and commendable a
reuenge.

A League
sworne, among
the Ladies, &
Landgartha
made the La-
dy Generall.

This courageous remonstrance of the
braue spirited Virgine, gaue such bolde a-
nimation vnto the reit of the Ladies, as
(with one consent) they made a league,
vowing louing alliance, and (sollennly
swearing faith, loyaltie, mutual succour,
and assistance among themselves;) Land-
gartha was elected chiefe commandresse,
or Lady Generall of the Army, and well
delecting that, or any other higher digni-
tie, being the mortue to such a maine and
important businesse.

It is no com-
mon matter,
that mouth
women to
march in arms

Now beganne a muster of all the Wo-
men and Maidens, of the most noble and
famous houses throughout the whole
Country: but not without much amaz-
ment in Frollo, wondering whereto ten-
ded such an assembly. Hee, perswading
himselfe, that they intended fight to their
friends and kindred in Denmarke, sent com-
maund vnto them, that (on perill of their
liues) they should retorne home to their
houses, for enjoying the benefite of their

libertie; which he was content to graunt
them, in regard of their beauties and gen-
tle behaviour.

But Landgartha, the man-like woman
champion, hearing the peremptory com-
maund deliuered by the Tyrants He-
ralds; sent them backe with blows and in-
iurious speeches, telling them; that they
would not take their liues, in regarde of
any respect they had to their Lord: but
onely, because they should let him vnder-
stand, in what deuotion and readinesse
they found them, & or seeking some con-
uenient means and way, whereby to make
him tender an account for his tyrannic
and cruelties.

When Frollo heard these tidings, at the
first he made but a scorne thereof, laugh-
ing extremely, at this womanish enter-
prise and Arme of Ladies, saying: They
did well, to make a present of themselves,
because he should haue the easier way to
find them, and if they came into the field,
the bootie would suffice for his Souldiers
pay, and likewise for their pleasure beside,
in regarde he would bestow wnes vpon
them all, and saue them a labour from a-
ny further fighting. But this pleasant hu-
mour soone forooke him, and conuerted
into fury, when he was aduerted of their
being in the field, & making such a strange
massacre of his men, as the like was sel-
dome seene or heard of. Nor spared they
the liues of any, that durst reclaime him-
selfe from following his seruice, which
made him curse and sweare, threatening
them with a thousand kinde of torments
and afflictions, going now (in good ear-
nest) to arme himselfe; as being perswa-
ded, that this feminine iune had extended
so farre, that it was no light matter that
could allay it. Hee grew also into such
suspition of himselfe, that he kept a strong
Guard about him: as holding but small
assurance of his life, amongst the armed
troupes of his owne Souldiers: yet hee
made many large promises vnto them, of
the very fairest and richest amongst them,
with all their lands and treasure, to shew
themselues valiant and coragious, against
this giddy headed army of women; which
encreased daily more and more, both in
number, victuals and munitions, brought
continually to them from euery part.

But howsoeuer (one way) the bad af-
fection of the Norwegians gaue affliction

The Heralds
& Meisters
of Frollo are
sent back with
ill payment
by the Ladies.

The Tyrant
made a mo-
uerie of the
Ladies prepa-
ration in arms
meaning to
marry them
his Soulautes

Frollo prepa-
reth him selfe
to Armes a-
gainst the La-
dies.

Tyranny is al-
ways subiect
to tormenting
passions.

The arrivall
of Reyner, K.
of Denmarke
in Norway
with a mighty
Arme.

to his spirits, and the fauour which his
owne subjects afforded to this womanish
Army, tormented his soules as violent-
ly on the other side: yet he seemed to set
a good countenance on his fears, declar-
ing no outward doubt of perswauing a-
gainst them, though (inwardly) his cogi-
tations tolde him dreadfull tydings. Ne-
uertheless, being already in the field; and
preparing his equipage, to get the best ad-
uantage he could, of the place where the
Ladies were encamped: a Courtier came
galloping in post to him, bringing newes
of the king of Denmarks descent into Nor-
way, with a very potent Arme. What a
stonishment forer seized on his soule, to
see himselfe inclosed (as it were) with two
puissant enemies, and knowing how high-
ly he was hated, by them whom hee had
ouercome and subiect: yet notwithstanding,
perceiuing that flight was pre-
iudiciall to his honour; and (moreouer)
almost impossible, in regard that the ways
whereby he should passe into Swetia, as al-
so euery port and passage were in the ene-
mies power: he resolved, first to runne his
fortune on the men, who being defeated,
the fight would be farre easier against the
women; and thereupon, in the forme of
an Oration, thus he spake to his Army.

¶ The Oration of Frollo, King of Swetia, to his Soldiers.

When men be
in bad actions
(especially in
Armes vniu-
ly) they stand
in neede of
good encoura-
ging.

If you were not those valiant Gother and
Swetians, that haue tamed and beaten
this kennell broode of Norwegians, and
now conquered their land: If it were not
your valiancie, that hath often made pil-
lage and spoile of the Danes; If your in-
vincible force were not well knowne to
the world: I should then haue now en-
treated you, to remember your Ancestors,
and the glorious conquests of your prede-
cessors: I should also let before your eyes,
how many Kings, People and Nations
were vnder-yoked, by the greatnesse and
deedes of your famous fore-goers. But,
seeing that your proper vertue sufficiently
sheweth it selfe, and auoucheth you to be
the worthy sonnes and successeurs, to so
many valiant and famous Fathers, and
that your deedes are no way indebted to
the glorie of their greatnesse: Let vs goe

then, gentle and worthy warriors: Let
vs pace on, and giue Reyner to know, that
this is no Countrey for him to reigne in,
nor to deale in actions of Armes, with
the most furious and brauett Nation of
Europe. Let vs on (bold spirits) to chafe
them againe, which haue so many times
fled before vs; and let vs chastice the re-
bellion of the Norwegians, who falsify-
ing their faith sworne vnto vs: haue cal-
led in our enemy to their succor, to quar-
rell with me for that, which is yours by
right of Conquest.

In the meane space, while Frollo mar-
ched on to meete the Danes, observe the
wisedome and diligence of Landgartha,
and her Ladies, who stepped before him
with such poasting speeche, that ere the
time, as any intelligence could be ob-
tained of her departure: tydings were sud-
denly brought him, that both the Camps
were ioyned together, and came mainly
marching onward to bidde him battaile.
Now, although this did not alittle startle
his minde, and intimated a suspicious kind
offeare, left Fortune should turne her
backe on him, hauing formerly fauored
him in all his proceedings: yet being a
man of high heart, valiant, and borne for
Armes: he shewed no semblance of dread
or distrust, but rather still sollicitous his
men, to shew themselues such as alwayes
they were knowne to be, and to account
the enemy no stronger by the womens
combination; but rather to hope, that for-
tune had conducted them purposely thi-
ther, for the larger encreasing of their be-
nefit, and to heighten their corage against
any, that durst presume to deprive them
offo faire a booty.

On the other side, King Reyner, being
come within the view of the enemy, rode
among the ranks, encouraging his people,
proposing to them his right, and the in-
ualion made by the Swetian. He requi-
red them, to reuenge the wrong doone to so
many honourable houses, vterly ouer-
throwne by the Tyrant, and to sustain the
cause of womens modesties, for whome,
and in whose defence, long agoe they
Auncelours had attempted rare actions
of Armes, and spent their blood in ma-
ny parts of the world. He also set before
their eyes, the courage and animosities
of the Ladies, who march orderly vnder the

The noble di-
ligence of Lid-
g. tha, ioy-
ning her forces
with King Rei-
ners Campe.

Necessary and
enforcement
makes a cra-
uently coward
valiant.

The effect of
an Oration
made by king
Reiner of Den-
marke to his
soldiers, in
fight of the e-
nemies camp

Nun

En

Ensignes of valiant Landgartha, and to irritate by their force, that which weak women had undertaken, to free themselves from the violence of a Tyrant. Also, that they might assuredly be persuaded, beside the gaine and bootie, in getting the baggage and baggage of the Swethians: himselfe would (moreouer) vse such rewarde and courtie to well deservers; that they should for euer haue iust cause to commend his munificence. He declared to the Norwegians, that (for the loue to them) hee would aduenture to fight against Frolo, whom if he conquered, hee would spare him no more, then the rest of his race formerly had doone. And therefore, to shew themselves valiant, and now to bee fully reuenged on the Swethian tyrannies; seeing Fortune had almost (with great advantage) deliuered him into their hands.

Landgartha, beholding how enery one encouraged other to the fight, and observing some rare galliardie, even in the gracefull lookes of her female followers; in steade of further animating, thus she spake vnto them.

Another Oration of Landgartha, made to the Armie of Ladies.

Her action, gesture and behaviour in fained the desires of all her faire followers

It is for vs (faire Ladies) that the glorie of this battaile is referred, and to none else is due the reuenge, for our parents, kindred, friends and familiars. Men may fight (if they will) in their owne quarrell, and deale with whom themselves thinke best: but the valorous Ladies of Norway, will pursue none other then the very Squadron of the Tyrant, and there will vce in the midst of our endeavour, or make this the last day of his miserable life. Let our horses seeme to steale among the ranks, that we may be obserued to surmount the prowesse of men, and that wee can quickly re-write our strength againe, if any disorder should chaunce to diuide vs. Fair Fortune be our guide, and fauour vs to die gloriously, or vanquish (with hearts becoming our Sex) the onely infamous Prince in the world. In a spirit gentle and generous, see (I beseech you) what power Disdayne hath, to behold it selfe offended, and of what worth illustrious blood is, (touched with wrong) received by women and maydens,

tender, soft, and delicately borne and bred, not irrued to the trouble of struts, but driven by desire of reuenge onely. For the rapes made on their violated kindred and friends: must needs bee now acknowledged, by the ornament which sayrest embellished our faces, and exposeth vs to all manner of hazards, amongest the gallantest troupes of men.

King Reyner, hauing giuen the assaults signall, aduisedly obserued the behaviour and warelike order of the women, seeing Landgartha perourme both the actions and discrete conduct of a good Souldier, making way through the throngs, and entering (even in mere despite of the enemy) with her faire-locked troups of Ladies, into the Tyrant of Swethias Squadron. Hee stood as astonied at so braue hardiment, and (in this astonishment) he felt a kind of softning in his manly soule, rauishing both his eyes and thoughts, with admiration & contemplation of this chaste Damofell: he forthwith followed her fighting, yet knew he not the cause of so sodayne an alteration, and beholding her wonderfull carriage in the fight, saw no stroke returned against her, but it seemed to cleaue his heart in sunder. Hee wished himselfe neere her, to free her from all penill and danger; yet he tooke great delight to beholde her braue behaviour.

So long his eyes were led by this amorous contemplation, that (very soone after) he saw the Ladies presse on with such impetuous furie, into the maine body of the battaile; and where the king of Swethia was in person: that (in a short while) it became so throwly shaken, as, both the vanquishers, and the vanquish confessed, that the victory was more to be attributed to the wife leading of Landgartha, and valiant following of her Ladies, then to the long breathing and loose courage, either in the Souldiers of Denmarke or Norway: for they neuer ceased to pursue the point, till Frolo was hewne in peeces amongest them; as the corrupter of blooming youth, and violator of their chastities, whom he ought (in honour and duty) to defend. Thus in an instant, Frolo payed the crueltie due vnto his disgracefull life, & was punished by celestiall Iudgement, for inuading the land and inheritance belonging

The valiance and carriage of Landgartha greatly admired by the King of Denmarke.

Keyner becommeth suddenly amorous of faire Landgartha.

The overthrow of the Swethians and death of their king by the braue valour of the women.

longing to another, and abusing the honor of so many chaste Ladies.

King Reyner attributes the victory to the valiant Landgartha, & her Ladies.

The victory won by the Dane, he freely confessed, that he enioyed it by the valiancy of the Ladies, and about all the rest by the wife and hardy conduct of hir, who commanded ouer the female troups. But concealing (as yet) the fire crept into his heart, and which stole on still to the verie depth of his soule; he cunningly enquired (as one rapt with amazement, among the rest, at the dexterity of this woman Warriour) what the was, of what house, and in what country she receiued her Originall? Answer was returned to him, that she was a Maiden to be married, so chaste as possibly might be, as vertuous as any that liued in Norway, in blood Noble, of a famous house, and inferiour to no Ladie in wisdom. The vertue and wife carriage of Landgartha in war, hauing won the heart of this youthfull King, gaue yet a far larger entrance to loue, that left no part of his soule vnbesieged: when he heard say, that she was a Virgin Lady, and of great birth.

The kings passion encreases the more, by her commendable reports.

But because he could rather haue wisht her to be his lovely friend, then wedded wife; he saw how short hee came of any such hope, being truly informed of her virgin modesty, standing cleere from all possibility of corruption: neither might he dare to attempt it, seeing how respectfully she was esteemed, affected, and reuerenced, & hardly enough to suppress all such sinister enterprises. Moreouer, as elsewhere we haue declared, though rapes had bene too common in that Scandian country; yet it was no easy offer to her; that knew wel how to reuenge such wrong, and had made good prooue therof so lately, in the iust infliction on a lustfull tyrant. In which respect, hauing a faire and gentle spirit; he resolved, to cloath with grace and good acceptance, whatsoeuer might appear vn-equall in her, to sure with the greatest of a King, and to satisfie his owne desires, by contracting honourable Marriage with her. And because common fame had noised of her, that she had concluded to keep her virginity for euer, without admitting any man to triumph ouer her chaste honor: he laboured the more to win her, & to break this vncharitable purpose in her; affecting her as dearly as his owne life; accounting her the most compleate crea-

ture in the world, & such a Jewel, as none could be more precious.

If this opinion, concerning the rare vertues of Landgartha, had alwayes continued charactered in the soule of this prince; and if he had respected her as well after the enioying her, as before hee had the happinesse to be possessed of her: she should haue receyued no occasion to complaine of him, and he neuer had stood accused of such infidelity and ingratitude to her. But (the more the pity) there is not any thing so precious, rare, or of greatest consequence; but if a man bee possessed of it, and hath it freely at his owne command: he groweth distastefull of it; accounting his appetite loathingly glutted therewith, and nothing can seeme more contemptible to him.

Reyner, how great a King soeuer hee thought himselfe to bee, and how powerfull in his cheefest commands: yet, he felt himself a slaue to Loue, not daring to discover his thoughts: he was become (contrary to precedent custom) a friend to solitude, full of passions, compassed with feares, troubled in spirit, martied in his senses, scarce sustaining any hope, but very coldly, and breathing forth sighs incessantly; so that all were amazed at this strange behaviour in him. Notwithstanding, no one durst enter into such boldnesse, as to demand of him, whence came the causes of such comfortlesse solitude. At length, hauing considered sufficiently on what he had to do, and finding the power of loue so potent, that it exceeded all possibility of resistance, as hauing a priuiledge about nature, and Landgartha no way to be enioyed, but by the chaste embraces of a marriage bed: he sent for the Lady and her friends, imparting his mind to her in this manner.

I know well (gentle Damofell) that it may moue some admiration in you, vpon what occasion I haue thus sent for you: albeit, the obligation wherein I stande bound to your high deferings, might haue commanded me to do it much sooner, & yet a matter no more then reasonable. But to hold you in no longer suspence the hope I haue, & you wil continue heere in court; was the motive to my mission, & the power I might pretend ouer your parents & friends, shold with their willing

What most court to inuoy they growe careless of afterward.

The perplexity of King Reyner in his loue, & endeavour how to compass it

The speech of King Reyner, delivered to Landgartha, in the presence of his parents and friends.

advice to you, and enioyne you to grace vs with your company. I know what you are, and am informed of your house and breeding; but much more am I assured of your valor and other vertuous merits, by the commendable partes and singular rarities, whereof mine owne eyes haue bin a witness. You also are not ignorant who I am, what my power is, and the meanes to make my selfe sensible, either of fauours or iniures, from whom fouet I happen to receiue them. I confesse, that if there be any thing extrauagant in Loue, or surpasseth the greatest power in man it hath taken foundation in my soule, enflaming my best desires to with you wel: but I am vncertaine, whether you be so courteous or no, to take a liking or acceptable allowance of this affection, and so much the rather, because you appear aboue the reach of other Ladies. Neuertheless, if you measure the greatnesse of a King, and of him that is your Soueraigne, with the lustre of your choise perfections: you shall see, that both these rarities paired together, do make but one vnion, & the most excellent that any man can imagine. In brieue, all my wish, intent, and affection consisteth in this, that if you thinke good, or I may seeme worthy in your eye, to be a fit husband for *Landgartha*; I would take you to Wife, and make you Queene of *Denmarke* and *Norway*. You may thinke heereon, it is in you to conclude all, and to whom I referre my selfe: for, of this my submission, I make your parents and friends witnesses, calling for them purposely hither, to heare my motion, and your answer.

Landgartha, who was as apprehensiuely, courteous and modest, as high in corage, and strict in opinion: considering who it was that made the motion, and how much he imbold himself in the demand, returned this answer.

SIR, although my deliberation from mine infancy, and continuing to this flourishing condition of mine age, hath alwaies beene, neuer to subiect my selfe to the lawes ordained for marriage, because freedom euer seemed more conforme to the disposition of my spirit, then such obedience as a wife owes to her husband, not that I haue vowed or sworne to any estate whatsoever: yet notwithstanding,

hauing regard vnto the duty I owe my Prince, and seeing how iustly I may deserue blame and punishment, in refusing him that hath soueraignie ouer mee and mine; I beseech you to thinke, that your thoughts being so direct as they pretend declaration, and respecting one of so meane merite as my selfe: I am also the onely Maiden of the World, ready to do you most humble seruice. Thanking the great God, that seeing I owe duty to the fancy of a man (albeit against my former resolute) it falleth so successfully, as in seruice to the most wise and valiant Prince, that of long time hath reigned in these countries. Neuertheless Sir, thinke it not strange, I humbly beseech you, if I speake (perhaps) more boldly then becommeth me, to vse a silly virgins aduice, to take longer and more deliberate consideration in a case so seriously important as this is: humane affections being so light in cases of these and the like impressions; that (many times) they as sodainly wipe themselves out of the soule, as at the first they came to be characterized there. Not that I will accuse so great a King of leuitie, nor suspect his faith any way in firme: but to this end, that hauing made a neer view of my complexions, and more exactly enquired the list of my life; you may the better censure my merit, measuring for hereafter, what you may now most valew in my meannes and insufficiency: so shall you be sure, neuer to vsay your owne words, or be sorry then for that which you make so great account of now. For know Sir, that the honor which you please to do me at this present, is nothing in respect of the great infamy, redounding then both vpon you and me, & those that gaue you no better counsell in this case, whom it may as neerly concerne. This would be a worthy recompence, for the intire affection you beare me now, and I should dedicate my life to you in deeper deuotion, remaining for euer your most loyal & dutifull seruant.

With such a graue and seuer countenance she vttered these speeches, that the king, amazed at her wisdom, but more at the Maiestieall delivery of her wordes, and freedome of so faire and complete a spirit: swore instantly such loyalty to her, as fitted with a king and faithfull husband; wherein he plainly forswore himselfe, as you shall hear in this discourse following.

Verie worthie aduice touching of a discreet and well settled judgement.

Consideration before marriage is verie necessary, because repentance afterwards cometh too late.

At

At this time the Maiden was not married to the youthfull king (who longed after nothing so much, as to crosse the sayre flower of her chastity) but she returned home with her parents and friends again; hoping, that the heate of this royall fire, would be quailed in time, and her absence would be the meanes to effect it. But *Reynar*, who could not forget her that had so worthily asisted him, and whose figure was liuely imprinted in his soule: followed her to her Fathers dwelling, and scorning to be delayd by many daies access, espoused her, to the vnspeakable comfort of her parents and friends, but som dread and great distrust in her self, as fearing the continuance of this feruent affection, and hauing won the heart of a King, doubted to be dispossessed thereof. Neuertheless, such was her wife and commendable carriage, as to conceal her fears with maiestie modesty: submitting her self to the Kings delightful pleasures, and the yoke of marriage, which formerly she had contemned.

But, as no ioyes are durable, being perpetually followed by worldly occurrences: so *Reynar* (being a yong, wanton, and lasciuious king) after hee had bene Father to three children by his Queene, two daughters, and a hopefull yong Prince, filled, or rather ouer-fatisfied with the embraces of this poore Lady (who brought him no other dowry but bright beautie, and vertue vnmarchable in all the country) coueting after matter of greater moments, withdrew thence into *Denmarke*, leaving his truly elected spouse in *Norway*, not with any purpose of sending for her, or returning to her againe, but vterly to abandon & forsake her. Being in *Denmark*, he heard report of the K. of *Swetia* daughter, whom he desired to inioy, accusing his indiscretion, that he had embased the greatnes of a king, and much blemished his royall title, by marrying with a fillic damofell: and sending a solemne Ambassage into *Swetia*, he obtained (without war or any other great difficulty) her whom he coueted to enioy in marriage.

Heere behold, how constant the Kings affection stoode to vertue, and howe the maske of fained loue discovered it self. He had sworne fidelity vnto his best beloued *Landgartha* (notwithstanding her wife & worthe aduice of inconueniences to fol-

low) with no meane admiration of her vertues and perfections: but Vertue was then bound to the Idea of pleasure, and therefore of as little lasting, as ease hath continuance in occasions of the flesh. Beside, no sooner had he receiued answer to his minde, from the king of *Swetia*; but forthwith, he aduertised *Landgartha* of a second intended marriage, although vnlawfully; yet praying her patiently to endure a diuorce.

The poore Lady hearing this determination (although long time before, she had both diuined and feared such disaster) was ready to dy with conceit of greefe, to see her selfe despised, without the least occasion of offence giuen, or why he should so vnkindly refuse her. At length, considering that the king had some reason for this repudiation, by seeking better alliance, which might succour him in his serious affaires, because he had an enemy that contended with him for the Crowne of *Denmark*, & incited the Emperor to lend him ayd, vnder colour of becoming a Christian, if he would help him to compasse the kingdom: she began somewhat to assuage her minds perturbations, answering the that brought her these bad tydings, thus.

The King (my friends) should not thus abuse *Landgartha*, because he needs not to seek any further, for strenghtning his house by stronger alliance: and well may I accuse him of lightnes, whereof I aduertised him in the beginning; and which (to my greefe) I finde now by ouer-deare experience. But if I were as reuengefull for the shame I suffer, as hee is vnjust on my behalfe: I could (perhaps) finde him as busy and troublesome employment, as these can yeeld him pleasure, flouour, or defence, with whom he hath such hast to marry. He knows what means I haue to diseale him seeing he felt part of my power in fauouring him, and should periwade himselfe, that *Landgartha* was neuer so much offended by the tyrant of *Swetia*, as by him, who vnder the flattning name of marriage, hath wronged the modesty of her, that discerneth now, how men the greater they are, so much they thinke themselves dispensed withall, in breaking those Lawes, where-to they binde other in obedience.

Yet one thing causeth me somewhat to pardon his fault, and also to accuse mine owne indiscretion, that he being blinded

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King Reynar espoused Landgartha, to the joy of her parents, but apparent feare in her of his affections continuance.

The perfidious and vnfaithfull dealing of Reynar with his sayre wife Landgartha.

Landgartha was to be divorced from the King her husband, without any cause of offence giuen.

Kings breaking of his Lawes, whereto they stridly binde their subjects.

Words are commonly more solemne in their protestations, then afterwards they proue found in their performance.

The generous and modest answer of Landgartha: to the former speech of King Reynar.

by loue, and I, by sole reuerence vnto the name Royall: we haue both sayled in one kinde, but not equally punishible, his shame being not so great as mine, because (being free, & without passions) I would submit my selfe to the will of him, who durst not vse any violence towards mee; whereas he was a slave to his owne cogitations, and transported with desire, which maketh fooles of the very wisest in the world. Let him enioy the embracings of his new elected Lady, at his own pleasure and contentment; but I pray, (in regard of the faithfull loue I beare him, and to shall doe for euer, being such as I am) that hereafter, he may neuer be so light & changeable in affection, lest some one (of far lesse cunning then himselfe) make him not doe penance for wrong to all the rest. And assure him, that although hee hath wounded the heart of *Landgartha* to death, by preferring another of much lesse merit, and forgetting the debt, which maketh him mine by bond: yet notwithstanding, the Image of King *Reyner* shall remaine perpetually engrauen in my heart, and no accidents of the greatest disaster, can euer deface the sacred and sincere affection, which his faithful light so lately imprinted in my soule.

God report vnto him, the offer of my seruice, and the desire I haue to please him, instead of seeking any reuenge. Set before his eyes, not any despayring cogitations in mee, but vnconquerable patience. Tell him, I am not a little ioyful, to see my selfe free from subiection to a husband: but yet so sorie as possibly can be, to loose him whom I loue more then my selfe, and without whom, my dayes for euer are dedicated to mourning. Report vnto him, that *Landgartha* will liue, not to be reuenged vpon the disloyaltie of King *Reyner*; but to the end, that by the effusion of her owne blood, she may yet make him once more to know, that she is more his friend, and more carefull of his States conseruation, then himselfe is. Tell him also, that such Ladies as resemble me, haue their hearts more generously disposed, and farre more fairly furnished with vertue: then base minded men, that alway carry gentlenes in their looks, but villanie truly stamped in their hearts. For a finall conclusion, I pray God giue more ease to my vnfaithfull husband, then through his

disloyalty he leaues sorrow and affliction in the soule of his loyall wife: and that she who usurpeth my place (in regard the fault is not hers) may long enioy peace in that bed, which vertue and merite once made me Mistresse of, and the King taketh from me, I know not by what disaster, but in meere malice and hatred to mee and my fortune.

What greater constancy could be wished, in the heart of the very wisest Philosopher, that euer *Greece* or *Asia* yielded, then appeared in the inuincible soule of this *Norwegian* Lady? What deeper despit could be done to a worthy woman; then to reiect and throw her off, as if she had beene wicked and immodest? Or what greater occasion may bee giuen, for betraying a husband; then causelesse suspension, and diuorce or refusal, where reason and iustice can shew no cause why? Poets haue liuely depicited in their Verses, the desperate transports of *Medea*, forsaken by *Iason*, and the fearefull cruelties vied by her, to bee reuenged on such an iniury. *Marke Anthony*, by refusing and forsaking the faire sister to *Augustus*, attracted by foolish affection to blacke *Cleopatra*; both *Europe*, *Affricke* & *Asia*, were inhumanely bathed with the blood of men, the brother endeavouring to reuenge the iniury, which was offered vnto his sister and the whole Family. And tell me (I pray yee) what a wound in *France* was sometime made, by the diuorce of *Elienor*, Countesse of *Poitiers*, and Duchesse of *Guiane*; the meanes whereof gaue way to the *English*, & that they made themselves so strong in *France*?

Notwithstanding all these, and many more that I could speake of, we see *Landgartha* so humble, wife, discrete, and such a louer of quietnesse, that, hauing meanes to be reuenged on so high a wrong done her; so farre was she from pursuit, heate, rage or tempest, that making Patience proude of her example: shee offered seruice to him, by whome she was contemned and despised, presenting all duty to an ingratefull husband, and promising fresh supply, after receit of a former disloyall recompence. You which are ieaalous of Ladies honour, and complaine of a giddie madnesse in their braines, and of imortal enmity and hatred engrauen in their Soules; behold this rare woman, declaring

Medea distracted to feele her selfe forsaken by *Iason*.
Cruel warre at Rome about an vnjust diuorce.
The repudiation of *Elienor*, caused the long warre betweene the *English* and *French*.

Let all such as depraue the sexe of women observe the incomparable vertues of *Landgartha*.

declaring truly a Christian minde, although the neuer receiued baptisme: Of her you may learn, that Ladies haue something in them rightly heroycall, which men can neuer comprehend nor taste of, but by long, studious and wise experience.

And yet *Landgartha* stands not alone in this example, for *France* can make boast of many more great Ladies, that imitated her mildnesse and constancy, & of whom I could enter into a large Discourse: if *French* Histories were not so frequent among you, wherein you can lesse time to bee continually reading. But yet we haue not said all, that *Landgartha* (not hurried with ieaousie, or tempest with fury for this refusal) fought a many meanes whereby she might be reuenged: but in doing much more, surmounting all opinion and iudgement, giuing aide to him that had so shamefully left her, and doing good for euill, contrary to some flearne and combustious natures of her sexe, and as the sequell will more amply deliuer.

Reyner, being a Prince greatly addicted to Armes, seeing himselfe at home in peace, and that none of his neighbours solicited him by warre; because his Subjects (being naturally giuen to warre, and inured to courses both by Land and Sea) might not liue ydle and slothfull: he permitted them to pursue their fortune, passing them into the Isles of *Ireland*, *Britain* and *Scotland*. Whereupon, the *Tutes*, and some other of the *Scandian* Territories, that bare him but bad affection, taking occasion by the Kings absence with his Forces, elected and created for their king, a Prince of royall blood, named *Harolde*, who shaping his course to the Emperour *Lewes* the debonnaire, that made his abiding then at *Magance*, hauing receiued baptisme with his followers: was sacred and crowned King of *Denmarke*, by authority Imperiall, doing homage to the Emperour for his Kingdom.

Harolde, being fauoured of his owne people, and affected by the most of them that embraced Christianity (to whom *Reyner* was no way pleasing) and re-enforced by a goodly band of *Germanes*, wherewith the Emperour furnished him, to put him in possession of his lands: went into *Denmarke*, to expell *Reyner* thence, and all

such as followed his Faction. *Reyner*, waxing weary againe of his wanton desires, returning home secretly into *Denmarke*: found strange alteration since his departure thence. His owne people he encouraged to stand fast with him, called the *Sweatians* also to his succour, and dispatching letters into *Norway*: requested assistance of her, from whom hee might more iustly expect warre then defence, and severity of reuenge for his vile dealing.

What would an angry heart haue done in this case? A minde neuer satisfied but in doing ill; What opportunity had it heere to worke vpon? How would a man haue carried himselfe, hauing bene notoriously iniured, and to faire a way set wide open for him, as neuer was the like to bee expected againe: what haste would he make now to be fully reuenged? Without all contradiction, the breach of faith is very abominable, and wrongs receiued by Noble natures, are not easily qualified, when times and seasons shape out reuengefull meanes, such as was this wauyppon the faithlesse *Dane*. Neuertheless *Landgartha*, hearing in what anguish her vnkind husband was, and considering with her selfe, that his ruine could not returne her any benefit, seeing also, that shee had two louely Daughters by him, and a Princely sonne, named *Frideflaus* (who afterward was King of *Norway*) motives sufficient for his longer abiding with her: shee leuied an Army of sixe score Ships, euery one being worthily furnished, wherewith she intended to succour her distressed Husband, to whom shee sent tydings of her preparation and coming, in these few Lines.

The Letter sent by *Landgartha*, to her Husband, King *Reyner*.

[F this my second duty may proue as happy, in the recovery of thy Lands & Kingdoms, as my first was against a Tyrant, and yet honouring thee with the victory: I shall account my paines well employed, and neuer expect any other recompence. Make head brauely against the Enemy, for I am coming with all speede, to let him know, that

King *Reyner* returns home into *Denmark* from *Sweatians*, and craveth assistance of *Landgartha*.

The noble disposition & nature of *Landgartha*.

Frideflaus son to *Landgartha* by *Reyner*, was afterward K. of *Denmarke*.

Men may run on in vnconstant courses till at length they chance to bee over-matched.

Messages sent by *Landgartha* to him that had forsaken her.

Her veruious and charitable conclusions at parting with the Ambassadors.

All Ladies are not like to *Landgartha* in the true vertue of patience.

The Subjects take occasion to reuolt against *Reyner*.

Harolde a Christian Prince made King of *Denmarke* by the Emperour *Lewes*.

Landgartha is both a *Queene* and a *warrior*.

Landgartha.

The Rebels afraid of Landgartha coming with her forces.

The Rebels, being advertised of this supply from Norway, laboured by all means possible to provoke King *Reynor* to the fight, before the coming of *Landgartha*, whom they knew to be wife, and very skilfull in the Art Militarie. And the king knowing their intention, delayed the day of battell, by marching further off from them, towards the place where he expected *Landgartha*'s landing, that their two forces might the sooner ioyne together, & then to give the enemy battell. Which *Harolde* well perceiving, and knowing, that such delay would redound to his disadvantage; he pursued after *Reynor* with such expedition, laying such traines and ambuscadoes for him, that he compelled him to handy blowes, euen at the verie same instant as *Landgartha* landed.

The fight fell out to bee very furious and bloody, and great numbers of men fell as well on the one side, as on the other, the chiefe Commanders being fiercely animated, the one to defend his Crowne, and the other to vnrue an estate, whereto he pretended a iust title, by reason of the quarrell betweene the King and his Subjects. And both of them standing on the aduenture of life, as well vnderstanding, that no fauour was to be expected, which side sooner prooued to bee Conquerour.

The Danes put to the worst by Harolde, & Landgartha worth assistance in very great extremitie.

Now, though the *Danes* that followed *Reynor*, performed so much duty as warriours could do, sustaining many impetuous efforts of the assailants; yet were they constrained to turne their backs, beginning to fall into rout and disorder. By this time was *Landgartha* come neare to the Campe, where she made a pause a while, to see which side behaued it selfe brauest; and perceiving *Reynor*'s men in no meane extremitie, valiantly she entred amongst the thickest of them, encouraging her husbands soldiers on thus: *On them braue spirits, set on them manfully, they are our foile, as valiantes not deservuing to lue, seeing traitorously they lift up their weapons against their king. On then (say) vndaunted spirits, bee it Landgartha, who hath brought you victorie, as well against Harolde, as sometime she did against Frodo in Norway.*

In deliuering these wordes, the deale

such bold blows among the Rebels, as they hardly knew which way to bestir themselves. Now the battell grew to be more fierce on either side the before: the *Danes*, to repair their disorderd flight, th'other, to maintaine their hope of victory, wherof they doubted not, but disdained a woman should deprive them of the occasion, of wholly ruining *Reynor* and his Army. Neuertheless, whatsoever manhood *Harolde* and his men declared in the fight, yet they were oppressed by multitudes, being wearie, spent, & closely followed by the *Norwegians*, who were fresh, chearefull and aduice, conducted by a woman of very high resolute, and as furious in warre, as modest and gracious in her Pallace. Thus were they enforced to fight, not without great losse of the very worthiest men in the Army, and the vanquished deliuered to the Conquerours mercie. But, though *Reynor* triumphed of the victorie, yet hee enioyed it by the fortune of her, who, albeit he might boast of her happinesse in life, and thereby attained to a great marriage; yet her other infelicity was a great corsie to her heart, to be disdained where she ought to be most beloued & esteemed.

Reynor now was growne sensible, of the shameful wrong he had offered to his first wife, accusing himselfe of disloyaltie, and detesting his former leuitie, entreated her to take such reuege on him, as she thought fittest in her own iudgement. But she, being a Lady of vnmatchable mind, fearing lest the king (conquered by this obligation of duety to her) should commit an other fault, by leauing the K. daughter of *Sweden*, who had brought him diuers children also: pardon all his passed injuries to her, & vowing her selfe to a widdowed estate of life, neuer more to conuerse with him or any man living: after a solemne parting betweene them, she returned home into *Norway*, to gouerne the Countrey by her discrete care, till her son *Fredrik* should attaine to yeres of rule, and whom the K. there had constituted as his lawfull heire.

The remainder of this discourse, being more at large pursued by the Annals of *Denmarke*, *Sweden* and *Norway*; I purpose here to conclude the Historie, which I haue in this place set downe, more to relate the valour, counsell, aduice, good conduct and wisdom, seldom wanting in Ladies deriued from good birth: then I

Harolde and his men drue to flight, and the victorie remaining to Reynor by the valor of Landgartha and his Norwegians.

The reconciliation betwixt King Reynor and Landgartha.

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care for the idle loues of *Reynor*, or any of his Conquests. To the end, that such Ladies, as excell in the like vertues in these our times; may hold on in the pursuit of their perfections, by the honorable examples of them, that (in those precedent daies) declared themselves admirable in their actions, & imitable for their vertues and commendable carriage.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Bezaars Stone, which is reputed to be very vertuous and soveraigne, against all venomes and poysons.



The Bezaar or Pazer stone good against all venomes and contagions.

Whence the stone is brought, and how it is engendred.

The Stone of the *Bezaar* or *Pazer* is a true and assured Antidote against all poysons, venomes, bytings of venomous Beasts, infections of the Ayre; As pestilence, carbuncles or plague-sores, Purples, the small Pox, the Meazels, and in briefe, against all diseases popular and contagious. And because experience hath made this stone to be in daily request, and causeth it to be sought for by people of good meanes; therefore sale hath bene made thereof at extraordinary rates, and auarice being so great among men, hath therefore practised and compassed the meanes whereby to adulterate it, as heerebefore they did the like by Baulne or Balsamum. But before I write any further thereof, I will tell you from whence they bring it, and how it is engendred in the bodies of certaine creatures, which are like vnto Goats heere among vs; but they haue no horns, being of a reddish colour, and feed not but on good and wholesome Hearbes, wherof are plenty on the Mountaines, and where they startle at the least noise of a Piece. But for our better vnderstanding this History, I will insert a small parcel of a Letter, written from *Peru* by a Spanish Gentleman, to *Monardus* a Physician of *Lisbols*, dwelling then in *Seuill*, whereby we shall perceiue how they are found.

The Letter of a Gentleman residing in Peru.

The fifteenth of June, 1568, being at the exercise of hunting, with diuers of my friends, among the Mountaines in this Countrey of *Peru*, continuing at the sport for the space of five dayes, and having slaine some of the Beasts called *Bezaars*, we dissected their bodies, to finde the stones. But it being a matter impossible for vs to do, because wee were not used thereto: we demanded of the Indians, which we had brought with vs: whether to attend vpon vs; in what part of the body we might soonest finde them; whereto they made vs answer, that they knew it not. But a young Indian Lad, aged about tenne yeares, and being then in our company, shewed vs where it was, and we found it in the first stomacke, where the food of the Beast falleth down, to be ruminated or chewed afterward. Which when the Indians saw, they would haue killed the Boy, as being offended at this instruction given vs; but we would not suffer them to doe him such violence, and although they are subject to vs Spaniards, yet they are our deadly enemies. Notwithstanding, while we followed our pastime of hunting, they got the Boy aside and slew him, and afterward sacrificed him, as we were giuen to vnderstand.

Hunting of the Bezaar in Peru.

In what part of the Beasts the stone is found.

How that leath is hatched.

The Indians adorning their temples in rich manner.

Informations of the Indians concerning the Bezaars stones vertues.

Wounds cured of impoisoned Arrows.

The Indians hold those stones in great esteeme, placing them for Ornaments in their Temples, which they call *Guacas*, adorning also their Images with them, and many other things beside, as Gold, Silver, precious stones and rich leuels. And I repute it a matter of some admiration, that this Beast is not found in any of the hither Indies, but in the Mountaines of *Peru*, neither could I see them any where else: albeit I haue trauielled through all the Kingdomes of Mexico and *Peru*. In the Provinces and Isles of *Naragon*, *Florida*, and the *Western* Islands, I haue bene diligently informed, and by the Indians heere among vs, vpon vrging them to what use these stones are proper: And they haue assured mee, that they are singular against all venomes, eyther applied outwardly, or receiued inwardly; but especially against all harmes of the heart, and it expelleth wormes out of the body. Be asgiuen into wounds, made by impoisoned Arrows (as heere it is too much in use) it is an assured healing, and no other remedy could be found for it, but this onely.

In the first Beaf that we difsected, wee found in a Bagge like a little Purffe, 9 stones, which Nature had there engendered, only by the benefit of feeding on good and wholesome hearbs: and in all those which we difsected afterward, we found in some more, in others lesse, according as they were aged in yeares. It is to be noted, that although they are found also in Beasts of the same kinde, which browse and feede on the Plumes: yet they are not so vertuous, as in those bred upon the Mountaines.

Thus you see in briefe, what was written by this Capitaine (and indeed a very worthy Gentleman, living then in the *Indias*) to *Nicholas Monardus*, a learned Phylitian, and dwelling in *Scutly*; whereby may be vnderstood, how and fro whence these stones proceede. Now wee will heare what the *Portugals* say, who haue made their conquests farre off fro thence, to know, whether they agree with the *Spaniards* in this report, or no.

Garcias d'Orta a *Portugize*, Phylitian to the Viceroy in the *Indias* discovered by the *Portugals*, saith, that in *Corasine*, and in the Countiees of *Persia*, there is another kinde of Goates, of meaneer greatnesse, which they call *Pazans*, in whose stomack or bulke are found stones of the *Bezar*, the beginning of them being a small little straw, growing on to a certain greatnesse, by recouering many coates or tunicles: whereof some are found to bee as big as our common Beanes, others as Acornes, and other of more or lesse quantity, smoothe for the most part, and in colour resembling a darke greene. The greatest, because the rarest, are more fought for then the lesser sort, by them of the Country where they are found, as reporting them to haue the most vertue. He reporteth, that he saw one which weighed five Ducates, and which was brought into *Portugall*, that would not be bought for three score Ducats, albeit it was more worth whence it came: and in all those stones which are brought out of the *Persian* Countiees, a little straw or stalk is found in the very midst of them, as hath bene often approved.

This Stone (saith he) is not found in *Persia* onely, but also in *Malaca*, and in the Ile which is named *Pacai*, not farre off from the Promontory of *Comorina*. For,

as they can betray those Beasts, so they kill them, and being well salted or powdered, they sence as good provision for their Armies. In many of them are found very great stones, vnknewen to the people there inhabiting, or why the *Portugals* labour so much in search of them: which (indeed) is more for the said stones, then any loue they haue to the flesh, although it is very fauoury.

The *Bezaars* stones which come from *Persia*, haue no straws or stalks in the midst of them; but onely a little cavity or hollownesse, wherein may be found some thicke dust or sand, which is of far greater efficacy then the stone it selfe. I haue sene five graines of this stone (in a little water of Mugwort) given to a Gentlewoman, who had bene seven dayes in child-birth trauaile: and she was instantly deliuered of a child dead and putrified. At the Castle of *Luke*, in the lower *Lymosine*, there was a great pestilence, whereof (in lesse space then foure & twenty houres) dyed three persons: afterward it tooke hold on the rest of the household, which were eighteen in number. Each one received two graines of this stone: euery morning, with a little water of *Aquila Campina*, continuing so for seven daies space together, and not any one dyed afterward, or became further touched with the pestilence. Diuers beside, that had carbuncles and sores, by vsing this stone, preferred their liues: It is very good also in application, to botches, bycles, and all irksome paines or swellings.

A young Gentleman, with whom it was my chance to be bathing in a Riuer, was bitten in the leg by a Serpent, so that his leg was become very black, and greatly swollen: hee was aduised, to take foure graines of *Bezaars* stone, with a small quantity of Rose-water, and a graine also was put into the wound; which caused the rankling and paine to cease, and he was fully cured within twelve dayes space.

Monsieur le Vicome de Conborn, and Lord of *Chasteauneuf*, Lieutenant for the King in *Lymosine*, reported to me, that he was touched with a pestilential Feauer at *Paris*, and whereof many dyed, of euery quality, age and sexe, and abandoned of all Phylitians. By the aduice of his Father in law, the Marshall de *Biron*, he took *Bezaars* stone for some few dayes, & with-

Difference betweene the *Bezaars* stones of *Persia* and *Persia*.

Virtues approved of the *Bezaars* Stone

A cure of bytting by a Serpent on a Gentlemans leg.

Histories of rare vertues in the *Bezaars* stone.

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in a little while after, he recouered, grew to indifferent strength, and was much more lustily disposed, then any of them that had bene offended by the same disease, to the no little admiration of all them, that had knowledge of him and his sickness.

The Inhabitants of *Ormuz* (an Island that is most rich, situate vpon the red sea, and subiect to the *Persian*) after they haue purged themselves in the Spring & Autumne: vse to take ten graines of this stone, in as many spoonfull of Rose-water, for five mornings following each other, by which means (they say) their health is soundly preferred, and youthfull disposition maintained. Against an inueterated scurffe on the head, or body, a loathsome itch, the wilde scab, called *S. Martins mange*, and (about all) against a confirmed lacy or leprosie; there is not any remedy like to this. As can well be witnessed by a Prelate of *Languedoc*, living at this day, who would haue flaine himselfe an hundred times, and throwne himselfe out of windows (if hee had not bene carefully respected) onely being tormented with that disease of *S. Martine*. But by vsing this stone, which hee tooke three Months together euery morning, and good government otherwise directed to him; hee is perfectly recouered. Now let vs see how true and naturall stones are to bee discerned, from such as are counterfeir, and meerey adulterated.

The *Moors* are exceeding skillfull in knowing them, and especially, from what parts they are brought, in the doing whereof, the *Moore* will lay one in the palme of his hand, and closing it then fast together, he will breathe or blow strongly into his hand: if hee feele his breathing to passe through his hand, he is assured then, that the stone is falsified. A great number of them are oftentimes to be folde at *Lisbonne*, the cheefest Metropolitane City of *Portugall*, where is one of the most frequented Portes in all Christendome. And such as there buy them, content not themselves, with this order of triall made by the *Moors*: but dip a twined thred in the iuyce of a very venomous hearbe, which they call *Balistera*. Then passing it thwart the foote, or other part of any Beaf (as of a Dog) with a Needle, hee fo

leaueth it in the wound, vntill such time as hee feeleth those accidents, which commonly seize on them that are poysoned. And when he is perceived to draw neere death; then to make him swallow three or foure graines of *Bezaars* stone, mingled with water: if it preferue his life, it is an apparant signe of the stones goodnes and perfection; but if not, it is adulterated.

The Beaf in whose body these stones are found, in *Persia* and other parts of that Climate, as in *Comorina* (according to the writing of *Garcias d'Orta*, who had sene of them in diuers places) hath horns bending backward; but those in *Persia* haue none at all. *Theues* saith, that they haue but one, and that the skinne of the saide Beaf is kept, to be laid to the stomacke of man or woman, possesed with any paine or anguish there, and to procure digestion, and that (without all question to the contrary) this skinne healeth all such diseases, although the persons bee aged and decrepit. Moreouer, that he saw a stone of the *Bezar*, or *Bezar*, in the custody of the *Greeke* Patriarch of *Cayro*, which was as big as a good great Nut: if it were so, that stone was worth no meane summe of money. It were a thing miraculous, to finde a stone of such greatnesse; & yet he further saith, that an *Arabian* Captain had it giuen him, because hee was secretly converted, and became a Christian.

It is not to be thought, that this stone hath bene knowne but within some small compasse of time; because antiquity speakes of it more then fve hundred yeares since. For prooffe whereof, *Rafis*, an *Arabian* Phylitian maketh mention thereof, though not relating from whence it was brought, or where it is to bee found: yet he affirmeth, that it resisteth all kindes of poyson, and that hee made experiment thereof vpon a child, that innocently had eaten a venomous plant, called *Napellus*, which causeth death immediately; and yet by giuing him a small quantity of this stone, his life was preferred. This stone hath bene so highly esteemed, and especially in those precedent times; that, as it is reported by *Abdara Narachi*, an *Arabian* Doctour in physicke, who was then at *Corduba*, about those later yeares, when the *Sarrizans* made their vlturpation in *spaine*: he saw a *Bezaars* stone, in the hand

The variety of hornes borne by this Beaf.

Some thinke Theuet to be greatly misinformed in this matter.

The *Bezaars* stone knowne in times of great antiquity.

Prooffe made vpon a child that had fed on a poysonous hearbe.

Stones are in some Beasts more, and in other lesse, according to their yeares.

Nicholas Monardus a Phylitian of *Scutly*

Of other Stones of *Bezaars*, described by the *Portugals*.

A *Bezaars* stone that weighed five Ducats, brought into *Portugall*

Countiees where Goats are found that haue the *Bezaars* stones

An obseruation among the Inhabitants of the Island of *Ormuz*.

Loathsome diseases cured by the *Bezaars* stone.

How the *Moors* distinguish the true stones from false.

Experiment made in *Lisbonne* for the true knowledge of the *Bezaars* stone

Abdara Narach, a skilfull Physit on of Atabua.

The Authors friendly advertisement to the reader.

The admirableness of the Bezaars stone in comparison of diuers other precious stones.

All Bezaars stones are not alike in forme & proportion.

The discourse of a false stone given to Charis the ninth King of France.

of one of the children of *Amirama* (a great and diligent obseruer of Religion) for which he gaue in exchange, a very goodly house which he had in *Corduba*, equall (well neere) to a Princes Pallace. And the said *Abdara* further saith (alleadging the forenamed *Rafis*) that this stone being worne about a mans necke, and kept so neere to the heart as may be; defendeth it and the party from all infection, & no payson can offend the body of him, that hath it thus about him.

Seeing then, that this Stone hath so many good and singular vertues in it, methinks, men (of meanes and worth) should fildome or neuer be without it, for a present succour in such weighty infirmities. Beside, Apothecaries of skill and iudgement, should euermore be well provided of them, because Physitians continually prescribe it in their directions, which they would not do, if they knew men to be vnfurnished of it. For more assurance is to be reposed in it (next to the afflitting power of Heauen) then in Treacle or *Mithridatum*, the concoction of *Alkermes*, & of *Zacinth*. As is too well knowne by many barbarous Kings; governing in those Regions, where the Beasts are bred that engender these stones, reposing full confidence in them, and making so precious estimation of them; as they cause the expressly to bee brought from all parts. And when they are possessed of them, it is a difficult case to get any one from them: which partly is the reason, why they are so deare and rare to be had.

Heere the Reader likewise is to bee admonished, that some of these stones are not pointed, or sharply cornered; but blunt, edgelesse and rounded, like to the little fingers ende, or as an Acorne. And although some are found to be great, yet commonly they are but as our ordinary *Almonds*, and not pointed. They haue also diuers foldes or lappings, one wrapping ouer another, like vnto Onions, all floecke and smoothe: for if you finde the otherwise compacted, they are to bee rejected as false and counterfeit.

One of these stones was presented to *Charles* the ninth King of France, hee being then at *Molins*, which he caused to be essayed vpon two persons, that had deserved ignominious death, & both of them hauing payson giuen them to drinke.

One of them was holpen by the stone, who neuertheless dyed; and the other that tooke it not, dyed also. The stone being broken, was found thicke and massiue, not diuided by Spherical robes or foldings, and was throwne into the fire: And the giuer, who expected to deriue some great recompence from his Maiesty; had nothing at all, but frowning looks of the King, and the Queene his Mother, for his reward.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning the generation of Pearles; where, and how they are found; from whence they are brought; and of their value and estimation.

I Haue read many Authors, to be refuted assuredly, concerning the generation of Pearles: but I could finde none of one consent, or agreeing together, and namely, such as frequent the *Indies* in these dayes, are diuers and doubtfull also in their answers. For some say, that they are engendered in Fish-shells, like to those of our Oysters heere among vs, but much greater, and somewhat longer. And when they are desirous to conceiue (vrged thereby by nature, and at a certaine time) they open of themselves, to sucke in and draw the dew of heauen: when, if the Ayre bee cloudy or lowering, then they engender troubled Pearles; and if it be windy, they cannot conceiue, so long as the wind continueth. But how fabulous this is, I refer to others iudgement: because in one and the same shells, are found Pearles troubled, cleare, & of diuers colours and formes.

Others say, that the proper birth and production of the Oyster, is by eggs, whereof they are produced, and that the Pearls come forth of the sand and grauelly dust, whereby they are nourished, & wherein they hide themselves: which grauell refineth it selfe, & encrease in them, as the graines of the Raisin in the Grape. And this sandy seed losineth it selfe, the Oyster being in the water: but so soone as it is out of the water, it hardneth of it selfe, as we may see daily: and this is another opinion of our Pearles production.

The

Authors agree not in the generation of Pearles.

Great difference in the generation of Pearles.

Another opinion of their generation, contrary to the former.

The Egyptian Merchants report how Pearles are engendered.

Variety of opinions concerning the generation of Pearles.

The iudgement of *Charis* of *Mitlen*.

Americus Vesputius recordeth what himselfe had seene.

Of Pearles found among rocks.

The Merchants of *Aegypt*, that at this day Traffique with them, and bring them from the Persian Sea, make men here beleue that negotiate with them: that pearls are engendered in the stomacke of a flatte Fish, round like to a Trencher-plate, and as big as a common plate, which is found on the shores of *Nilus*; and that it drinketh the dew of heauen, as wee formerly sayd of the Oyster, all which is a meere fable. And although the Egyptians of these dayes know the matter truly, yet notwithstanding, meaning to mocke such as are ignorant in these things, they publish lies for apparant truths. *Astrabenes* sayth, Pearles are engendered in Oysters, as certaine white and solide graines are in the flesh of *Swine*, which we use to tearme *Meazels*, & is made of a clammy slime, congealing and hardning of it selfe. Which I thinke to be very likely: For, being at *Paris* in the year 1566. and (in assistance with others) at the dissecting of a womans body, long troubled with a discaise in the reines, in each of the reines was found a solide substance or body, as big as a common Pearle, glittering, cleere and round, like vnto Pearles.

Charles the *Mitlenian* saith, Pearles are made of the bones of the Oyster: but therein he is much deceyued, because the bones are alwayes in seruice to strengthen the body: but Oysters haue no need of bones: and likewise Pearles are not found in all of them; and if they had bones, then they would be found in all Oysters.

Americus Vesputius, in his booke of *Indian* Navigations writeth, that he obserued the opening of many, & out of some certaine Pearles, which had not attained (as yet) to their maturity and perfection, being in some pretty store or number: but yet those Pearles perished of themselves, and came to nothing. But in them that were more aged, Pearles were founde in the flesh of the Oyster, easily parting from it, and those were the best. And they that are found in them so aged and ancient, were wrinkled and very darke; which is likely to be true, if we do well consider thereon.

It is a meere Fable, which some haue divulged, that Pearles are found among the Rocks, by reason of many fishes laying their Egges, and because they cleaue to the flesh, or to the shell; but this hap-

peneth very rarely. For, all Oysters are not apt to procreate Pearles, but only such as are rude, white, and pointing, like to the teeth of a Combe; which the Persians call *Cherippo*, cleere and verie smooth within: of which shelles are made Cups, Boxes, Spoones, and other very lightly things. Some are found in other kinds of Oysters; but they are neither so great, nor so good, as these that the *Cherippo* produceth, which some haue termed mother of Pearles.

Heere we may note the variety of opinions, concerning the production of Pearles, the knowledge whereof is much concealed: for Oysters keepe alwayes at the depths of the sea, because their shelles are great, and therefore they are so deepe in the sea. If sometimes they are founde neerer to the shores, it happeneth by tempests of the sea; also they swim heere and there, to seek their best nourishings; which when they haue found, there they stay, vntill they haue eaten all they can find. Then if they sene, or perceiue such as secke for them, they will fasten themselves so strongly to the rocks & stones, out-courting one another: as very hardly can they be forced thence, but oftentimes labour is bestowed in vaine, and they left there, as being imagined to be stones.

They are fished for in store of sundrie Countreys and Regions; but the goodliest and those most common, are fished for in the Isle of *Baharem*, an Island bigge enough, and well peopled; being subiect to the Viceroy of *Ormuz*, and is neere to the Cape of *Alasina*, in *Arabia Felix*, & there is no meane fishing for them. In the Isles of *Mariola* also, is continual fishing for them (they being as good there, as those of *Baharem*) and the Isle seated on the Persian Gulfe, an hundred Leagues or thereabout, from *Calicut*, and almost throughout the inner *India*. In the Isle of *Zeilan*, in the Isles called *Vicques*, and so thorow the great Empire of *Mexico*. At *Tarat*, more then in any of the forenamed Ilandes, and in the Isles of the New World, they haue beene fished for in such plentie: that the *Casico* or Prince of the said Isle, made a present of a Casket full of Pearls, to *Gaspard de Morales* (a Spanish Commander) which weighed an hundred and ten pounds. He promised

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Of the Persian Oyster called *Cherippo*.

A reason for the variety of opinions in this matter.

In what parts the Pearles are usually fished for.

A Casket of Pearles given to a Spanish Captaine.

Attribute giue
of a Quintall
weight of
Pearles year-
ly.

beside, to giue yearly a Quintall weight of Pearles, as a Tribute to the Emperor, and (among them) some were as great as small Nuts, others as big as Nutmegs; & one (about the rest) was found to weigh fixe and twenty Carrats, and another one and thirty: it had the shape of a Muske-Pearle, being very perfect and orientall.

A Merchant, being named *Peter du Port*, bought the said Pearle of *Gaspar de Morales*, for eightene hundred Ducates of gold, and after he had bought it, hee could not sleepe for melancholy, and inward griefe he conceived, because he had giuen so much money for a stone: yet hee sold it againe on the next morrow (& for the same price) to *Pedarias d'Anila*, for his Wife, the Lady *Isabella Boudillia*, who also sold it to the Emperesse, *Madame Isabella*. A few, named *Daniell*, bought of a country peazant of *Baharem* (no long time since) a Pearle, of the greatnesse of a Musket Bulle, for no more then the summe of eight shillings; and afterward sold it to a Lord in *Sclauonia*, for three thousand Crownes. There was a present made to *Fernando Magellano*, in one of the Isles of the *Molucques*, of foure Pearles, each one of them being as big as a Pigeons Egge; and they were esteemed worth an hundred thousand Crownes, at the least.

Returning now to our former purpose, which was to describe where Pearles are found, I say, that not onely they fish for them in the fore-named places: but likewise in all other Seas, bee it eyther of the South or Ocean of *Peru*, the *Antarctique*, *Florida*, *Canaia*, *Guinea*; yea, even heere in our neerer Seas, of *England*, *Scotland* and *Denmarke*; but in some place they are better, fairer, greater and rounder, then in other. And namely in some parts of *France*, as at *Rouen*, *Dieppe* and *Rochelle*, where some are found very rare and passable. Now let vs observe, how, and in what manner they fishing is for them.

Such as are appointed for this manner of fishing, entering into their Barques; and (leaving some to tend and haue care of them, and to keepe the Oysters after they are brought to them) leape by great numbers into the Sea, remaining sometimes vnder water halfe an houres space, before they be seene againe, and to conti-

nue at the bottome: hauing strong pockets, or small twisted nettings hanging about them, wherein they put their Oysters. Which being thus taken, they ascend about water againe, and are receiued into their Ships: where hauing a while taken the ayre, and strengthened their bodies with some sustenance; they put on their wrappers againe before their faces, which commonly are thin waxed toylets, as fine as the bladders of Swine, that they may the clearer see in the water. Five or fixe times in a day, thus they throw themselves into the water, and towards night returne home with their takings, I meane such Oysters as they hope to finde Pearles in.

Vpon the Sea-thore there are a great number of slaues, as well women as men, who as often as the Oysters are brought on land; fill their Scutles and Baskets, made of Sea Rushes, carrying them to Vessels full of fresh water, wherein when the Oysters haue continued foure and twenty houres space, and feeling a contrary fauour to the Sea-water; they open of themselves, and so soone as they are open, the Pearles sunder themselves from the flesh of the Oysters. Afterward, the Merchants emptying the shells out of the vessels, finde all the Pearles in the bottome of the fresh water, and thus they gather the Pearles of *Peru*, and likewise in other places. Neuerthelesse, they are not the hundred part to good, nor so fair, as those of *Baharem* and *Manila*: And obserue withall, that Pearles are not found in euery Oyster, but in some few; in other more, some breeding the greater, other smaller.

The Pearles being thus taken, sometimes they eate the Oysters, and otherwhiles they throw the away, as being wearie and ouer-glutted with them by too frequent vse. These Fishers are slaues, seruing (for this purpose) the Christian Merchants, Maronites, Iewes or Indians, which traffick in *Baharem*: and according to their taking pearled Oysters, so are they cherished and respected by their Masters euery night, which maketh euery one strue to be most beneficiall by his paines. Some times the Seas are swolne more high & boisterous, then the Fishers would haue them to be, because then it is an hinderance to their tarrying long vnder water; and then they make prouision for them-

Men & women
slaues that at-
tend on the
fisherie.

In what man-
ner the Pearls
are separated
from the flesh
of the Oysters,
& how they
differ in good-
nesse & great-
nesse.

The slaues re-
spected by
their Masters,
according to
the benefithe
they seruise.

The in-leth-
of the duters
of fishers vnder
water to finde
the best
Oysters.

themselves in this manner. They haue a corde, at each end whereof they fasten a stone, which cord they binde about their backs, and so sincking downe into the Sea, by the weight of those stones, they continue firmly vnder water, and gather the Oysters at their ease: and when they would mount vp to the Shippe, lightly they cast off the stones, and swimme nimbly in their rising. Such as would meddle in fishing for these Oysters, it behooueth them to be very expert in swimming and diuing, because many drown themselves, through want of taking winde, or else are drawne into the depth of the sea, by huge and mighty Fishes, which there they meet withall, and then by no means can escape drowning.

Marcus Paulus saw this kind of fishing in the kingdom of *Para*, which is in *India*, where it was performed in the same manner, and he sayth, that they fish not but in the moneth of Maie, and then the Peasants or Bootes are set on worke by the Merchants. The King hath his Tenths or Tithes, and certain Sorcerers or Enchanters, there called by them *Abraimins*, haue the twentieth part, and the Peazants haue their payment in money. Here you must know, that without these Enchanters, they that fish in this manner for Oysters, should bee deuoured by certaine greedie and venomous fishes, as Crocodiles, Whales, and other such like deuourers: but they conuie them in such sort, that they escaped from them without any daunger. But when night commeth, and the fishing must be forborne till the morrow; the Enchanters release and make their coniuurations to cease: onely to preuent theeues, who else (in the night time) would plunge and diue into the water, knowing they may doe it safely without perill, and so carry away the pearly Oysters, and frustrate the Merchants of their expectation.

Moreover, there is no people in all the Countrey, that can enchant those terrible fishes, or doe know the words belonging to this coniuuration, but onely these *Abraimins*. And it is to be noted, that all such as traffike in this fishing; doe not cause the Oysters to open themselves in fresh water; but in some Countries, they open them with little knives, or sharpe pointed bodkins. And in many other pla-

ces, as in the *Indies* lately discouered, they set their Oysters ouer a fire, and so by heat procure them to open, by which means they finde the Pearles; but then those pearles appeare of a reddish colour, and carry no chearefull water.

Also it is to be obserued, that all pearles are not white of themselves naturally, but in some places they are found to bee red; as in the Island of *Zipangrie*, situate in the East *Indies*, according as the said *Venetian Paulus* reporteth. And yet there they haue great plentie of them, very singularly excellent, both for greatnes and roundnesse: and in those Countries, they are of deareer value, price and estimation, than those white do carry no comparison with them. Somewhat I can say of my selfe, that I haue seene seauen redde pearles, and no more, belonging vnto the late deceased Dutchesse of *Valentinois*; which had a most goodly lustre, and I was (for a while) perswaded, that they wonne that colour by some artificiall means: but after I had read the Discourse of *Marcus Paulus*, then I became to be of another opinion.

Heere likewise will I insert a great secret in nature, and (in my minde) very merauilous, reported to mee by men of good credite, that haue seene the fishing for those Oysters, and found it true by their owne experience. In a certaine season of the year, these Oysters of pearles, doe belch and cast forth a red and blood-like moisture, in great abundance: so that many (of the best in iudgement) among those barbarous people, imagined them to suffer a fluxe of mensstruositie, as other fishes in the same Ocean doe. These Oysters haue their passages, like to all other fishes in Seas or Riues, so that in some places great store of them is to be found, and within a while after, a rare matter if tenne remayne there to be had, but all are fallen downe about tenne miles farther off. Sometimes, they which fish in another Countrey, where scarcely one is left on the morrow or next day, shall light on more then euer was there before.

The *Persians* haue moreover inuented another manner of fishing, more commodious, and of lesse charge and perill. By making of hurdles of Oiers or Palms, well knit together with strong bindings, in such manner as the fishing obserued in

All pearles be,
not white nat-
urally of the-
selves: but
some redde
pearles haue
excelled the
white in price
& estimation.

A strange
kind of moi-
sture issuing
from those
pearly oysters
at a certaine
season of the
yeare.

Oysters con-
tinue not in
one place.

A later inven-
tion of the
Persians in fi-
shing for their
pearled Oy-
sters.

The admira-
ble greatnesse
of some pearles
and of extra-
ordinary price
and value.

In our neerer
Seas they fish
for Pearles, &
finde some
store.

How and in
what manner
they fish for
such Oysters
as haue pearls
in them.

Of in-haners
whose coniu-
rations doe
great seruise
in the fishing
for pearled
Oysters.

All Countries
not alike in o-
pening the o-
ysters, nor their
pearles.

our *Xantonge* Seas for Castlerons, vñg certain Rakes, which rath into the Sea sands, and when they find the beds of Oysters, so to force the enter into those hurdle. Others walke along amongst the Rockes and Stones, which appeare aboue the water, where oftentimes, they finde some of those Oysters, so fast knit to the Rockes or Stones, as very much labour can scarcely get them off, without breaking the rocke or shell of the Oysters, and then taking from thence the Pearle, so soone as the shell is broken; for otherwise it diminieth, and doth loose the true and naturall colour.

Barbarous nations made no account of pearles in egipt time.

The *Indians*, *Arabians*, *Perfians* and others, in ancient times, made no more account of Pearles, then of ordures and corruptions which the Seas cleered them selues of, during the seasons of their turbulence and boyling. But now wee haue so well enstructed them, in knowledge both of the worth and profite, that they can skill of the goodnesse, and value of things in such sort, as they will sell those commodities at rates deare enough. The *Egyptian* hath bene quicke witted alwayes, as hauing knowledge in good letters of longest continuance, adding his studious contemplations, to vnderstand the secrets of Nature: so that Pearles and precious Stones, at all times hath tasted of his approbation and esteeme. The slauers and basest peazants in the Isle of *Babarene*, and other adiacent partes of firme Land, neighbouring vpon the Sea; haue oftentimes found Nacres and Oysters on the shoares, being dead, and yet they made search into them, and often they found very fayre and also rich Pearles.

Phylis. 12. c. 1. A king among the Oysters, and yet it is doubted, whether Oysters haue any vnderstanding, or no, and a great question among the best Naturalists.

Pliny saith, that Oysters haue a King amongst them, according as the like is affirmed of the Bees, Antes, and a guide allotted to the Cranes, and that this king is elected and chosen (by being the very fayrest and greatest) to take a carefull charge of all the rest: And that is the Oyster, which the fishers or diuers couer most to finde, being then assured, that the rest will not feare to followe. *Athenens* alleadgeth another Fable, as thus: That they doe strue to reuenge themselves on the fishers, by opening their shells so to catch holde of their fingers. But such opinions are merely frivoulous, and they

which ordinarily fish in the Oyster-Seas, make a mockerie of such reports. Beside, our Naturalists stand in doubt, whether Cockles, Scallops, Muscles, Oysters, and such like shell-fish (liuing in the water) haue any part of vnderstanding. And, by the same reason, if they haue the meanes of withdrawing themselves, vpon sight of the fishers comming, or from any other fish (opposite or contrary to them) endeavouring to cate and deuoure them.

There is a fish, which is very opposite to the Oyster, being termed by the *Perfians*, *Taruphall*, or *Taball*, and is of the bignesse of a midling Salmon, hauing a hard skinne, yet without scales, and his finnes of an azure colour. This fish hath a little head, a sharpe nose or snout, serving for his mouth, which is full of sharpe teeth: and these pearly Oysters are his delicious diet, liuing (almost) by no other kind of foode. When he is desirous of feeding, he watcheth till such time as the Oysters beginne to open, as oftentimes they doe, being in the Sea: whereof making his aduantage, and thrusting in his nose, hee deuoureth the fish quickly, leaving the shell quite empty. The fishermen of the Islands, labour diligently to catch this fish, and first of all they open her bowells, wherein they finde store of very goodlie Pearles: then feede they on the fish, because it is dainty and delicate meate. The fewer number of Pearles they finde in an Oyster, so much the greater and fayrer they are, and where they chauce on anie store, they are the clowdier and small. Some are found to be so little, that they can not bee drilled by any meanes; and therefore they call them Seede-pearles, which are purposely kept for Apothecaries, who employ them according to their owne knowledge and experience, or as they are aduised by the Physitian.

The most commendable forme and shape of the pearle, is said to be that which is roundest; yet that in fashion of a Pearle or Akorne, is not much worse; and next to these is that like to a little Nutte: nor doe they reiect such as are writhed and wrinkled, nor the very smallest, but all are employed and made vse of: the best for the richest people, and the other for them of lower qualitie, because they are worne by all degrees of persons, as well men as women; in regarde they are growne to be

Taruphall, or Taball, a fish contrary to the pearly Oysters, being by reason of them.

The Taruphall hath plenty of rich Pearles found in his belly.

so common. No Prouince doe I know, whereunto more Pearles are brought, then into *Spaine*, and next into *France*, within some small compasse of time, which makes mee so much to maruell at them the more.

In briefe, Pearles haue surpassd the riches of gold and silver, and of Emralds brought from forth the *Indias*. And yet I would gladly know the reason, wherefore our graue Auncients made such estimation of Pearles; considering they knew them not to haue any medicinable vertue, and in regard also, they grew quickly olde, as we plainly perceiue, when they haue lost their lustre, clearenesse and whitenesse. For my selfe, I cannot imagine what should be the reason, except it be in regarde of their whitenesse, which is not common to other precious stones: and I perceiue, that no account is made of them, which are of another colour, although they be of the self-same substance. Some haue enstructed mee in an other reason, to wit, because they haue bene brought from the new-found world, and likewise, that in times past, they fetch them from very farre remote Countries, which needs must vrge the more affection to them, because they come from farre hence: Or else wee make such deare estimation of them, in regarde that (many times) they cost the liues of men in fishing for them, as partly we haue before reported. The greatest Pearles are called in Latine *Vnioues*, because sildome or

A doubt and demand, what the reason may be, that Pearles should exceed gold and silver in value and estimation.

newer we shall light on two, that are alike eyther in greatnesse, roundnesse, or splendour, or answerable in weight: for wee finde them alwayes separated one from another, and not ioyned together; And the lesser sort they vse to call *Marguerites*.

After that the Merchants haue them in their power, they permit them to be persecuted by diuers people, wherein the *Indians* and *Perfians* are the best exercised, as becine naturally enclined thereto by frequent practise. Nor do Pearles continue still in one and the same condition, for the truth is, they will fade, wither and waxe light by course of times: especially such as are caught after the full Moone. But being kept in the floure of Rice, mingled with Bay-Salt, they will recouer their former beauty and weight. But they which are caught deepest, and in the new Moone, are neuer subiect to any such inconueniences.

The flesh (as they vse to call it) or body of the Pearly Oyster, is most wholsom, and of great nourishment; excellent good against melancholy, and for such as languish, or are in a consumption, and also for Hectiques and Tificks. But the *Indians* make no vse of Pearles in their medicines, although the moderne Physitions of the *Arabes* and *Moores* doe, which hath bene learned of them by some of ours, and vsed in all cordiall medicines, being good also for the eyes, finely beaten into powder, and held as an especiall preservative for the sight. O o o o

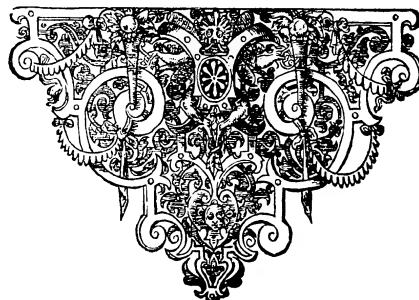
The reason why the greatest Pearles are called in Latine *Vnioues*.

The Indians and Perfians haue the greatest skill in Pearles.

Pearles will decay & waxe light.

Pearly Oysters good for diuers diseases.

FINIS.





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(: * * :)

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FINIS.



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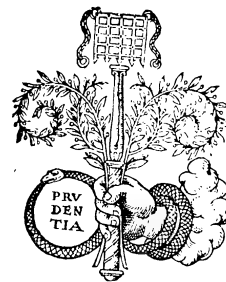
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Loys Guyon, Sieur de la Nauche, Counsellour vnto the King :
Claudius Gruges, Parisian, &c.



L O N D O N
Printed by WILLIAM IAGGARD, 1619.

Katherine the
Widow to
Duke Leo-
pold.

The Dolphin
of France
brought an
Army into
Germany.

The Basilians
ioyne with
the Switzers
against the
Duke of Au-
stria.

War between
the Emperor
Maximilian,
the Switzers
and Grisons.

Emperor Charles the fourth, also brought an Army against them. In like manner, in the warre of them of *Basile*, against *Katherine* of Bourgogne, the widow of *Leopold*, in the year one thousand, foure hundred, and nine, the Bernians & they of *Sollewrs* sent succour: the other Cantons employing themselves carefully, to accord them with the house of *Austria*. Moreover, at the time of the counsell of *Basile*, when as *Lewes* the Dolphin of France brought a great Army into Germany, to breake the counsell, and made warre on the *Switzers*, by the instance & working of the Duke of *Austria*, who had procured him to come: the *Switzers* maintained and defended the city and counsell, against the encountering of a strange enemy; as an example very remarkable, it being not above sixtene years, since they had coped with great troops of the French. True it is, that they all (well nere) lost their liues there: but yet they did so weaken their enemies troops, that he tooke part with the which fled fastest.

They being thus auoyded, the men of *Basile* ioyned their forces with the *Switzers*, and so made warre together on the Duke of *Austria*. In like manner, when *Charles*, Duke of Bourgogne, made himselfe so terrible, and affrighted all the world, they of *Basile* ioyned in alliance (for ten yeares) with *Strasbourg*, and other cities on the *Rhene*. Afterward, with *Sigismund*, Duke of *Austria*; *René*, Duke of *Lorraine*, and with the Cantons. In this warre they shewed themselves both faithfull & valiant, for their confederates. Finally, a great warre being moued betwene the Emperour *Maximilian*, the *Switzers* and *Grisons*: they of *Basile* remained neuters, without giuing succour to eyther side, nor receiued their Garrisons; but they furnished them both with victuals and munition. In this war there was a battaile giuen (almost) against the walles of *Basile*, afterward at *Dorneck*, where the *Switzers* wonne a faire victory ouer the enemies, whom they did beat backe to the gates of *Basile*. But during all this war, the citizens of *Basile* fauoured equally both the one and other side. To conclude, by the diligence of *Lodouico Maria*, Duke of *Atillane*, the Ambassadors on both sides met at *Basile*, & peace

was made between the Emperour and the *Switzers*.

The *Switzers* allowed well of this expedient, in the men of *Basile* during this warre, and the Emperour *Maximilian* (for his part) seemed not to improoue it. But the Noble men, who were deadly enemies to the Cantons, held *Basile* (almost) in the ranke of a foe, because the city did not then shew itselfe openly, as an enemy to the *Switzers*; and not onely the subjects to the house of *Austria*, but many more, who till then had bene citizens; with-drew themselves to the Count of *Ferrara*, and about *Montebellard*, into *Hal-sais*, and to *Brigow*, countries appertaining to them of *Austria*. Being in those places, they ceased not to outrage (both with words and deeds) the inhabitants of *Basile*, who being moued with such indignities; the yeare after the war ended, to wit, one thousand, five hundred and one; made a perpetuall alliance with the Cantons, and so were left in peace with their neighbours, who stood in awe of the *Switzers* succour.

CHAP. XII.

At what time Schaffouse was receiued into the number of the Cantons; and the antiquity thereof.



Schaffouse, accepted the very same yeare, to be numbered among the cantons, is not of so great age and antiquity. It is seated on the River of *Rhene*, within Germany, and yet notwithstanding, the Bridge is in *Suetia*. In the time of the Emperour *Henry* the third, the Counts of *Nellenbourg* builded there an Abbey, which standeth yet to this day, and it is thought, that it gaue a beginning to the citie: as likewise the cities of *S. Gall*, *Lucerna*, and many more in Germany, haue deriued their originall from Abbeyes. The *Rhene* is also another cause of the cities encreasing, continuing so for some thousand of yeares since, beneath the city, where

The Emperour
and the Switzers
was no way
difficulte the
dealing of
the men of
Basile in the
warre.

No Boates a-
ble to passe
the water at
Schaffouse.

Concerning
the name of
Schaffouse.

A great Tolle
or Customs
for salt.

Schaffouse at
liberty at the
first, just alter-
ward altered
by the em-
perour.



selues from his gouernement, and obtained many good priuiledges and franchises of the Emperours. But *Lewes* of *Baunaria* (weakened by long warres) could not pay the Duke of *Austria*, such monies as he ought him, according to an agreement made betwene them, which caused him to alienate and sell *Schaffouse*, together with some other Townes, and so (by that means) it became dismembered from the Empire. After that time, *Schaffouse* remained subiect to the Dukes of *Austria*, for the space of fourescore and five yeares, euen vntill the counsell of *Constance*: for then *Fredericke* of *Austria*, because hee brought Pope *Iohn* the two and twentieth out of the counsell, was banished by the Emperour *Sigismund*, who caused him

Schaffouse
subiect to
the Dukes of
Austria for 85
yeares.

to bee so narrowly pursued, that all his goods were partly pilled, and partly confiscated to the Empire, without any other meanes of helpe.

In this warre, *Schaffouse* became re-vinted to the Empire, and the citizens (hauing giuen a good summe of money, to the Emperour) obtained great priuiledges vnder Letters patents: and therein was plainly exprest, that (thence forward) their City should not any more be alienated from the Empire. But *Fredericke* the third, of the house of *Austria*, being Emperour: laboured to subiect it againe, and that the city of *Schaffouse* might remaine to his successors. And therefore hee permitted Duke *Sigismund*, to compell the citizens to sweare fidelity to him; which they refused to doe, but with exception of their priuiledges, and they would not receiue the Princes Ambassadors into the city, but vpon that condition. Contrariwise, the Ambassadors pressed them earnestly, to oblige themselves to the Prince, without any exception, and propounded certaine Articles, for the maintenance whereof, they required oath: threatening the citizens with very great harmes, if they would not yeelde to that which they demanded of them.

The men of *Schaffouse*, seeing the Ambassadors persist still in their opinion: to make good their owne part, receiued the Switzers Ambassadors into their city, and made alliance (for some yeares) with them of *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*, so that the Ambassadors of *Austria* returned backe, and performed iust nothing.

Before this, they of *Schaffouse* were in good amity with the Switzers, and from the yeare, one thousand, three hundred, forty five, made alliance (for some time) with them of *Zurich*. But because they were Subjects to the house of *Austria*, against whom, the Switzers had (well nere) continuall warres: they could not then entertaine friendly this amity, but were compelled, to go in war against the Switzers, vnder the Ensignes of the *Austrians*. But after this last alliance, they were very good and faithfull friends vnto the Cantons, and bare them company in many warres and battailes. For immediately after the alliance

Schaffouse v-
inted to the
empire again,
and great pri-
uiledges gra-
ted thereo.

The Switzers
Ambassadors
receiued into
Schaffouse, &
alliance made
with them.

The Switzers
had continu-
all warre a-
gainst the
house of Au-
stria.

began: the *Austrians* came and assailed the *Switzers*, and namely them of *Schaffouse*.

The Cantons made war on Sigismund of Austria, by the Popes command.

The men of Schaffouse accused by Peregrin de Hewdoff.

It came to passe, that the Cantons obeying the command of Pope *Pius* made war with *Sigismund* of *Austria*, which being pacified, they of *Austria* tooke Armes againe, because *Mulhouse* and *Schaffouse* had ioyned themselves with the *Switzers*, who ledde a great Army to the Count of *Ferrara*, and into the quarters about *Montebellard*. At the same time, *Peregrin de Hewdoff*, accused them of *Schaffouse* in the Imperiall chamber of *Rotwil*, and solicited so much, that they were put to banishment from the Empire. Among others, he charged *John* and *Conrad* de *Fulach*, brethren & citizens of *Schaffouse*; of a noble and ancient Family, who sometimes possessed a Castle, neere vnto the downefall of *Rheine*, whence *Albert* of *Austria* had expelled them, but soone after they entred it againe by intelligence. In regard whereof, they & the other citizens that maintained their iust quarrell, were proseribed. In this war the Cantons sent a good Garrison vnto *Schaffouse*.

Incurrires made on the Austrians, and b. them of Schaffouse.

While these helps and succours lasted, the citizens made diuers courses into the lands about, appertaining to the house of *Austria*; as in the Mountaines of the black Forest, in *Hegow*, *Kleckow*, and other limtrophing lands of *Suaba* and of *Basile*. Finally, having laide siege before *Wallshout*, which is a Towne at the entrance into the Blacke Forest, where the Riuer of *Ar* falleth into the *Rheine*, and which was vnder the *Austrian* government, peace was made; wherein they of *Suaba* were exempted, & stood banished from the Empire, at the pursuite and charges of *Sigismund*. Thus then the Cantons having experimented in these warres, the faithfulness of them of *Schaffouse*, and knowing well withall, what commodities they received from such a city, feared in so apt a place on the confines of *Smetia*; And reciprocally, the men of *Schaffouse*, feeling themselves to be deliuered from their enemies, by the good alliance of the *Switzers*; they thought it very expedient, both for the one side and the other, to prolong the alliance. And accordingly, in the year 1479. they made an alliance for twenty five yeares following; wherein were comprehended, the men of *Vrs* and *Unterwald*, with whom *Schaffouse*

(till then) had not any particular acquaintance.

Thenour of this alliance, is (almost) answerable to that of the ancient Cantons. For in the first place, they binde themselves to aide one another. Afterward, they establish a forme of iudgement, for reconciling or auoyding such differences, as should happen between them of *Schaffouse* and the Cantons. Then followeth in what manner debts ought to be paide, & what meanes are to be vied in such cases. Then for the punishment of homicides, or men-killers. The last Article concerneth the new & ancient alliances, to wit, the one side shall make no new alliance, without the will and consent of the other: And that the ancient alliances shall alwayes be esteemed of most advantage, & to preceede all the other.

After all this, the warre of *hoargoune* hapned, and some yeares consequently, that of *Suaba*, mooued by the Emperour *Maximilian*, against the *Switzers*. In both these warres, they of *Schaffouse* did their duty exceeding well, furnishing men and money for the weale-publike: by which meanes, they entred into the good grace of the Cantons, much more then ever they did before, and wonne great honour. Also, the year after the last warre, to wit, 1501. they made perpetuall alliance with the *Switzers*, and were enrolled in number of the Cantons, obtaining the 12. ranke or roomie.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the warres of the *Switzers*, since such time as they came to be in number of the Cantons, in making them inuolue.

AFTER that *Basile* and *Schaffouse* were numbered with the cantons, and that they were 12. during the alliance which they had made with King *Lewis* the 12. in the year, 1503. some among them (in great number) went for him in the war of *Naples*, without leaue neuertheless, and against the Edicts of their Magistrates. As the *Switzers* and *French* might brag of small happinesse, in the last warre of

Naples.

A breake of the Armes and conditions of the alliance.

The Spaniards brought in the Indian into Christendome, & beflowed it on the French, at the siege of Naples.

An honorable made in the *Switzers*, not to beare arms against their Alie.

The Cardinal of Sicily a warrior and capital enemy to the French.

Wars in Italy, the French & *Switzers* not joyned in the war of Naples.

Naples, vnder King *Charles* the eight: so their fortune proved a little better in this last warre. They, who (during the first warre) were left in Garisons, in strong places and Fortresses of the Kingdome; dyed of diseases for the most part. Such as escaped in this warre, in recompence of their traualle, brought home to their owne houses, that villainous contagion of the Pockes, which afterward was termed the Spanish disease, the *Neapolitane* cull, and the *French* Pockes: At the last war they were ouercome in two batailles, and lost a great number of their men. The year 1507. the Cantons sent succour vnto the King, who (by their meanes) made himselfe Master of the field, which the *Genoises* had planted in a Mountaine, that commanded ouer their city, which (soon after) yielded it selfe.

At the same time, the Emperour *Maximilian* demanded men of the *Switzers*, and they promised him a lenye of 6000. men, provided, that he should not leade them against the King of *France*, their alie: but because he would not accept this condition, the lenye remained, and was not made.

Soone after, to witte, in the year 1509. the league of alliance betweene the King of *France* & the *Switzers*, tooke ending, and the Emperour, Pope *Julius* the 2. the Kings of *France* and *Spain*, leagued themselves together, and made warre on the *Venetians*, wherein the *Switzers* serued the King of *France* for wages. The year following, Pope *Julius* made alliance with the *Switzers*, by the meanes of *Matthew*, Cardinall of *Sion*, who immediately after the alliance concluded, led fixe thousand *Switzers* into *Italy*; vnder pretence of defending the lands of the Church, against the Duke of *Ferrara*. But his true intent was, to surprize and expell the *French* out of *Milaine*. The *Switzers* hauing discovered his purpose, would not follow the Cardinall against the *French*, and their Lords had likewise forbidden them: so that the Pope sent them into *Smetia*, without paying them their wages, wherat they were very highly discontented.

In the year 1511. perpetuall alliance betweene the *Switzers*, the houses of *Austria* and of *Bourgonie*, was renewed. On the other side, the Ambassadors of *France* desired the *Switzers* to renew the alliance

with their King: but the molt part of them were displeased, because to soone as the first alliance was expired, the King had denied them all their payes and yearely pensions.

And albeit that a very great number among them, were no found well-willers or friends to the Pope, who likewise had not payed them: yet notwithstanding, fearing lest hee should excommunicate them, they durst not alie themselves with the King of *France*, who then was enemy to the Pope. Heereupon, hapned a disgrace to be done them by the *French*, for they had taken at *Lugano*, a Herald of the *Switzers*, with letters from the Seignoury about him: first, they drowned him, and to despight the *Switzers*, the Coate of Armes, which the Heraulds and Officers to the Cantons vse to weare, they folde at open port-sale, or out-cry, as we commonly call it.

The *Switzers*, in the very strongest of winter, led their Army ouer the Alpes, where hauing burned some Villages, they returned backe againe, without performing any other memorable deed. But the year following, Pope *Julius* (who had lost a great bataille at *Ravenna*, at encountering there with the *French*) called them to helpe him, and therefore they sent into *Italy*, an Army of twenty thousand men. They being ioyned with the *Venetians* (then reconciled to the Pope) tooke at their arriual *Cremona* and *Paria*, driuing the *French* out of the whole Dukedome of *Milaine*, so that nothing remained to them, but only the Castle of *Milaine*. In regard of these worthy exploits, the Pope gaue the *Switzers* the title, of *Defenders of the Church*; enriching their Standards with diuers Inuages, and publicly gaue to the whole Nation of the *Switzers*, two great Standards, which they call, *Paner*, that is, *The Sword and Bonnet*, as a noted marke of liberty. *Maximilian Sforza*, re-established in his paternall domination by the *Switzers* succour: made alliance with them, and gaue to the Cantons *Lugano*, *Lacarna*, *Mendrisa*, and the Vale of *Madia*.

He gaue also to the *Grisons*, their confederates, the Vale *Telma* or *Faltrena*. Likewise *Charles*, Duke of *Sauoy*, whose predecessors had particular alliance (long time before) with some of the Cantons:

The *Switzers* offended with the King of *France*, about their payes & pensions.

Great wrong done to an Officer of Armes.

The *Switzers* reuenged on the French in very notable manner, and called, Defenders of the Church.

The Sword & Bonnet, signes of liberty.

Great gifts bestowed on the Cantons.

made alliance with all the Switzers, for 25 yeares after following.

In the same year, the King of France solicited the Switzers, to become againe allied with them: but because hee would not see free the Cattle of *Millaine*, and some discouery was made beside, that his Ambassadors laboured to corrupt some particulars by gifts, and to buy their voyces for faire money layde downe; they were commaunded to depart out of the Leagued countries; and so the warre was renewed again. For the King sent a great Army into *Italy*, vnder the conduct of the Lords of *Triualse* and *Trimouille*, who besieged *Maximilian* *Sforza* in *Nouara*. Hee was then accompanied with four thousand Switzers, to whose ayde, eight thousand more were sent. Their vantage being arrived at *Nouara*, and they within being ioyned with them, they gaue the battell to the French, vanquishing & driving them out of *Italy*. *Guichardin* the Italian, an Historian much renowned, writes that the *Switzers* won such honor by this victory, as many haue made no difficulty in equalling this happy successe of theirs, with (almost) all the braue exploits of the Greekes and Romanes. Notwithstanding, the field was decreed enough bought by them, because fourteen hundred *Switzers* were there slaine, and the most part of them by the Cannon, before that they could come to handie strokes. Which made the people of *Swetia* to murmur in many places, and all blame fell on them that tooke part with the French: so that diuers withdrew themselves from *Swetia* for a time onely, and two only had their heads smitten off in those mutinies and commotions: for the rest, all was well pacified, without any effusion of blood.

After this victory of the *Switzers*, the Emperor *Maximilian*, quitting the amity and alliance of the King: aduised the *Switzers*, to enter France by Bourgogne, with an army of six thousand men; where (well-neere) sixteene thousand other voluntary ioyned themselves, together with some troupe of horse belonging to the Emperor, vnder the conduct of the

Prince of *Wirttemberg*. There they besieged *Dijon*, the capitall City of all Bourgogne. But the Lorde of *Trimouille*, an olde Capitaine, being not of strength to defend well the place, agreed with the Switzers, on conditions, that the King should acquit whatsoever he pretended to the Dukedome of *Millaine*, and paye them (at certaine appointed times) fixe hundred thousand Crowns for assurance whereof, he gaue them foure Lordes of marke, as hostages, with whom the Switzers departed thence immediately.

Nowe, although it was a matter most palpable and notorious to all men, that this composition warranted the kingdom because that *Dijon* being taken, the *Switzers* might haue run vp so farre as to the gates of *Paris*, or ioyned themselves there with the English; and beside that king *Lern* hadde not a sufficient Army to make head against them; yet notwithstanding, he would not ratifie his composition. For he would not admit (by any means) that his rights to the Dukedome of *Millaine*, should be so much as talkt of. The Switzers seeing themselves thus handled, and highly offended with such flye trickes: threatened to kill the Hostages, except the confirmation might be brought within a certaine time. Neuertheless, the winter grew extreame vpon them, and yet they refused to re-enter France in the month of *November*: But the King sent his Ambassadors, who laboured (by all means) to make a perpetual peace with the Switzers. In the meane while, they could no way ioyn, because the conditions which the King propounded, were very vnreasonable: which was the cause that the time spent it selfe in dayes and deliberations, in meere talke and fruituol disputes, whereby the enterprize of marching into France, was quite broken. Concerning the rest of these meetings and assemblies, they were thus considered on, that in the month of *December*, the same year, they of *Appenzel* were added

to the Cantons number, and held the thirteenth place.

CHAP

The King of France is denied to be leagued with the Cantons.

The victory of the Switzers ouer the French at *Nouara*, very famous.

An Arme of Switzers by count. 1 of the Emperor, entered into France throughe Bourgogne.

* Dion.

Means made to get the Switzers engaged in France.

The King of France refused the last composition, and refused to take in the

Much trouble and labour done.

Appenzel added to the Cantons.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Originall of Appenzell: how it tooke that name. The Lawes, Customs, & manner of government there obserued.

A description of the situation of Appenzell, and the villages thereto belonging.



Appenzel is the name both of a Country, and of a Village.

The country is situated somewhat about *S. Gall*, betwene the high Mountains, and on the Frontiers of the Grisons country. The inhabitants liue (scattering) in Villages, and among the number of them, there are eight chiefe and principal, which haue euery one their Temple or parish church. The maine head of all is the village of *Appenzell*, whereof all the rest of the country beareth name.



This Country was sometimes vnder the government of the Abbots of *Saint Gall*, and because they alwaies vsed to dwell in the chiefe town or village, where they build a very strong Castle, named *Clawx*; the village was therefore calld *Appenzel*, which in Latine is, *Abbatis Cella*: that is to say, *The Chamber or dwelling of the Abbot*.

The people of *Appenzel* aimed at liberty, first by armes, and after peace made, they bought liberty for themselves & their children, by means of a great sum of money, which they paid to the Abbot. They had wars which continued seuen yeares, against *Cuno de Stouffen*, Abbot of *S. Gall*; to whom the townes about the Lake of *Constance*, and belonging to *Frederick D. of Austria*, the bishoppe of *Constance*, the Count of *Wirttemberg*, & many Counts & Gentlemen gaue succour. Yet they of *Appenzel* would not yeeld themselves for all this, but being ayded by the Citizens of *S. Gall*, who, at the beginning, were partakers with the Abbot, but afterward ioined with them of *Appenzel*, won som battels, tooke five Townes, and more then sixty Cattles, part whereof were quite ruined. In this war, they leagued themselves with the Switzers, who were enemies vnto the

The Warre made against the Abbot of *S. Gall*.

house of *Austria*. Some say, that they allyed themselves with *Suits* and *Glaris* onely; but others doe maintaine, that it was with *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Saites*, and *Viterwald*. This Warre tooke ending in the year, 1408. and by means of the Emperour *Emper*, agreement was made betwene them of *Appenzel* and their enemies, in the City of *Constance*.

This being done, the men of *Appenzel* framed a forme of government to themselves, which yet they hold vnto this day. For till then, each village had her ensigne, and her estates apart, or by it selfe. Now there was but one Ensigne, one assembly of their estates, and one Councell, composed of the most honest people, and the notablest persons in all the Villages throughout the country. Then three yeares after the peace was made, the Abbot of *Saint Gall* attempted a new suite against them: but then they made alliance with *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, & *Glaris*, which so offended the Abbots of *Saint Gall*, as, about the year, one thousand four hundred twenty five, *Henric Mansdorff* (then Abbot) prevailed so far, that they of *Appenzel* were proscribed by the Emperour, and excommunicated by the Pope. Banishment was no great hurt, or inconvenience to them in any manner whatsoever, because the country (being round engirt with Mountaines, and not Trafficking almost with any bodie) no inuasion could bee made vpon them. As concerning the excommunication sent from the Pope, they resolved in an assembly of all the country, not any way to care for it. And therefore they expelled all the priests (that obserued the command of the Pope) out of their Country, and would not permit them to administer the Sacraments: amongst all which they killed but one.

The Abbot of *Saint Gall*, perceiving that this course did him not any service; and that (on the other side) the men of *Appenzel* ranne verie fiercely vpon such, as durst teare them to bee excommunicate, and ruined the Castles of manie Gentlemen: Finally, by helpe of the Bishoppe of *Constance*, and the Nobles of *Swabia*, hee accused them before the Electours of the Empire, imploring theyr helpe and aide in this extremitie. The Electours sent to the Switzers, and to

their league with the Switzers.

Their forme & manner of their order and government, first by themselves, and afterwards in due fashion,

People are banished and excommunicated because they maintain their liberties.

The Abbot of *S. Gall* appealed to the Electors.

The Switzers would not war on their neighbours.

Warre made vpon the Noble-men by them of Appenzell.

When anger helps not, patience must prevail.

Appenzell received into the Cantons.

the Cities of *Subs*, that they should bring them of *Appenzell* vnder obedience. But the *Switzers* would not make any war on their neighbours and fellow citizens: but rather laboured to make peace, which was agreed on foure yeares after this excommunication, the men of *Appenzell* hauing bene (before) overcome in two encounters, by the Count of *Toggenbourg*.

This peace lasted not long, for the Gentlemen, neighbours to *Appenzell*, about the Lake of *Constance*, assembled a great number of horsemen, wherewith to invade them of *Appenzell*. But they disappointed their hope, and got before them; possessing themselves of *Rineck*, & of the Vale of *Rheynse*, in the year, 1445. The Lords of *Hagenwill*, who helde that country in pawne or pledge: caused them of *Appenzell* to be censured with banishment, by the Imperiall Chamber established at *Rotwill*. But gaining nothing by the bargain, they sold them their right, for the summe of fixe thousand crowns, and tooke off the censure. In the yeare, 1452. they made perpetuall alliance with seauen of the Cantons, and (after that time) ioyned themselves with the *Switzers*, in the warres against the Dukes of *Austria*, of *Bourgonne*, and the league of *Subs*, wherein they shewed themselves both faithfull and valiant. Afterward, in the yeare, 1513. they were received into the number of the Cantons.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning the alliance made betwene the five last Cantons; And a breuete of their Articles, binding them together in confederacy.



ALL the latter cantons, except *Basle*, long time before their receiving into this ranke, were allied to the other ancient Cantons, and then afterward, at sundry times they were received and numbred with the cantons,

according as wee haue noted already.

Now those Cantons doe hold this right about their confederates, that they deliberate, and giue aduice in their dayes of consultation, for all occasions concerning (in common) the common wealth of the *Switzers*. They haue a share or part, in all commodities and dilemmities of the communalty. They gouerne (in equall authority) all the Baliwicks by them obtained, and partake equally and publicly, all booties gotten in warre. For the rest, the Articles of alliance of the old Cantons, and latter with the first, are almost alike.

The first and principall Article, concerneth mutuall succour or assistance, wherein there are diuersity of clauses. The Cantons which shall be called, ought to succour their associate or companion, without any fraud or delay. If a Canton be so suddenly engirt by the enemy, as he cannot call the other, neither by Letters nor Ambassadors; yet shall not they forbear (for all that) from giuing succour, and in as speedy manner, as if they had received expresse aduertisement. If the latter Cantons doe conceiue, that a wrong is done vnto them; yet notwithstanding, they shall moue no warre against any person, without the will and consent of the olde Cantons. If their enemies will debate their cause in iustice, and accept the *Switzers* for their Iudges, or others of equall and indifferent judgement: the Canton may not attempt to pursue his right by Armes. Euery one of the Cantons, at their owne charge and expences, shall come to succour the other, and send such numbers of men as they would haue, and according as they shall see it commodious, wherewith the other Canton must content it selfe. In like manner, the limits are prescribed, wherein the ancient Cantones stand bound to send helpe to the new: And the limits are the confines of the Cantons, as they then stand. There is likewise mention made, concerning charges and expences, at the besieging and battering of Townes and Castles. And the Lawes agreed vpon at *Stans*, touching the partage of booties, which also are here confirmed.

The second Article declareth, what kinde

What right and privilege belongs to the Cantons.

Articles of alliance of the latter cantons with the former.

The limitation and bounds of succour to be sent.

Chap. 16.

The Switzers wars in Italy.

Of differences between two Cantons or many.

No subjects of one Canton to be entertained by another Canton.

An especiall survey of the conditions most materiall.

The death of Lewis, the 12. King of France, after whom succeeded Francis de Valois.

kinde of course is to be obserued, if a difference doe happen between two Cantons or many: But wee shall speake in our second Booke, what forme of iudgement is in the case to be kept. Moreover, there is mention made, concerning actions in cases of injuries betwene particulars, and what Iudges they are to take note of in that kind. Then for the exacting of names: Concerning commerce, and free Trafficke, and what bargaining ought to stand free for buyers, as well on one part as the other. That no Canton shall receive the citizens and subjects of another Canton: till they be first left at liberty, by them vnder whose dominion they were before. That the new Cantons shall not make alliance with any whoeuer, without consent of the olde Cantons. If war is moued betwene the old Cantons, the latter shall remaine as newters, and labour onely to agree the parties. Each Canton shall keepe his or her ancient priuiledges, rights, and customes in their true integrity.

Behold the principall conditions of the latter alliances, wher namely it is decreed that the new Cantons shal not moue any warre, without aduice of the old, neither refuse that which is right, nor any honest condition of the countrey; and other such like things, concerning warre, are established fully. And because that the most part of the latter Cantons, are vpon the limits and euen out (as it were) of *Suetia*; they ordained, that no one shoulde attempt to make any warre, except it were for some matter of very great importance: and so much the rather, because it is very hard to conduct and maintaine an army in those quarters.

CHAP. XVI.

Here we are to speake of the Switzers wars in Italy, when the French undertooke to recouer the Dukedome of *Milaine*.



IN the yeare of our Lord, one thousand, five hundred, & fiftene, King *Lewis* the twelfth dyed. He had newly fought by

his Ambassadors, the amity and alliance of the *Switzers*. Neuerthelesse, in the meane time, he made great preparation for war, pretending to recouer the dukedome of *Milaine*. *Frances de Valois*, his kinsman, and his sonne in law, came after him (as successor, to his crown; who following the deliberation of his father, had also his minde and eye fixt on the *Altilaneses*. The *Switzers* (on the other side) allied with the Emperour *Maximilian*, *Ferdinand* King of *Spain*, *Sforza* Duke of *Milaine*, and with Pope *Leo* the tenth: undertook to defend *Milaine* against the French. Wherefore, after they understood the King of France his preparation they sent (at their first leuy) six thousand men to the Duke of *Milaine*. Afterward, the tenth of Iune, they made another leuy of 13000. men, which they sent also to ioine with the first.

King *Frances* passed ouer the Alpes in the meane while, by vnaccustomed waies, shunning the Garrisons of the *Switzers*, which were vpon the vsuall passages, and entred into *Italy*, with an Armie verie potent, of French and Germanes. This was the reason that the Cantons sent twelue thousand men more therether, so that the campe of *Switzers* onely, consisted of one and thirty thousand men. Now, although the Kings troopes were well provided and resolute, yet they would not hazard any thing, nor set vpon so great an Army of *Switzers*: it being such indeed as hardly (at any one time) had so manie euer before bene in the field. Hereupon by their Deputies, they began to treat on peace with the Colonels of the *Switzers*: who likewise (for their part) were not far off from it in disposition, because they considered, that their confederated princes did not march on roundlie with them.

For first of al, their wages was not paid them, according to promise. Moreover the Emperour had not sent his companies of horsemen, as he stood bound to do by the confederacy. And contrarywise, he had not prohibited the Lance-Knights (which hee might haue done in regard of his authority) from going in seruice with the King: but suffered them (by troopes) to depart from Germany, and enter into France. Finally, although the forces of the Pope and King of *Spain* were neerer

The Switzers attempt to guard Milain against the French.

The Campe of Switzers, was 31000. men in number, and neuer so many of them seene before in the field at one time.

Reasons inducing the Switzers to listen to peace when it was offered.

yet

yet notwithstanding, they could hardlie be perswaded to passe the *Pan*, and ioyne themselves with the *Switzers*. Beside, there were messengers going and coming betweene the French and them, & from them to the French. Wherefore, the *Switzers* seeing themselves without money, and forsaken of their Confortes: made peace in the village of *Galleras*, with the Deputies to the King of France, vnder honest conditions. Which having bene confirmed by some Cantons, immediately twelue thousand *Switzers* took their way to *Coma*, and returned home to their country, without tarrying for the rest, who likewise prepared to depart the next morning. But the Duke of *Millaine* would not accept the conditions of this peace; and the Cardinall of *Sion*, (a great and perpetuall enemy to the French) laboured by oblique meanes, to break & frustrate all.

It came to passe, that by cunning tricks and plottes, the thirteenth day of September, the *Switzers* of the Guard to the Duke of *Millaine*, and some others beside offended with the King, in the night time brake in vpon the French, sending worde instantly to aduertise their companions, in what danger they were, and intreated their present succour. The other, imagining that it would be a great shame vnto them, to forsake their friends in such a neede, and being made to beleuee with all, that the French had begunne this broyle, went with all their troopes to assist them. The fight was very sharp on all sides; but the night parted them. In this charge was slaine *Frances*, the Lorde of *Bourbon*, the Lord of *Imbercourt*, also the Count of *Sancerre*, the Prince of *Tallemont*, sonne to the Lorde of *Trimouille*, the Lords of *Bussy d'Amboise*, and manie other; which made some to holde opinion, that the *Switzers* were Maisters in this conflict, and a brute ran thorow *Italy*, that they remained conquerours. But the very same night, the King having mounted his Artillerie on their carriages, levelled the battalions of the Gascoignes and Germaines, re-assembling the horse-men vnder their Regiments, and sending *Bertelmeo d'Aluiana* with the Armie of Venetians: very early in the Morning, he gaue battaile to the *Switzers*, whom he vanquished, after they had lost manie

of their men.

The *Switzers* seeing the victory in a contrary hand, withdrew them-selves to *Millaine*; yet in such sort, that their retreatate fauoured not of flight. For, they brought backe the Artillery which came out of *Millaine*, and marched in ranke of battaile, hauing their wounded Men in the midst among them, and going but a very softly pace: yet in all the French Army, not a man, eyther Horse or Foot, durst pursue them. On the morrow, hauing lesse the Duke of *Millaine* fiftene hundred men, to strengthen his garrison in the Castle, they returned into *Suetia*, by the way of *Coma*. But, by reason of their foile, the French recouered the dukedom of *Millaine*.

The Emperour *Maximilian* contested hardly to take it from them againe, & the yeare following, he ledde into Italy (to effect that hope) an army of Germans and *Switzers*: but he could doe nothing, and so was glad to come backe again immediately. As for the King of France, hauing well felt how deare a price this victory cost him: he neuer ceased till hee hadde made peace and alliance with the *Switzers* in the end. Perpetuall peace, betweene the French and the *Switzers*, was made in the yeare one thousand, five hundred, and eightene, the last day of Nouember: and the alliance was confirmed three yeares after, to wit, in Anno one thousand, five hundred, twentie and one. The Articles both of the peace and alliance, are set downe in their due place, heereafter following.

CHAP. XVII.

A Discourse, concerning the Alliance of the *Switzers*, with the King of France.



That very time, all the Cantons, Zurich onely excepted, made Alliance with the King of France. And, although they of Zurich were earnestly

The retreat of the *Switzers* backe to *Millaine*.

The Duke of *Millaine* recouered by the French.

Perpetuall peace betweene the *Switzers* and the French.

Certaine reasons why the King of Zurich refused to be allied with the King of France.

The allegations of *Huldrych Zwinglius*, why Christians should not make themselves ioynt in warre.

The men of Zurich were peacefully minded, and little given to warre.

Taxation imposed vpon the new league.

nestly sollicit by the rest, to ioyne in this league with them: yet for all that, they could neuer bring them to the point of yielding to this alliance. In the first place, the yeares going before, *Mathew*, Cardinall of *Sion*, who came verie often to Zurich: by his Orations and perswasive speeches, had wholly estranged them from the French. On the other side, *Huldrych Zwinglius*, being then a principal minister at Zurich, in his ordinary preaching and Sermons, ceased not to turne the people, from taking wages to goe in warre seruices. Shewing by arguments & remonstrances of great weight, that it was not lawfull for a Christian man, to set himselfe to sale for a price of money, and go shed the blood of such as are (oftentimes) innocents, and neuer did him any manner of wrong. He sayd, they ought to follow the manners of the ancient *Switzers*, who (by their manhood) had planned liberty in their country. All which while, they wholly estranged themselves from such course of liuing; their lues were maintained by their trauell; neuer binding themselves vnto any Prince, neither hadde they any freedome that was to be sold.

And as hee had words verie readie at command, so he approved by great store of sound reasons and arguments, that such alliances did but enervate & meerely prostitute the liberty of the *Switzers* to forraigne Kings and Princes. So that the men of Zurich, being (otherwise) people of peace, and little addicted to martial affaires, were much moued with his speeches, and abhorred this new League. On the other side, the Captaines that hadde bene in the warres in the times of King *Charles* the eight, and *Lewes* the eleventh, dissuaded them from the league, as being farre vnlike to the alliances with former Kings. For, in precedent times, after that the *Switzers* had well vnderstood & comprehended the occasion of the war; they made choise of such Captaines and soldiers as they should send to the king, according to their promise. But in the Newe League, the Cantons neither chose Captaines nor Soldiers, neither cared what became of all, what the occasions of the warre were, nor whether they were iust, or no. But, if the King were to deale with any people, he chose such Captains

of the *Switzers* as himselfe pleased, and caused them to come whether he thought good. By which meanes, the Cantons had not any power ouer their Men for warre, except they might counter-mand them, when any warre was moued in the country.

Moreouer, many saide, that this newe League was contrary to the ancient and perpetuall alliances of the *Switzers*. For, in the first Article they stand bounde, to guard all the Prouinces of France, against all enemies whatsoever they are. True it is, that the first alliances were exempted, but immediately is added, that if the ancient allies begin to make warre vpon the French, the Cantons ought to send succour to the King, against the other: whereon ensued (as it seemeth) that if any one of the Cantons, or of the Confederates, could not haue reason (in friendly manner) of the King of France, and would pursue his right by Armes; the other Cantons are bound to warre on him, according to the new League, and contrarie to the promises of the ancient alliances.

Moreouer, it is not any long time, since the *Switzers* denied their troopes to the Emperour *Maximilian*, alleading (for their excuse, because he would haue had them serue at his Coronation) that they were occasioned (for many reasons) to keepe their men of warre (as then) at home in their owne country. Therefore it appeared to them verie vnfitting, that they should then allye themselves with the King, who would make a Leuée of them, so soone as the alliance was concluded.

They conceyued also, that it would be farre off from their ancient grauity and magnanimitie, if they should league themselves so strictly with the King of France; of whom (but a yeare and an half before) they had written vnto the Electors of the Empire; that it was no way expedient that he should govern the affaires of Germany, so that if he should be elected Emperour, they were not minded to giue him obedience. And, as concerning the commodities of the alliance, which many did make lowd proclamations of: there were others of opinion, that the profite would fall into some particular purses, and especially of such, as enriched themselves by the pensions of France; but the Common

Articles concerning the ancient and perpetuall alliances of the *Switzers*.

The *Switzers* denied their troopes to the Emperour *Maximilian*, and vpon what cause.

The *Switzers* denied obedience to the King of France, because hee was chosen Emperour.

12000. *Switzers* part home to their country, without the rest of their companie.

A horre & fierce fight betweene the *Switzers* & the French wherein the *Switzers* were ouerthrowne in the end.

Read the lorde du Bellay, in the first booke of this Memoires.

Arguments
very confi-
dently alled-
ged by the
Switzers, a-
gainst ioyning
in League
with the King
of France.

monwealth of the *Switzers* would be no way benefited by the bargain; as very easily was to be proved.

For in the first place, the country had no neede of any strange horsemen or infantry, having worke enough to doe in nourishing their owne breed for that employment. Moreover, the hope of helpe, and money from *France*, robbed the *Switzers* of all their true force and courage. In following the example of their predecessors, they were best to let their hope leane and rest vpon God, to serue and honour him in sincerity of heart, and vprightnesse of conscience. That not onely hope in God would faile and diminish by such a League, but also it was to be feared, that it would very strongly break and corrupt their ancient manners, cause all husbandry to cease, giue ouer honest trades and exercises, and engender nothing but idleness. And then is easily known what followeth; dissolusion in diet and apparrell, drunkennesse, whoredomes, adulteries, thefts, and blasphemies. For these are the fruites of warre, and the Arts that are learned in the armies of strange Princes.

The fruites of
war inforraine
Princes serue
ces.

For a full conclusion, the euent and successe of precedent alliances, haue both instructed and guarded many (especially the men of *Zurich*) to weigh well & consider on nouell combinations. For, albeit that some fewe did sufficient seruice to the nation, as that which was made against the Duke of *Bourgogne*; yet notwithstanding, the most part of those alliances, brought it into great extremities. Because in such strange warres they lost many of their people: or els in those countries, they were rudely hurried and agitated, by factions and seditions. For these reasons, and diuers other considerations; the inhabitants of *Zurich* could not (as then) be induced to ally themselves with the king of *France*.

But the other confederates, who were not of any such opinion, maintaine what they did, by reasons enow. First, they declared, and would prouoe it, that euery voyage in war was not condemned by the word of God: but that many holie persons had made wars; wherein they were ayded and succoured by others, as in like manner they had assisted their Allies. Secondly, that the war of the *Switzers* was not mercenary nor vaine ble, because

Arguments
for alliance of
the *Switzers*
with the King
of France, against
those formerly
alleged by
the of *Zurich*.

they went to the seruice of a King onely, (with whom they were ioynd by an honest alliance) with the will and consent of their Lords.

Thirdly, that if the King should moue a warre, which all men knew to be iust; then it remained in the power of the Lords of the Leagues, to deny him succour. But if the occasion were doubtfull and vncertaine: the souldier had nothing to doe to make any curious inquisition thereof: it only appertained to the King and his Councell, to render a reason for it. Fourthly, that the *Switzers* Countrey was greatly peopled, but narrow, hard, & barren in many places, and could not furnish so many men with nourishment: wherefore the commodity was not to be condemned, which the King had offered voluntarily.

To these we will adde, that the *Switzers* ought to consider, with what neighbors they were enclosed, from wherof enuyed them, and others pryed into their Liberties: so that it was both well and wisely done, to fortifie themselves with strange succour against them, and that trust and hope in God, did not prohibite the vse of humane assistance. Also, this was a means to traine vp the *Switzers* in martial discipline, which is necessary for all Commonwealths: and in regard wherof, warlike people haue euermore beene highly respected. Finally, although that some alliances haue discommodited the Countrey; yet notwithstanding, the *Switzers* haue sped well in the more part, especially, in those which they had with the kings *Leues* the eleuenth, *Charles* the eight, and *Lewes* the twelfth. And therefore they must needs expect a happy issue of this which they contracted with a King powerfull & fortunate.

This was the discourse then made concerning alliance with the French as I learned of my predecessors, which liued in those times. The selfesame question hath bene often and seriously debated & handled, euery in my time, by men well grounded in the affaires of State, to whome (as yet) I referre the further knowledge of the case.

of

The *Switzers*
counsell, the
red with a
pleasure
hatten

Martial & in-
timate dis-
cipline very ex-
pedient for all
Common-
wealths.



Of them that are Allyed and Leagued with the CANTONS.

And first, The Abbot of Saint Gall. CHAP. XVIII.



Another Dis-
course of the
Abbott, con-
cerning the
affiliates in
particular ma-
ner.

hitherto wee haue shewne what the Cantons & confederates are, making vp a whole body of the *Switzers* Commonwealth, and what hath beene the estate and condition of euery one of them before they were leagued. Also, for what causes, at what times, and with what conditions they assembled themselves in a body polittic. Now we will discourse of the affiliates of this Commonwealth, according to the same order: and we will heere shew, wherefore, when, and vpon what conditions they allyed themselves with the Cantons. And because the Abbot, and the City of *Saint Gall* do holde the first ranke, wee purpose to begin with them.

The City of S.
Gallhouse
house as first
dwelt Gallus, a Gentleman
of Scotland.



Gallus, of whom the city of *Saint Gall* hath taken name, was a Gentleman of Scotland, and Disciple or Scholler to an Abbot, named *Colombanus*, with whome hee came into France, and thence transported himselfe into Germany, to a place called *Tuggen*, neere to the Riuer named *Limuz*, at the mouth of the Lake of *Zurich*. There he preached the Gospel with great zeale and affection, to the people of the Countrey, then bewitched with diuers kindes of Idolatry. Hee continued (soone after) at *Bregens*, at the mouth opening of the Lake of *Constance*: next, at *Arbonna*, and in diuers other places of

Swetha, for the space of sixteene years, or thereabout. *Conzo* Duke of *Sabia*, hauing called him to bee Bythoppe of *Constance*; he would not accept that charge: but counselled the Duke to giue it to one of his schollers, named *John*, whom hee thought to be more fit for the place. As for himselfe, about the yeare six hundred and thirty, he retired into the Mountaines, about the Lake of *Constance*, into a very solitary place; and in the very same plot or square of ground, where the Citie and Abbey of *S. Gall* now stand: hee builded a little Cell or house, wherein he spent the rest of his dayes, with some of his schollers, in the studie and meditation of holy matters.

Gallus refused
to be Bythop
of *Constance*,
and pre-
ferred
one of his
schollers to it.

After the death of *S. Gall*, his schollers liked well to liue in that place, and according to his manner of life: neuertheless, without making profession then of any certaine rule or order. But the Kinges of France, and the Dukes of *Sabia*, taking delight in their deuotion, did them many kinde Offices: where by the number of these religious men encreased, & (by little and little) the small silly house of *Saint Gall*, became conuerted into an Abbey. For foure score yeares after the death of *S. Gall*, they requested Counte *Bernard*, Governor of the countrey for the Kinges of France, that hee would giue them an Abbot. He sent them a Priest, named *Omer*, bred and brought vp in a Colledge, called *Caire* of the *Grisons*, and towards *Pepin*, Prince of France, some to *Charles Martell*: who following the aduice of his father, established this Priest the first Abbot of *Saint Gall*, and then (first of all) the Monkes made profession of the rule of *S. Benet*.

The death of
S. Gall, & suc-
cession of his
schollers, and
his little house
becoming
an Abbey.

Omer a priest
the first Ab-
bot of S. Gall.

AF

After that time, the abbey became vrierich and powerfull, so that the Abbot of that place, was sette in number of the Princes. And in ancient times, he was vnder protection of the Emperours, who tooke the Gentlemen of *Suaba* to be Gouernors of this abbey. Afterward, warre being kindled betweene the *Abbot*, and them of *Appenzel*: the Monkes well perceiued that their Conuent stood in neede of some good Protectours, because the Townesmen or Citizens of *S. Gall*, who were (as within the abbey) ioyned with them of *Appenzel*, who were also fauored by many seruants of the *Abbot*.

For this cause *Gaspard Landberg*, then the two and fiftieth *Abbot* (by the aduice and counsell of the Monks) requested the Cantons of *Zurich*, *Lucerna*, *Suites*, and *Glaris*, to receiue him into their alliance: establishing them patrons, fathers, & defenders of his freedom, & of all his goods, possessions, vances, and priuiledges. This right is perpetuall and at all times, and as often as a new *Abbot* is to be elected, hee promisseth this accord, and that al the places of his Seigneury, shall alwayes lye open to these foure Cantons, and they to haue free access thereto. And if difference shall happen between him and any other, he shall commit it (continually) vnto the hearing of the foure Cantons, and be iudged by them.

The successour to *Landberg*, named *Huldreich*, and sir-named *Le Noux*, added to this first alliance, that the foure Cantons should send (one after another) one of their Councell, that should remayne two yeares with the *Abbot*, to bee Captaine of all his country. He gaue assistance in pleadings and iudgements, & the moiety of all fines remained to the Switzers. Moreover, it was ordained in this alliance, that in all warres the *Abbots* subjects should goe to the succour of the 4. Cantons.

As concerning that which *Abbot Huldreich* renewed, and the League also, ioyning himselfe more strictly vnto the foure Cantons, the cause was thus. Sometime before, the Citizens of *Saint Gall*, the times of *Appenzel*, and the subjects of the *Abbot*, had conspired together, and ruined the abbey of *Rosach*, which the *Abbot* had newly builded. So that the foure Cantons hauing sent for the other Cantons to their assistance, defeated the *Abbot* in his rites,

and reprooued his aduersaries very stoutly. This association endureth yet to this day, and although al the Cantons are not at agreement with the *Abbot*, as concerning matter of Religion; yet notwithstanding, according vnto the articles of alliance, they send him a Captaine, who manageth and gouerneth ciuill causes, conseruing (in this regard) the rights and priuiledges of the *Abbot*.

CHAP. XIX.

Of the Towne or City of S. Gall.



THE Citie of *Saint Gall*, oweth her originall and encreasing to the Abbey, and hath bene enfranchised by the Emperours, who vnted it to the Empire, and gaue it many priuiledges and immunities. In the time of the Emperour *Arnould*, the citie began first to be enclosed with walles: as fearing the courtes and surprizals of the *Hungarians*, and both it and the Couent were vnder the Empires protection. The citie was subiect vnto the Abbey in many things: meane while, the citizens had their rites, which they augmented by their industry, & by means of the Emperours liberalities.



Now, when the number of citizens, and the riches of the Abbey beganne to increase: many debates and contentions also tooke Originall, betweene the *Abbot* and the citizens. Oftentimes, the Townes round about it, and the Imperial chamber, would set them at agreement again. Sometime likewise, they were glad to satisfie the *Abbots* demands with money, and encreased their liberties, by buying their rights of him. But when they of *Appenzel* moued warre against *Abbot Cuno de Stauffen*, the men of *S. Gall* beganne to take part with the *Abbot*, and got nothing for their labour but blowes, which caused them (soone after) to make alliance vwith them of *Appenzel*. This warre being ended, and some other after, *Abbot Landberg*, being made a fellow-Bourgesse with

Counsaers of alliance kept, though not in Religion all alike.

The Abbey began and increased the city of S. Gall.

Wealth and estate are the first causes of debates and contentions.

with foure Cantons: the citizens of *S. Gall*, to maintaine themselves by the like expedient, entred perpetual alliance with *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Lucerna*, *Suits*, *Zug*, and *Glaris*. This alliance was sworne on the Eue of *S. Iohn Baptit*, in the yeare, 1434. And they of *Saint Gall* made a publicke banquet for the Ambassadors of the Cantons, whereto were present aboute fiftene hundred men. Before this alliance, they were leagued with some Cantons for certaine yeares: as with *Zurich*, *Constance*, and *Schaffhouse*, in the yeares, 1312. and 1347. And at other times often with *Zurich* and *Constance*. Afterward, with *Zurich*, *Berne*, *Vri*, *Suits*, & *Vnderwald*, in the yeare 1339. But I haue purposely omitted those alliances made for so short times, contenting my selfe onely with this last mentioned, which continueth to this day

CHAP. XX.

Of the Leagued Grisons.



It is generally agreed on that the people of the Grisons are very ancient. For some ages before the birth of our Saviour Iesus Christ, the *Tuscan* being driuen from their houses by the *Gauls* they possessed the Rhazians. Heretofore this country extended it selfe greatly in length & largenes, so that the *Romane* Emperours made two *Rhazian* Provinces, named the first & second *Rhazian*: which comprehended not onely the Alpine regions, but also a great part of *Suaba* & *Buaria*. Now it is well knowne, that this first *Rhazian* beginneth at 4. foures of *Rheme*, & taketh a sufficient great quarter of the Alpes, and all the valleyes on both the sides. Almost all the people there are (to this day) called *Grisons*; and in former times they were termed *Gris*: as likewise the *Almain* gaue them the same name, & call them betide *Graw punder*, that is to say, *Leagued Grisons*. For, in regard that these *Rhazians* are leagued, not onely with the Switzers, but also among themselves, and that of verie long

time, we call them *Leagued Grisons*, & sometimes the Switzers names them simply, *punder*, that is, *Confederates*.

Wee are to obserue three leagues of the Grisons. The first tooke name of her antiquity, and of the situation of the country: for they called it, *The High League*, or *high Grisons*. It containeth nineteene Communities or Fellowships, among whom (heretofore) the *Abbot of Dissentis*, and the Baron of *Rhatia*, & the Count of *Misauk* held the chiefe rank: but the families of the 2.



latter are expired. Neuerthelesse, among them in common, they which possesse the Castle of the ancient Barons of *Rhatia*, are called Lords of *Rhatia*, a title which (some short while after) the Lordes of *Marbrée* took; and after them, they which are named *Plantes*. They of *Taufsch*, *Lininer*, and *Misoxerial* are the principall people of this league.

The second is called, *The league of Gods house*. I thinke it to be so termed, because the byshop of *Caire* is comprized in this league. It also comprehendeth nineteene Communities, two whereof doe speake the Germane Language; the other, vs the *Rhazian* or *Grison*, which is their nother tongue, & cometh neere to the Italian. The principall people of this league are the city of *Caire*, which is the bishops See. Also they of *Pregant* and of *Engadin*, out of which countries run two renowned riuers, to wit, *Esch* and *Inn*.

The third league hath ten Communities, and is called, *The League of ten Iurisdiccions*. Therein are comprized them of *Ruchenberg*, and of *Tunelch*. The former two leagues had (at the beginning) amity and alliance a certaine time, vwith the Cantons neerest to them. For, in the yeare, 1419, the byshop, the Chapter, & the citie of *Caire*, made Alliance vwith them of *Zurich* for one and fiftie yeeres. Also, they were sometimes allyed vwith them of *Glaris*. And the Grisons of the high league, wer long time confederated with them of *Vri*. Then after, with them of Gods house they made a perpetual alliance vwith feauen of the Cantons. But the thirde League is not comprized in this alliance, and yet notwithstanding in

Three freeall Leagues of the Grisons.

1. The High League, or high Grisons.

2. The league of gods house or of the Hospital.

3. The league of ten iurisdiccions.

Suerall alliances, & at feuerall times.

The Abbot of S. Gall desires to be receiued into the number of 4. Cantons, and to bee ordered by them.

Landberg the Abbot being dead, Huldreich renewed the League with the four Cantons, and succeeded after him.

Abbot Huldreich renewed the league with the four Cantons, and more strictly.

1500 men present at vint banquet.

Concerning the antiquity of the Grisons being sometime called Rhazians, of the captain Rhazius.

Disentis of houses giuen to the people of Rhazian.

entertaine this amity and society with the confederates, euen as firmly and faithfully, as if they stood tolemlly bound thereto.

First then, in the year 1497. the high league, more properly called, *The Grison league*, made perpetuall alliance with seauen Cantons: and the year following, the league of *Gods-house* ioyned it selfe with them, by this occasion following. Some years before, the league of *Gods-House* had had certaine great differences, with the dwellers in the county of *Tyrol*. In the end, by the will of the Emperour *Maximilian*, it was decreed; that the parties should chuse an equal number of Iudges, to take knowledge of their variance, and that *Thomas*, Bishop of *Constance*, should be Arbitrator about all the Iudges. But while the Councellers to the King delayed to end this discord, the Bishop of *Constance* dyed: and in his stead, *Maximilian* subrogated *Fredericke*, Bishop of *Ausbourg*. But the Kings councellers taking no knowledge of this other Arbitrator, prolonged (from day to day) the decision of the suite, as before they had done: all this while molesting the *Grisons*, and charging them still with nouell impositions.

They perceiving no cessation, deputed two of each league, and sent to *Innspruk*, insisting, that this difference should end, according to the order of the Emperour *Maximilian*. Which the councellers pretended not to know, albeit diuers of them, and (among the rest) the chancellor was present when the decree was set downe. Yet notwithstanding, because the Deputies should not be sent backe without answer; they assigned a day at *Velure*, in Lent the next year ensuing. In the meane while, they of *Austria* planted Garrisons vpon the Frontiers, and strong Artillery in diuers places, making (vnder hand) their preparation for warre. For they had appointed that day expressly, because they would set vpon them at vnawares, & vnto overthrow the *Grisons*, no way standing on their guard: where in the Bishop of *Cotre* lent his helping hand to them of *Austria*. But the league of *Gods-House*, hauing discovered the enemies intent; sent men to the cantons, who kept then a day at *Zurich*, and gaue them to vnderstand this eminent danger.

The Ambassadors declared, that beside the olde quarrels, new differences were moued, betwene them of *Austria* and the *Switzers*, so that there grew an appearance of warre: therefore for the profit & security both of the *Switzers* & *Grisons*, it seemed good, that they should be allied together. For by that means, the *Grisons* should easily expell the enemy out of their country: although they gaue them but little ayde, or almost none at all. On the other side, the *Switzers* should haue a Bulwarke to back them, and so might the more strongly make head against the enemy. The Cantons, who had bin well affected to the *Grisons* before, and knew those Mountain-bred men, to be a warlike disposed people, and how beneficiall this alliance would be both to the one and other: concluded and established a perpetuity of loue with the *Grisons*, in the year 1498. and the Moneth of December, and the Articles of the alliance are these that follow.

The Articles of alliance, betwene the Switzers and the Grisons.

1. First, that they shall be friends, & giue mutual succour one to another.
2. The second Article concerneth the agreeing of differences, which may happen betwene confederates.
3. The third is that no man shall giue or sell away, those actions that he hath against his debtor, or the answerer, or surety for him.
4. The fourth concerneth victualles, according to one anothers trading: And to be freely in the Markets, without standing bound to pay any new tributes.
5. That neither the one nor other side, shall make any new alliance, wherein these Articles shall be comprised, but with exceptions: And that in times of warre, the one side shall not make peace, except the other be thereby comprehended also.

These are the Articles and principal points of the alliance. But the year following, the warre of *Snab* happened, wherein the *Grisons* valiantly defended their Frontiers, against the men of *Austria*. And by the ayde of their people, many times in like manner, and by the assistance of the *Switzers*, diuers braue batailles

were

were wonne against the enemy. Yet after these victories hapning on either side, peace was (at length) made in the city of *Basle*, by the Emperour *Maximilian*; in which peace, the *Grisons* are also comprised. By this means, the beginning of the alliance was wholesome and happy to both parties, and afterward, in many wars where the *Switzers* were present, vnder wages of strange Princes their confederates: the *Grisons* alwayes marched as kinde companions with them.

It came to passe, that in the year one thousand, six hundred, thirty and one: *John Laques de Medeu*, who afterward was Marquesse of *Marijnino*, getting v. furped possession of the Cattle of *Mus*, vpon the Lake of *Coma*, and hauing taken *Cluenna* from the *Grisons*, foraging the country thereof: many Cantons, according to their league of alliance, sent succour to the *Grisons*: by means whereof, the enemy was overcome at last, and driuen far off. In our time, the *Grisons* were allied with the French, and with the cantons of *Swetia*, and went to warre together for the King: yet in such fort neuertheless, that they fend oftentimes a regiment separated of the *Switzers*, & which hath his Colonell & Captaine in chiefe.

CHAP. XXI.

The Alliance of the Valaisians, or people of Valais.

THE name of *Valaisians*, or them of *Valois*, comprehends three distinct people, enclosed within the most high Mountains, and dwelling in the Valley, from the fource of *Rheine*, so farre as the Lake * *Lemans*. They were anciently called *Fiberines*, *Sedusians*, or *Sequians*, some say, *Sebusians*, and *Veragrians*. At this day, the *Fiberines* and *Sedusians*, are called the high *Valaisians*, and are diuided into seven Diocesses, or Wards of ten Parishes. The *Veragrians*, or lowe *Valaisians*, are subiects to the other: but the Bishop of *Sion* is Prince of all the country, hauing the souerainty both temporall and spirituall, and he is called Count, or Governour of *Valois*. We haue deli-

bed in another Tract, apart by it selfe, not onely this Valley, but likewise all the most remarkable things of the *Valaisians*.

Five Wards or Diocesses of the *Valaisians*, made first alliance with *Lucerna*, *Vri*, and *Vnderwald*, in the year 1417. They were then in warre against a Bishop, named *William de Raron*, and his

Father *Guiscard*, whom they had (by a popular tumult) forced from their houses. The *Bernians* gaue assistance to the Bishop and his Father, who were of their Bourgeses: And for this cause the *Valaisians* desiring to haue succour elsewhere: allied themselves with the fore-named 3. Cantons. Now fearing lest this might be an occasion of breeding quarrell betwene the *Bernians*, and the three Cantons allied with the *Valaisians*: the other cantons, who were as neutrals to the business, laboured so earnestly, that the difference was pacified, and the Lords of *Raron* re-established in their goods. Before this alliance, the *Valaisians* had made one (for the space of ten years) with them of *Berne*, in the year 1250. Again, after this warre, they contracted another alliance (for certaine time) with the *Bernians*. But in the year 1475, they made a league defensiu and offensiu. And in the same year when wee wrote this History (to wit, 1575.) an hundred years being expired, after the beginning of this league: they renewed and confirmed it on eyther part, by magnificent Ambassadors. Two years before they were leagued with the *Bernians*, they made a certaine agreement with them of *Vri*, *Suits*, and *Vnderwald*.

To conclude, in our time, vpon great differences moued, concerning matters of Religion, Ceremonies, life and manners of the Cleargy, whereof reformation was required, *Swetia* being diuided into contrary parts; *Adrian*, Bishop of *Sion*, and seuen Wards of the *Valaisians*, in the year 1533. made alliance with seauen Cantons, in the Towne of *Fribourg*, which Cantons made profession of the Roman Religion, as namely, *Lucerna*, *Vri*, *Suits*, *Vnderwald*, *Zug*, *Fribourg*, and *Sollemre*. In this Alliance (ouer & beside that which is vsed in the other) it

A a 2 was

Alliance of the Grisons with the Switzers, and vpon what occasions.

A great difference betwene the league of Gods-house, and them of Tyrol.

The Grisons depute two of each league for ending their cause.

Cunning tricks, and fits to such to vieas desire to oppress the peoples liberty.

Peace made in the city of Basle, for the Switzers and Grisons.

John Laques de Medeu, Marquesse of Marijnino.

A perpetuall league between the Grisons and the French.

The Grisons allied with the French.

For friendship and assistance.

Agreeing to come, and defend.

Not to be sold.

Forced and trading.

A description of Valois or Valais.

* A Lake of the Allobroges by Geneva and Lausanna.

New comers, especially the warrent Snab.

The Bishop of Sion is Count and Governour of Valois or Valais.



Guillaume de Raron and Guiscard his Father.

Contracted alliances of the Valaisians with the Bernians.

Differences about the ceremonies, iusts, and manners of the Cleargy.

was especially agreed, that they should aide one another, to maintaine the vſed and approved Religion, to wit, that of the Romane Church, againſt all them that would deprive or violence it.

CHAP. XXII.

Of Rotuill, or Rotuill.



Some haue imagined, that *Taxagatum*, whereof *Pro-lomy* ſpeaketh in his Geography, was *Rotuill* or *Rotuill*, which *Glaucanus* calleth *Erythropolis*, hauing changed the *Aleman* or *Germane* word, into a Greek word: but they much deceive themſelves. For *Pro-lomy* placeth *Taxagatum* in the country of the *Griſons*, and *Rotuille* is ſituated beyond *Danubius* in *Germany*, on the left ſide of the Riuer *Niera*, and very neere to the Spring-head of both thoſe Floods or Riuer. This city is ſufficiently renowned among the Imperials, for therein is a chamber of the Empire, which is vulgarly called *Hofgricht*, whereunto all the round neighbouring countries reſort, for cauſes of appeale. Such as are contumacious, and fayle of their appearance there; are ſent (by ſentence of the Iudges) into baniſhment from the Empire. It is ſaid, that this chamber was eſtabliſhed by the Emperor *Conrad* the third, and that it is 424. yeares ſince.



The firſt alliance that they of *Rotuille* made with the *Switzers*, was in the time of the Emperor *Fredericke* the third, in the yeare 1463. This alliance was renewed diuers times betweene them. At laſt, in the yeare 1515. they contracted perpetuall alliance with all the Cantons of the *Switzers*. During the warre of *Suaba*, they of *Rotuille* (engirt with enemies on all ſides) ſhewed themſelves alwayes faithfull to the *Switzers*; offering them amiably and liberally all their riches and men: which the *Switzers* could not accept, but onely deſired them, to defend their city againſt the enemy. Now in regard that *Rotuille* is ſi-

tuated along the limits of *Swetia*, and that ſuccour cannot bee brought to one another, but with danger, conſidering, they muſt paſſe through other mens lands: the alliance ſpeaketh expreſſely, that they muſt be carefull for drawing any war vpon them, or vpon any of their confederates.

And firſt of all; It is ſaid, that they may not make war with any whoſoeuer, without the knowledge and conſent of the Cantons. They ſhall giue no ſuccour to any perſon out of *Swetia*, without the will and conſent of the Cantons. Moreover, if they would haue reaſon by Arms, for any injury or out-rage done vnto the; they muſt attempt nothing, but by aduice of the Cantons. If their enemies will vndergoe iudgement, ſuch as the Cantons ſhall thinke to be honeſt and equall: the men of *Rotuille* muſt alſo conſent thereto. If warre chance to bee moued among the cantons; they of *Rotuille* are to follow that part, which the moſt part of voyces do allow. The cantons are to conferue (with all their power) the Imperiall chamber of *Rotuille*; which (in the mean while) ſhall vie no authority againſt the *Switzers*, or any of them. And if any ſtranger ſhall cite or ſummon thether a *Switzer*; they are to make knowne, and he likewiſe, how farre he is to bee defended by priuiledge. In breefe, they are not to moleſt any *Switzer* in that iuriſdiction.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Mulhouſe.

Mulhouſe is a Towne in the county of *Ferrara*, or (as ſome do hold opinion) in the Territory of *Biſſe*. It is thought that in ancient times it was called *Arribinium*. For in the Guide or Director of wayes, appointed by *Antonius Auguſtus*; this place is ſet betweene *Auguſta Auarica* (which is *Biſſe*) and *Prunina*, which ſome do thinke to be called at this day, *Enſteym*; then Mount *Briſſar*, *Heluetum*, and *Strasbourg* are named. In times of antiquity, *Mulhouſe* was in number of the Imperiall townes: but the Biſhop of *Strasbourg* was Gouvernor thereof, alſo of the Towne

Rotuille is ſituated ſo neere the middle of *Swetia*.

A breuiate of the Articles of alliance betweene them and the Cantons.

The Imperiall Chamber of *Rotuille*, to be perpetually conſerued.

The ſituation and nomination of *Mulhouſe*.

Mulhouſe one of the Imperiall Townes.

Towne of *Colmar*. It came to paſſe, that warre happened betweene *Raoul* of *Habſbourg*, and the Biſhop of *Strasbourg*; wherein *Mulhouſe* was taken from the Biſhop, & the Caſtle ruined. After which time, *Mulhouſe* was againe re-obtained, and numbred among the Imperiall Cities and Townes.

Her firſt alliance with the *Switzers*, was made about the yeare 1464. For in regard that the neighboring Gentlemen moleſted the Towne, and narrowly watched all occasions to aſſault it: the citizens made alliance with them of *Berne*, for ſixteen yeares, as alſo with *Fribourg* and *Soleurre*. and by meanes of the *Bernians* interceſſion, the other ſeuen Cantons tooke the Towne into their protection. Which proued ſo diſpleaſing to the Noble-men, that theſe priuate enmities conuerſed themſelves (ſoone after) into open warre: which cauſed the *Switzers* immediately, to ſend and plant Garrifons in *Mulhouſe*. Afterward, all the Cantons brought their troopes into the field, and came with great aſſiſtance to releue *Mulhouſe*.

In the end, hauing beſieged the towne of *Waldſhout*, appertaining to the houſe of *Auſtria*: they compelled the Gentlemen, to come to ſome equall conditions of peace. Afterward, they of *Mulhouſe* were receiued for fellow-Bourgeſſes with them of *Biſſe*, and thereby more ſtrictly vnitied to the *Switzers*. Nine yeares after, the 19. day of Ianuary, they made alliance with all the thirteene cantons. The conditions were all alike to the alliance of *Rotuille*, as well in regard of warres, as leagues with ſtrangers.

Alliance made with Bienna for ſixteen yeares, and after.

Alliance with all the thirteene Cantons.

CHAP. XXIII.

Of Bienna.



Bienna is at the end of a very pleaſant Lake, abounding with plenty of fiſh & round engirt (on all ſides) with goodly Vineyards. It is vnder the government of the Biſhop of *Biſſe*; and yet it enioyeth lawes and regi-

ment a part by it ſelfe, as alſo liberall franchiſes and priuiledges.



The firſt alliance of the of *Bienna*, was made with the men of *Berne*, in the yeare 1303. to ridde the country of certaine robbers and theues, which wandred there in ſo great numbers, as almoſt no way had any ſecurity for paſſage. In this alliance, they of *Strasbourg*, *Biſſe*, *Eribourg* and *Soleurre* were alſo comprized. Three yeares after, in regard of ſome great differences, which they had with their neighbours: they made a particular alliance with the *Bernians*. Their third alliance was made in Anno 1352. and fifteen yeares after, becauſe *John de Vians*, Biſhop of *Biſſe*, (a man of turbulent ſpirit) would not ſuffer any of his neighbours to liue in quiet: they of *Bienna*, deſirous to provide for their owne eaſe and tranquility, ioyned themſelves more ſtrictly with the men of *Berne*, by giuing each to other the right of fellow-Bourgeſſes. The Biſhop very angry at this vnion, muſtered together ſome troopes of horſe, and (at vnawares) ranne vpon them of *Bienna*, and clapt vp in priſon the Authors of this aſſociation.

When the men of *Berna* heard of this deeſe, they came to ſuccour their fellow Bourgeſſes, tooke (by force) the Caſtle, which the Biſhop had in *Bienna*, ſet the priſoners at liberty, and made warre vpon the Biſhoppe, as alſo on them of *Soleurre*, his affociates. In this warre, they tooke and ruined many places, which were in ſubiection to the biſhop.

John de Vians Biſhop of *Biſſe*, a man troubleſome to his neighbours.

CHAP. XXV.

Of Geneva.



Geneua is the laſt and vmoſt Citie of the *Allobroges*, of which (amongſt other of Antiquity.) *Cæſar* hath made mention in his Commentaries.

Iulius Cæſar in comment. lib. 5.

Opinions concerning the name of *Rotuill*, or *Rotuill*, which is an Imperiall Towne or City.

The firſt alliance of them of *Rotuille* with the cantons.

The ſituation and eſtate of *Bienna*.